



UNIVERSITY OF TORONTO
LIBRARY

WILLIAM H. DONNER
COLLECTION

*purchased from
a gift by*

THE DONNER CANADIAN
FOUNDATION

Digitized by the Internet Archive
in 2008 with funding from
Microsoft Corporation

<http://www.archive.org/details/journalpunjab05punjuoft>

JOURNAL
of the
PANJAB HISTORICAL SOCIETY

Volume V.

Calcutta :

PRINTED AT THE BAPTIST MISSION PRESS AND PUBLISHED BY
THE PANJAB HISTORICAL SOCIETY, LAHORE.

1918.

DS
485
P2A3
v. 5-8



LIST OF CONTENTS.

	PAGE
Mughal Farmāns, Fhs and Sanads issued in favour of the Jesuit Missionaries.	
<i>The Rev. Father F.C.</i>	I
Jesuit Missions in La <i>The Rev. Father Felix, O.C.</i>	55
The Mughal Seals. <i>.. Father Felix, O.C.</i>	100

LIST OF PLATES.

Following page 53 :

- PLATE I—Fig. 1. Seal of Shāh 'Ālam.
Fig. 2. Farmān of Akbar (I).
- PLATE II—Fig. 3. Farmān of Jahāngīr (II).
Fig. 4a. Farmān of Jahāngīr (III).
Fig. 4b. Endorsement on III.
- PLATE III—Fig. 5a. Farmān of Jahāngīr (IV).
Fig. 5b. Endorsement on IV.
- PLATE IV—Fig. 6a. Farmān of Jahāngīr (V). (Obverse).
Fig. 6b. Farmān of Jahāngīr (V). (Reverse).
Fig. 7. Parwānāh of Auranzeb, with the seal Fida Khān (VI).
- PLATE V—Fig. 8. Farmān of Shāh Jahān (VII).
- PLATE VI—Fig. 9a. Parwānāh from Auranzeb or 'Ālamgir, with the seal of Asad Khān (VIII).
Fig. 9b. Endorsements on VIII.
- PLATE VII—Fig. 10a. Parwānāh from Shāh 'Ālam I, with the seals of Āṣaf-ud-daulah and Zafar Jang (IX).
Fig. 10b. Endorsement on IX.
Fig. 11a. Parwānāh from Muḥammad Shāh, with the seal of Ikhlās Khān (X).
Fig. 11b. Endorsements on X.
- PLATE VIII—Fig. 12a. Parwānāh from Muḥammad Farrukhsīyar, with the seal of Sā'id Asad Khān (XI).
Fig. 12b. Endorsement on XI.
- PLATE IX—Fig. 13a. Farmān of Shāh 'Ālam (XII).
Fig. 13b. Endorsements on XII.
Fig. 13c. Endorsement on XII. (Portion of Fig. 13b enlarged).
- PLATE X—Fig. 13d. Endorsement on XII. (Portion of Fig. 13b enlarged).
Fig. 13e. Endorsement on XII. (Portion of Fig. 13b enlarged).
Fig. 13f. Endorsement on XII. (Portion of Fig. 13b enlarged).
Fig. 13g. Endorsement on XII. (Portion of Fig. 13b enlarged).
- PLATE XI—Fig. 14a. Parwānāh of Shāh 'Ālam, with the seal of Najaf Khān, Zulfī-qār-ud-daulah (XIII).
Fig. 14b. Endorsements on XIII.
- PLATE XII—Fig. 15a. Parwānāh of Shāh 'Ālam with the seal of Najaf Khān, Zulfī-qār-ud-daulah (XIV).
Fig. 15b. Endorsements on XIV.

Mughal Farmāns, Parwānahs and Sanads issued in favour of the Jesuit Missionaries.

BY THE REV. FATHER FELIX, O.C.

[Paper read on Jan. 18, 1913.]

Historians and annalists, whether Indian or European, have given graphic accounts of every thing which refers to the Mughal Emperors, and their imperial courts in India; but they have said little of the honourable work done by the Jesuit Missions in that realm; and such information as they give is vague and incomplete if not positively inaccurate. The original records are difficult of access, and few even of the histories published by the Jesuits themselves do more than relate in general terms the remarkable incidents which the original *Litteræ Annuæ* set forth. Mr. E. D. Maclagan's interesting article on 'The Jesuit Missions to the Emperor Akbar' published in the Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal (Vol. LXV, 1896, pp. 38-113), is a precious contribution to the true history of the Jesuit Missions and deals with the first part of their labours in the Mughal empire. But the history of Christianity in Northern India during the two centuries following Akbar's death has yet to be written. It is full of strange vicissitudes and curious episodes. Such as the story of John Philip Bourbon of Navarre,¹ a scion of the French royal house, who, it is said, married Lady Juliana, sister of Akbar's Christian wife. The interesting account of Mirzā Zū'l Qarnayn, a noble Armenian, a champion of the Christian religion and the chief supporter of the Jesuit Mission during the reigns of Jahāngīr, Shāh Jahān and Aurangzeb. The fall and capture of Hugli, and the transportation of 4000 Christian prisoners to Agra and what happened to them, one of the saddest stories in the history of India, which has been likened to the Babylonian captivity of the Jews; the cordial relations which existed between Prince Dārā Shikoh and Father Buzeo; the romantic history of Lady Thomazia Martins, who had charge of the royal table and was much liked by Roṣhanārā Begum; and that of Lady Juliana Dias da Costa, who faithfully served Bahādur Shāh during his twelve years' imprisonment. The Jesuit astronomical Mission to the Raja of Jaipūr, Jay Singh II; and so forth.

But let us not anticipate and let us see what the *farmāns* tell us, and I now make a first attempt with faltering hand, because of the magnitude of the task, to draw aside the curtain of oblivion that veils at present the annals of the Jesuit Missions in the Mughal empire. The original *farmāns*, which I have the honour to

¹ He was a member of the younger branch of the family of Henry the Fourth, who was subsequently raised to the throne of France in the year 1589 by right of his mother's marriage with Henri III, King of Navarre.

exhibit, are preserved in the Catholic Mission Archives at Agra. They were graciously lent to me by His Grace Mgr. Gentili, the Archbishop of Agra. I made transcripts and transliterations of them, and have annotated the English translations. They consist of imperial mandates and grants from different Mughal Emperors in favour of the Jesuit Fathers, who during more than two centuries laboured in the Mughal Empire. In 1579, the Fathers were first invited to the Court by Akbar, the greatest of the Mughal Emperors, and at that time the greatest monarch in the world; and they continued to work unostentatiously during the reigns of his successors down to the ill-fated Shāh 'Ālam, in all probability the last of the Timūr family, who sat on the throne of Hindūstān. Confirmations of the same royal grants and imperial deeds by Mahratta chiefs, and even by Lord Lake, complete the collection of these Persian *farmāns*.

It seems advisable to preface my description of the documents with some general remarks as to the nature of *Sanads*, *Parwānahs* and *Farmāns*.

I. *Sanad* (سند). The seal or signature of a judge; a royal ordinance; a patent or any royal deed of appointment under which another acts. According to Abūl-Fazl,¹ "every written statement of accounts is called a *sanad*. It is the voucher which relieves the treasurer of all responsibility, and on which people receive payment of their claims."

II. *Parwānah* (پروانه) means a royal patent or diploma. A grant or letter under the great seal from any man in power. *Parwānah* must not be confounded with a *Parwānchah* "which is a *farmān* written in *Tughhrā* character of which the first two lines are not made short. These are made for the stipulated salaries of the Begums and the princes; for the stipends of people under the care of the *Dīwān-i-Sā'ādat* (minister of the royal palace); the salaries of the Ahadis, Chelahs, and of some officers in the workshops; and for the allowances on account of the food of Bārgīr horses."²

III. *Farmān* (فرمان) is a Persian word derived from فرمان دادن *farmūdan* 'to command,' 'to order,' and when put in the mouth of kings and superiors, it signifies 'to say,' 'to speak': it is cognate with the Sanskrit word प्रमान *pramāna* which means 'authority,' 'attestation,' 'authoritative or scriptural assertion.' Hence the Persian word *farmān* means 'a command, a mandate, a royal patent,' and is the general term applied to royal mandates. According to Gladwin (Ayeen Akbery), it denotes 'a command of the Emperor.' In Bengal the term *farmān* was used for a patent to trade duty-free. It was there applied particularly to the charter which the East India Company of England obtained from the Emperor Farrukhsiyar, to trade duty free in his dominions.⁴ The expression *farmān-i-shāhi* meaning the 'royal mandate' is commonly used in the Persian and Urdu languages, of which the Arabic equivalent is منشور (*manshūr*). A *farmān-i-shāhi* necessarily requires the royal seal and superscription of the king,

¹ Blochmann's, *Ain* Book II, *Ain*, II, pp. 259, 260

² *Ibid.*, p. 263, for Ahadis, *ibid.*, p. 249; *chelahs* or slaves, *ibid.*, p. 253, and Bārgīr, *ibid.*, p. 139.

³ Other words were also used such as *ahkam* 'letters patent'; and the Tartar words *yāsā* and *yarligh*, which mean a diploma or royal mandate, especially of the Khan of the Tartars.

⁴ See H. Beveridge, *Comprehensive History of India*, Vol. I, p. 388.

and is also known under the following various denominations; *farmān-i-‘ālī-shān*, ‘the exalted or the imperial mandate’; *farmān-i-wājibu-l-izān*, ‘orders proper to be submitted to, or to be promulgated’; *farmān-i-wājibu-l-imtiṣāl*, ‘ordinances necessary to be obeyed’; *farmān-i-jalil-‘anwān*, ‘diploma with the illustrious superscription’; *farmān-i-jalilu-l-qadar*, ‘precept of high authority’; *farmān-i-jahān muṭā*, ‘injunction obeyed by all the world’; *farmān-i-qadar-tuwān*, ‘decrees of powerful efficacy’; and *farmān-i-qazā-jarayān*, ‘commands flowing like, or irresistible as, destiny’.¹

The *farmān* usually takes the following form:—

1st. It begins with the holy name of God, such as *Allāhu Akbar*, ‘God [is] greatest.’ These words may mean also *Akbar is God*. There is not the slightest doubt that Akbar² liked the phrase for its ambiguity; for it was used on coins, the imperial seals, the headings of books, *farmāns*, etc.³ Other dedications, however, are also found at the head of *farmāns*, such as: *بسم الله Bismi’llah*, ‘In the name of God,’ which is an ejaculation frequently used by Muḥammadans, especially when going to commence anything. At the beginning of the *sūras* or chapters of the Kor’ān, and indeed at the beginning of almost every Arabic, Persian or Turkish book is the following line:—

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم

‘In the name of God, the merciful, the compassionate.’ Often extending the connecting stroke between ب and س to an uncommon length. Similarly *Bismi’ subhā-nahu wa ta‘āla shānahu*, ‘in the name of Him, who is most holy, high and glorious’,⁴ *هو, hu, huwa*, ‘He, He is,’ a name of God,⁵ and *الله allah* ‘God’⁶ are often written at the top of a letter, etc., where in Europe they used formerly to put the sign of the cross.

2nd. Then according to Abūl Fazl⁷ the *Muhr*⁸ or ‘seal’ of His Majesty is put above the *Tughra* lines on the top of the *farmān* where the princes also put their seals in *Ta’līqahs*.⁹ Under the early Mughals, the great imperial seals were round; under the later Emperors, from the time certainly of Aurangzeb, their imperial character was emphasized by the addition of the umbrella over the great seal. These seals cut in *riq‘ah* characters contain the ruling Emperor’s name and titles in the middle, and in small circles round it the names of his ancestors up to Timūr.

¹ See Duncan’s *Hind.-English Dictionary*, Steingass’s *Persian-English Dictionary* and Richardson’s *Persian Arabic and English Dictionary* under word *farmān*.

² Abūl Fazl, Bloch., p. 52, says, that for certain orders Akbar used a square seal, ‘engraved with the words *Allāhu Akbar, jalla jalāluhu*’; the gold coins of Akbar’s time, viz. the round ‘*āftābī*, the square *La‘i Jalālī*, and the round *Adlgutkah* bear also the above formulas, *ibid.*, pp. 29, 30.

³ Badi’ūni, p. 210, Blochmann’s *Āin*, p. 166, n. 3.

⁴ See below *farmān* of Shih ‘Ālam, No. XII.

⁵ See below *farmān* of Muḥammad Farruḥsiyar, No. XI.

⁶ See below *farmāns* of Asad Khān and Ishlāṣ Khān, Nos. VIII and X.

⁷ Blochmann’s *Āin*, vol. I, p. 264.

⁸ The word *Muhr*, a seal, means also a stamp, and is generally the *signature of a man*. The Europeans sign documents, Orientals stamp their names to them.

⁹ A *Ta’līqah* is an abridgment of a *Yād dāsh* or ‘memorandum’ of the Emperor’s orders and doings, and of whatever the heads of the departments report.

Abūl Fazl gives the following description of Akbar's seals:—"In the beginning of the present reign, Maulānā Maqṣūd, the seal engraver, cut in a circular form upon a surface of steel in the *riq'ah* character, the name of His Majesty and those of his illustrious aucestors up to Timūrlang; and afterwards he cut another similar seal, in the *nasta'liq* character, only with His Majesty's name. For judicial transactions a second kind of seal was made, *mīhrābī* in form, which had the following verse round the name of His Majesty—*Rāstī mūjib i rizā khudāst, kas nadīdam ki gum shud az rah i rāst*.

'Uprightness is the means of pleasing God; I never saw any one lost in the straight road.'

'Tamkin made a new seal of the second kind; and afterwards Maulānā 'Alī Ahmad of Dihli¹ improved both. The round small seal goes by the (chagatāi) name of *Uzūk*,² and is used for *farmān i sabtis*; and the large one, into which he cut the names of the ancestors of His Majesty, was at first only used for letters to foreign kings, but now-a-days for both. For other orders a square seal is used, engraved with the words *Allāhu Akbar, jalla jalāluhu*, whilst another of a peculiar stamp is used for all matters concerned with the seraglio. For the seals attached to *farmāns* another stamp is used of various forms''.³

Edward Terry,⁴ the Chaplain of Sir Thomas Roe, the ambassador to the great Mughal, most inaccurately describes Jahāngīr's great seal, and remarks that 'the impression whereof is not made in any kind of wax, but ink.'⁵ Purchas (Vol. I, p. 591) gives us a fairly faithful drawing of it.

Jahāngīr in his Memoirs⁶ speaks of an *āl tamghā* seal, which is an impressed seal made in vermilion' (i.e. red ink). The Emperor's ancestors and forefathers were in the habit of granting jāgīrs to everyone under proprietary title, and adorned the *farmāns* for these with the *āl tamghā* seal. Jahāngīr 'ordered that they should cover the place for the seal with gold-leaf (*tilāposh*) and impress the seal thereon, and he called this *altūn tamghā*.'⁷

The great seal of Aurangzeb has invocations to God in the four corners⁸ and the one of Ahmad Shāh Durrānī had a peacock engraved on it. The Shāh is styled the *durr-i-Durrānī*, "the Durrānī pearl." Durrānī itself meaning "pearl-wearer," was the name of a tribe of Pathāns, inhabiting the country about Kandahār. They are said to have got this name from wearing pearls in the ear.⁹ They are also called Abdālīs.

¹ Abul Fazl, p. 53 *ibid.* 'unsurpassed as steel engraver.'

² *Auzak* is a Tartar word meaning a ring, i.e. a signet ring. For an impression of this Ūzūk seal of Akbar see first page of a Persian (Steingass, P.E. Dict.) MS. kept in the Lahore Museum labelled 'New Testament pictures as drawn for Akbar.' It has simply the legend '*Akbar Bādshāh*,' and the year.

³ Blochmann's *Āin*, vol. I, p. 52.

⁴ *A Voyage to East India*, London, 1778, p. 347.

⁵ Sealing wax is rarely used in India on account of the hot climate; a tenacious black liquid, or the juice of the 'bhela' or 'bhilawār' nut (*semecarpus anacardium*) is preferred.

⁶ H. Beveridge, *Tuzuk-i-Jahāngiri*, London, 1909, p. 23.

⁷ *Ibid.* *Āl* is vermilion in Turki and *altūn* gold; *tamghā* means the royal insignia, royal diploma or charter.

⁸ See Catalogue of Exhibits Delhi Museum . . . Coronation Darbār, 1911, p. 39, A. 272.

⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 40, A. 275.

The great seal of Shāh (Plate I, Fig. 1) 'Ālam is surmounted with a trefoil or umbrella, in which is inscribed the dedication هو الغالب *Huwa'lghālib* 'He (God) is the victorious.'

The seal comprises 15 rounds or circles, containing the names and titles of Tamerlane and his lineal successors, in Persian words and in the *riq'ah* character. The reigning king's name, titles (*laqab*) and year of accession are put in the middle circle, and the names of his predecessors in the surrounding circles :—

3rd. Under the dedication and to the left of the seal, but above the body of the document came the *Tughrā*, which took the place of the sign manual, or the imperial signature, and contains the full name and titles of the king, written in a fine ornamental hand in the *naskh* character.

4th. Below the *Tughrā* and the seal came the text of the document in *Nasta'liq* (a fine round hand), or *shikastah* (a broken writing), with the date at the end, usually the Persian or Turkish month, and the year of accession of the reigning king.

A marked peculiarity on this point in the imperial *farmāns* is that Akbar and Jahāngir¹ use the *sana ilāhi*, divine year, and the Persian months, while the later Muḥammadan rulers of the Mughal dynasty in India use the *julūs*, the beginning of a reign, the accession to the throne, and the Arabic months.²

The practice of issuing *farmāns* appears to have been very old and the collection exhibited on the occasion of the anniversary of the Nadwatu-l'Ulamā of Lucknow in 1908 contained a few Hindi *farmāns* about thirteen hundred years old.³

It is worthy of note that those old *farmāns* are found in fairly good condition. The paper was durable and the beauty of the writing and the ink which gives light to the eyes, and looks as fresh as when it was first used, helps us to understand the civilization of those days. The Eastern nations are very particular about their paper, both in their books and in their letters; the most scrupulous etiquette is observed, when addressing great men, to send them precisely that sort of paper which custom has annexed to their rank. To the king, the ground upon which they write is gold; to sūbahs and feudatory princes, it is generally ornamented with flowers of gold and other decorations; descending thus, through inferior ranks, with a variety of gradations, both in quality and size, till it becomes either quite plain, or is powdered slightly with gold dust. A great man may be flattered by sending him a paper superior to his dignity, but to err in the other extreme is considered as an insult which he will not easily forgive.

"On the reverse of a *farmān*, *parwānah* or *sanād*, we find extracts from the State records, relating to the patent or grant; notes regarding the checking of the *farmān*, the filing of copies in the different departments concerned, etc.; and the

¹ Akbar never used the word *julūs*, but began to use the *Ilāhi* year in the 30th year of his reign on his coins and *farmāns*. This word *julūs* began to be used by Jahāngir on his coins (see Marsden, pl. XL and XLI). Chas. J. Rodgers' 'Couplets or Baits' on coins of Nūru-d-dīn Jahāngir, son of Akbar in J.A.S.B. 1888, No. 1, p. 18 *et seq.*

² Francis Gladwin's *Ayeen Akbery*, or the Institutes of the Emperor Akbar, London, 1800, vol. I, p. iii, pp. 275-6, and Col. H. S. Jarrett's *Āin-i Akbari*, Calcutta, 1891, vol. II, p. 30.

³ See "The Wakil of Amritsar," 16th June 1906, and also the "*Nadwah*," a monthly Magazine edited by Maulvi Shibli Numāni of the Nadwatu-l'Ulamā, published at Lucknow.

seals of officials who dealt with the case. Finally, there is the order for the affixing of the great seal, and a note of the date on which the seal was affixed.

During the palmy days of the Mughal empire, and for some time after decay had set in, these entries are generally very full, and they show the elaborate system of check and registration which was observed so long as the empire was a reality. Under the last Emperors, these business-like endorsements as a rule disappear, and the *farmān* itself, which was formerly written on plain paper, develops into a gorgeous illuminated document, whose imperial character is emphasized by the addition of the umbrella over the great seal.''¹

Abūl Fazl² tells us that though a trace of a record office may have existed in ancient times, its higher objects were but recognized in the present reign. Akbar appointed for this office fourteen zealous, experienced, and impartial clerks, whose duty it was to write down minutely all the orders and all the acts and doings of His Majesty and whatsoever the heads of the departments report.

Each transaction of the Government was written down by the officer in a legible hand-writing upon loose pages and leaves, so that the transaction could not be forgotten. These loose sheets, into which all *sanads* are entered, are called *Daftar*.

Abul Fazl gives many interesting details of the manner in which the Mughal records were kept and of the procedure followed in regard to official documents. They will be found in Blochmann's translation of the *Āin-i-Akbari*, I, pp. 258-270.

The *daftar* (Record office) was divided into three general parts:—I, the office of public revenue (*abwāb-ul-māl*); II, of household accounts (*arbāb uttahāwīl*); and III, of all entries referring to the pay of the army (*tanjih*). Each of these general *daftars* was divided into two chief branches, the *سياق* [*siyāq*] and *سباق* [*sabāq*], the one containing the correspondence and the other the accounts just as in English offices; and the checking and auditing connected with these accounts was called *جائزہ*. Each of these chief branches under a superintendent was again subdivided into several branch offices under the care of a sub-bakhshī; so that all the orders of the Emperor having been written down in the general *daftar*, an abridgment (*ta'līqah*) of them was made, and sent to the bakhshī general of each office concerned, who kept it in his office and in its stead forwarded a *sarkhatt* to the sub-bakhshīs who entered these in their respective offices, each being carefully distinguished by particular marks.

These sub-bakhshīs having taken the *sarkhatt*, had copies of *farmāns* and *parwānahs* made out according to the order, and on the reverse of these entries were written the different *daftars* through which they had to pass again. These entries stated the date, month and year of the sovereign's reign, on which they had been received in the office. They were checked by the superintendent, who appended to the left of or underneath the endorsement, his signature, which consisted generally of one of the letters of the Persian or Arabic alphabet, and indicated the number of the register.

If we now consider that even in the days of the Mughal kings it was a difficult task to decipher these hieroglyphic entries of the *فرمان نویسی farmān nawīsi*, not

¹ 'Delhi Museum. . . Coronation Darbar, 1911,' p. 37.

² See Blochmann's *Āin*, vol. I, pp. 253-9.

only because the best calligraphists were selected for this work, and that this work was being carried on as hereditary, but particularly because the initiated only knew the procedure, no one will wonder that in our present days very few even of the Indians themselves are able to read and explain them. I believe, however, my readings of the endorsements on the *farmāns* and *parwānahs* to be correct and may afford a small help to those who wish to further the study of the *salāṭīn Muḡhaliyah ki daftaron ki taḥqūq*.¹

I will now try to explain the meaning of the peculiar marks which are found with the endorsements, and of the particular letters used by the superintendents who checked the deeds.

In the Sandās poems we read the following verse:—

عرضي يه هوا ميم سياهي يه هوا جيم

'Arzi yih hua mīm, siyāhī yih hūā jīm

م mīm on the *farmāns* may mean مُحَقَّق *muḥaqqaq* 'confirmed, authenticated, certified' or more probably مَنْظُر *manẓūr* 'sanctioned or approved.'. Khan Bahadur Nasir Ali says that م mīm denotes also the date on which the seal was affixed.

ج jīm on the *farmāns* may mean جَبَّت *jabat* 'being ratified,' جَرِيدَة شد 'was despatched'; or جَايِرَة شد 'was checked.'

ح ḥā on the *farmāns* stands for حَاصِل آمَدَة شد 'was produced'; or حَامِل كَرْدَة شد 'was entered in the register.'

د on *farmāns* stands for دَادَة *dādah* 'delivered'; or دِيدَة *dīdah* 'seen'; or دَاخِل شد *dakhil shud* 'was entered.'

ص ṣād is an abbreviation for سِدْق *sidq*, truth, or some mysterious word. صَاد كَرْدَن *ṣād kardan*, to inscribe an account with the letter ص *ṣād*, implying that it has been audited (*Burhān-i-Qatī*, in Richardson's *P.A.E. Dictionary*).

ط stands for طَرَف *ṭaraf* 'end.'

ظ stands for ظَاهِر *ẓāhir*, 'apparent.'

The signs ۛ ۛ ۛ ۛ mean فَاقَت *faqat* 'enough', 'full stop': that nothing may be added afterwards.

ن and ر mean that it has been noted.

No. I. (Plate I, Fig. 2).

FARMĀN OF AKBAR, 42ND YEAR OF HIS REIGN.

This *farmān-i-sabti*² from Emperor Akbar in favour of the Jesuit Missionaries of the Kambāyat (Cambay) town allowing them to erect a Church and ordering the administrative authorities of that place not to stand in their way. It is 11" × 8½" and consists of six lines. The first in *Tughra* and the five others in the *Shikastahs*

¹ Cf. *Sala-i-ām*, Delhi, a monthly magazine, vols. V, No. 11; VI, Nos. 1 and 2.

² Abul Fazl (Blochmann I, p. 260) mentions three classes of *farmān-iḡ-sabti*, of which the third contains 'grants for beneficent purposes'

characters of a beautiful style. It is illuminated and decorated with the emblems of peace, wealth, and prosperity, plants and ears of corn with flowers of red, yellow and blue, representations of peacocks and other birds in gold. On the right side of the *farmān* we see the impression of the large round imperial seal (of a turnip shape) with a decorative border of conventional flowers. The impression is damaged but shows a seal of the usual form, with the Emperor's name in the middle and around it the names of his ancestors up to Timur. The date in the sixth line is the 25th of *Farwardīn* and the year is the 42nd of Akbar's reign and the *ilāhi* year 42. The original *farmān* has been mounted on paper to preserve it from further damage.

In December 1533 Bahādur Shāh, King of Gujarāt, made an alliance with the Portuguese; ceded to them Bassein, and the long coveted Diu. Bahādur Shāh took Portuguese into his pay, and in his contests with Humāyūn (1532) was latterly assisted by a corps of 450 Europeans.¹ In 1572-73, Akbar subjugated Gujarāt, and re-annexed it to the Empire.²

The Jesuit historian Du Jarrie³ tells us that when in 1594 the third Jesuit Mission under the guidance of Father Jerome Xavier went to Lahore, they passed on their way through the city of Cambay. Here they were most heartily received by the Portuguese residents, who numbered about one hundred families. As the feast of the Nativity of our Lord was near, the Fathers decided to stay and to celebrate the Christmas festivities in this place. They wished to give the Christians an opportunity of fulfilling their religious duties, and the natives a deep impression of the splendour of the Christian religious ceremonies. For this purpose and with this design they fitted up suitably a large room of their house as a chapel. Not only did the Portuguese and the poor common people show their eagerness to attend the services held by the Fathers, but even the most respectable persons of the town, heathen and Muhammadan, ardently desired to witness them. The Governor himself, on hearing of it, asked the Fathers leave to be present at the divine services.

In a letter despatched by Father Pinheiro from Cambay⁴ addressed to the authorities at Goa, he describes the kind and good dispositions of the inhabitants of that country, to receive the word of God, and of His holy religion. From these and other things which he saw, he concluded that the people of the kingdom of Gujarāt were naturally inclined to piety and devotion, and if they were instructed by the preaching of the Gospel, and moved by divine grace, there was great hope of a plentiful harvest. He particularly remarks as their distinctive qualities, a generous and charitable character, and a great desire for their salvation.

During the three weeks the Fathers remained at Cambay, the inhabitants showed

¹ Meadows Taylor, *Manual of the History of India*, London, 1870, pp. 282, 293.

² W. W. Hunter, *Indian Empire*, 2nd Edit., London, 1890, p. 290.

³ 'Histoire des choses plus mémorables advenues tant es Indes Orientales que autres pays de la découverte des Portugais, etc., par le P. Pierre du Jarrie, Tolosain, de la Mème Compagnie. A Bordeaux, 1608 in 4° second part (or 2nd vol.) bearing the same title as the first, Bordeaux, 1610. Third part from 'l'an 1600 jusqu'à 1610.' Bordeaux, 1614—Liv. ii, f. 474 and sqq.

⁴ See 'Nova Relatio Historica de rebus in Indie Orientalia Patribus Jesu anno 1598 and 99 gestis.' A.R.P. Nicolao Pimenta etc Moguntiae MDCL—'Exemplum Epistolae a P. Nicolao Pimentae anno 1600, datae, Romae, Zaunetti, 1602, p. 11.—E. D. MacLagan, *op. cit.*, pp. 65, 66.—Du Jarrie, *op. cit.*, 2 de partie, Liv. iii, chap. xiii, p. 464.

them so many tokens of benevolence and kindness, that they felt as though they were among Christians; even among the most devout of Europe. A kind and rich Portuguese merchant promised to pay all the expenses if some of the Fathers would come there, and the Baniyans undertook to provide them with all that was necessary for their subsistence.¹

When Jerome Xavier and his party had arrived at Lahore, he one day asked the Emperor to allow the Fathers of the Society to preach openly the Christian faith in the kingdom of Gujarāt and his subjects to embrace it unmolested. The Emperor readily acquiesced in his demand, and ordered the following *farmān* to be written to that effect, but only as Father Jerome tells us "after much vacillation and much obstruction from our opponents."² When the Jesuit authorities at Goa got intelligence of these glad tidings, they at once fitted up a special mission, and selected Fathers Anthony Machado and Peter Paez (Paiz) to work it. The Archbishop of Goa gave them ample powers and facilities to favour the conversion of this benevolent people. But sudden and unforeseen difficulties came in the way, and the mission did not start. Du Jarric,³ however, gives us an insight into the reasons which prevented the dispatch of this mission. "The enemy of our salvation," he says, "had put every possible obstacle in the way, using as his very instruments those who had come forward and promoted the success of this holy and profitable enterprise. Now that the cause of the opposition had been removed, Father Gaspar, the Superior of the Jesuit residence at Dīu, resolved to make a journey in the neighbourhood of Cambay to discover the disposition of this people and their leanings towards Christianity." He embarked on a galliot accompanied by twelve soldiers, paid by some of his friends to protect him against pirates and thieves at sea. He safely landed on the coast, where he found a carriage in readiness, sent by a rich baniyan of Cambay, who had previously been informed of the Father's coming, to convey him to the town. The baniyans received him courteously and offered him a commodious house for his dwelling. The Father converted one large room of his house into a chapel, erected an altar herein, and said the first Mass on Holy Thursday. There were about 80 Portuguese families in this city. From here Gaspar went to Surat, where he fell ill, and after some days returned to Cambay. Du Jarric also says that the *Khān-khānān*⁴ wished to see the Father, but that the latter was prevented from seeing him, as he had previously arranged to return to Goa.

Du Jarric⁵ gives two letters of this Prince, whom he calls Xanacane, the one addressed to the Provincial and the other to Father Soarez. The letter of the *Khān-khānān* to the Provincial ends with the date 'faicte le 3 d'un tel mois, et du règne d'Ackbar l'an 50' (written on the 3rd of such a month ? in the 50th year of Akbar's accession). This places the visit of Father Gaspar Soarez in the year 1605 A.D.

¹ Nova Relatio, p. 5.

² E. D. Maclagan, J.A.S.B. 1896, p. 77.

³ *op. cit.* Liv. v. chap. xxx, p. 221—*Nova Relatio*, p. 7.

⁴ *Khān-khānān*, whose real name was 'Abdu-r-Rahīm, son of Bairām.

⁵ *op. cit.* 3^e partie, Liv. v, pp. 224-225.

No. I. (Plate I, Fig. 2).

TRANSCRIPT.

[مہر] جلال الدین محمد اکبر بادشاہ غازی

ابن سلطان ابو سعید - ابن سلطان مرزا - ابن میران شاہ - ابن تیمور مرزا صاحب قرآن .

[طہرا] فرمان جلال الدین محمد اکبر بادشاہ غازی

چون بعرض اشرف اقدس رسید. کہ پادریان کذیسہ انیسہ خی سوس میخواستند کہ در شہر کمبایت عبادت خانہ را بجا سازند بنا برآن / فرمان عالی شان واجب الاذعان شرف صدور و عز ورود یافت کہ حاکم شہر کمبایت ہرگز مانع نیاید و مژارد کہ [۱] ساس آرا نہادہ ہمہن طایفہ بعبادت خود مشغول باشند می باید کہ [بہر] جہت این حکم جہان مطاع را لازم شناسند

التاریخ آزاد ۲۵ روز ماہ فروردین الہی سنہ ۴۲

کافی^۱

Translation.

[Tughrā] Royal Mandate from Jalālu-d-Din² Muḥammad Akbar, the King, the Hero.³

Whereas it reached our eminent and holy notice, that the Padris of the Holy Society of Jesus wish to build a house of prayer (church) in the city of Cambay⁴; therefore an exalted royal mandate proper to be submitted to, has received the dignity of appearing and the honour of being issued, to the effect that the dignitaries of the city of Cambay should in no case stand in their way but should allow them to build

¹ The peculiar mark at the bottom of the *farmān* can be read لکافی 'alkāfi' or simply 'kāfi' = 'sufficient.' The purpose of this mark is doubtful.

² Jalālu-d-Dīn (glory of religion) is the name of a celebrated King of Persia, from whom the new era called جلالی *Jalālī* takes its name. Akbar was born on the fifth of Rajab 949 A.H., a Sunday, which corresponds to the 15th October, A.D. 1542. He ascended the throne in 963 A.H. (A.D. 1556), and took the name of Abul Faṭḥ Jalālu-d-Dīn Muḥammad Akbar, Pādīshāh i Ghāzi. See Badaūn, II, p. 270 to 272 in Blochmann's *Āin-i-Akbarī*, Vol. I, p. 186.

³ Ghāzi means 'a hero, a champion,' especially one who fights against infidels. See Wilson's Glossary. Friedrich August Graf von Noer in his work 'Kaiser Akbar' translated by S. Beveridge, Vol. I, p. 76, says: that when "Hemū was defeated, and sorely wounded, and was brought into the presence of Akbar who had joined Bairām Khān after the battle, the latter asked the Emperor to strike off the prisoner's head and thus, by slaying an infidel, win for himself the coveted title of Ghāzi, but the generous boy could not bring himself to kill a fallen and captive foe. To end the delay and to accustom his young sovereign to the sight of blood, Bairām himself struck off Hemū's head." Ahmad Yādgar says, at the end of his *Tārīkh-i Salṭanat-i Afghānā*, that Akbar himself severed Hemū's head from his "unclean body." Opposed to this are the statements of Badaūnī, Abul Fazl, Faizi, and Abdullah (*Tārīkh-i-Diūd*), who unanimously testify that Akbar hesitated to kill a defenceless enemy, whereupon Bairām Khān struck off the head of the captive. Elliot, V. 66 and 253. H. Beveridge, *Tuzuk-i-Jahāngīrī*, London, 1909, p. 40, says that Akbar "not defiling his hand with his (Hemū's) blood, he told one of his servants to cut off his head."

⁴ Now Feudatory State in the province of Gujarat, Bombay. Port and chief town of the above state; situated on the northern bank of the Mahi. Once a wealthy town, its decline is due to the silting up of the Gulf of Cambay. Much frequented by Arab traders in ancient times.

a church so that they may engage themselves in their own worship. It is necessary that the order of the Emperor should be obeyed in every way. Written on the 25th day of the month of Farwardīn¹ year 42² of the Ilāhi era.

No. II. (Plate II, Fig. 3).

FARMĀN OF JAHĀNGĪR. 4TH YEAR OF HIS REIGN.

The next in point of time is a farmān of the fourth year of Jahāngīr's reign (1609-10), granting 6 bigahs of land at Agra for use as a cemetery and a garden, free from all taxes. The farmān which is very much damaged by insects measures 25" × 8", and bears the imperial *tughra* in red ink. The body of the farmān consists of ten lines in *nastaliq*. On the reverse of this farmān are two extracts from the State records; the one in Persian, and the other in Mahratti; five filings of copies in different departments concerned, and three seals of officials who dealt with the case, but they are unfortunately all so disfigured that they cannot be read. The sole entry legible is as follows: *Ba tārikh 17 Māh Dai Ilāhi 4 ba daftar muhāsib nawishtah shud*. (Entered in the office of the Examiner of Accounts, the 17th day of the month Dai in the fourth year of the Emperor's reign). This Agra cemetery which is the earliest Christian graveyard in Northern India, known as the 'old Roman Catholic cemetery,' adjoining the Civil Courts on the West, is situated in the village of Lashkarpur. The history of the origin of this cemetery has always been very obscure. Führer states that it 'dates from the time of the Emperor Akbar Shāh'³ and Mr. Fanthome erroneously says that it 'was granted by Akbar about the end of the sixteenth century of our Lord, during the incumbency of one Father Joseph, or "Yusuf," and as mentioned in the grant.'⁴ But the original farmān of Jahāngīr removes all doubts and conjectures on this point.

The readings of the epitaphs on the tombs in this cemetery which are still legible show that Agra from 1611 to 1800 was a cosmopolitan rendezvous, and that its European history, which dates nearly as far back as its Muhammadan history, is as romantic as that of any great city in the world. We find there Europeans of all nations, English, French, Portuguese, Italian, German, Flemish, and even Swiss. Who were these people? How did they come here? What did they do? In it lie buried in the famous 'Santus,' also called the 'Martyrs' Chapel', the remains of the early Catholic Missionaries whose diversity of names explains their different nationality. Here lies a Chinese convert near a Zoroastrian who has confessed the name of Christ, there a fair soldier from the green island near a dark native Christian; a

¹ *Farwardīn* (March) is the Persian name for the first month of the year, corresponding to the Hindu *Chet*. *Farwardīn*, so named from an angel whom they suppose to be the *قائم*, or treasurer of Paradise, and to have the particular care of the souls of the blessed. On the first of this month, called *نوروز* *Nau roz*, or new (year's) day, began the principal festival among the Persians, which continued for six days. The origin of this festival is referred to *Jamshēd*, who then made his first public entry into *Istakhr* (Persepolis), which he had just finished; and, amongst other regulations, ordered that the Persian era should commence from that day.

² The 42nd year of Akbar's reign corresponds with A.D. 1598.

³ *List of Christian Tombs and Monuments*. . . . N.W.P. and Oudh, Allahabad, 1896, p. 30, note.

⁴ *Reminiscences of Agra*, Calcutta, 1895, 2nd Edit., p. 65.

German adventurer at the side of a French Chevalier, an Armenian merchant next to an Italian artisan. Here lie buried men of all trades and professions, Yeronimo Veroneo, the reputed designer of the Taj, the Venetian lapidary Hortenzio Bronzoni; Bernardino Mafei, the esteemed physician at the Mughal Court; scientists, such as Roa, Gabelsperger, Strobl; travellers and geographers, such as Dorville, Tieffentaller and Wendell; diplomats like Mildenhall of spurious fame and Lord Bellomont; famous men known to history, like Colonel John Hessian, Walter Reinhardt and others. In short, the adventures of Armenians who it is said traded in India as early as A.D. 780; the history of John Philip Bourbon de Navarre, a scion of the French royal house; the Jesuit Missions to Akbar, and the dallings of that Prince and his successors with Christianity; the trade missions and trade rivalries of Portuguese, English, Dutch and French; the story of Dona Juliana Dias da Costa; the tales of military adventures of all ranks and nationalities—such are the bypaths of history that the Agra cemetery offers for exploration to the inquisitive historian.¹

No. II. (Plate II, Fig. 3).

TRANSCRIPT.²

[طغرا] فرمان ابوالمظفر نورالدین محمد جهانگیر بادشاه غازی

[درینوقت] قوت فرمان عالیشان مرحمت عفوان شرف صدر و عز و درد / یافت که موازی شش بیدیه زمین
از آنجمله سه بیدیه از موضع / آگره برائے خریف تخاوی نیل در وجه انعام فرنگیان بجهت باغ و گورستان مقرر
و مقوض باشد / [می باید که] جاگیر داران و کردریان حال و استقبال در استمرار و استقرار این حکم اقدس اعلی
[کار بسته] بنصرف ایشان باز گذاشته اصلاً تغییر و تبدیل [بدان راه ندهند] / [و بعلمت مال و جهات
و اخراجات مثل قفاغه] و پیشکش و [جریبانه] و ضابطانه و مهرانه و داروغخانه و محصلانه / [و صد دوی] [و
قانونگویی و ضبط] [هر ساله تشخیص] ³ و تکرار زراعت و کل تکالیف دیوانی [مراحمته نرسانند]
و مطالبی نکند و از جمیع وجوہات معاف و مسلم / [شمارند و درین باب] هر ساله فرمان و پروانچه
مجدد [نطلبند و اگر] در محلی دیگر زمین داشته [باشند آنرا اعتبار نکند] در عهده داند تحریر فی الدارین

۲ ماه آبان سنه ۴ *

Translation.

[Tughra] *Farmān* of Abu-l Muẓaffar Nūru-d-Dīn Muḥammad Jahāngīr, the King, the Hero.

Now a glorious and merciful mandate has received the honour of being issued

¹ See E. A. H. Blunt, *List of Inscriptions on Christian Tombs, etc. U.P. of Agra and Oudh*, Allahabad, 1911, pp. 27-54.

² The round seal is modern. The minute Persian writing to the left of the Tughra with what appear to be English initials below it seem to show that the *farmān* was produced in some suit in Court. The last words are 'vakil mudd'a 'alaihā.'

³ These words are suggested on the basis of a *farmān* of 'Alamgir, dated the 22nd Rajatril-Murajjab (43rd year of his reign), preserved in the Persian Office of the Panjab Civil Secretariat.

and the glory of being published, to the effect that out of [a piece] of land [measuring] six bigahs, three bigahs from the Mauza of Agra, for the autumn harvest of the year Takhāquyil (the year of the cock)¹ in the way of in'am (gratuity)² to the *Farangis*³ (Europeans) for purposes of a garden and cemetery should be sanctioned and delivered over to them. The *Jāgirdārs* and the *Karoris* (tax-gatherers) of the present and future in preservation and confirmation of this holy and exalted order.....having left (the land) in their possession [should never make] any change or alteration to it [and they should not burden them with expenses like] *peshkash*⁴ or *jaribāna*,⁵ or *zābitāna*⁶ or *mahrāna*,⁷ or *daroghāna*⁸ or *muḥassilāna*,⁹.....or *qānūngoi*¹⁰ or [ordinance against *nizā*] and *takrār-i-zira'at* and all fiscal exactionsand they should make no demand and should regard them as freed and exempted in every way. [They should not require] every year a fresh *farmān* and *parwānchah*.....they [the authorities] should know it as their duty.

[Written on] the 2nd of the month of Abān¹¹ [in the] IVth year [of the Emperor's reign].

Nos. III AND IV.

The next two *Farmāns* of Jahāngīr throw light on the fortune of the Christians at Aḥmadābād; the one (No. III measuring 3' × 15½") gave permission for the building of a church there—(Plate II, Fig. 4a); while the other (No. IV, 27" × 15") directed the local authorities to turn some Englishmen out of the Padri's lodgings, and to provide other quarters for them—(Plate III, Fig. 5a).

They both bear the dedication *Allāhu Akbar*, the great round imperial seal of

¹ This is the tenth year of the 12-year cycle known as the Aighūr Era. See Jarrett's *Āin-i-Akbari*, Vol. II, pp. 20-21.

² See Blochmann's *Āin*. Tomb. I, p. 268 *et seq.* Abul Fazl uses the Chagatāi word *sayūrgḥāl* which means 'assistance of livelihood', and like its equivalent *milk*, *in'am*, or property, it denotes lands given for benevolent purposes. Such lands were hereditary, and differ for this reason from *jāgīr* or *tuyūl* lands, which were conferred for a specified time, on mansabdārs in lieu of salary.

³ *Farangi* or *Firingi* (Persian) *Al Faranj*, *İfrangi*, *Firanji*, i.e. a Frank. This term for a European is very old in Asia, but when now employed by natives in India is either applied (especially in the South) specifically to the Indian-born Portuguese, or when used more generally for "European," implies something of hostility or disparagement. In South India the Tamil *Parangni*, the Singhalese *Parangi*, mean only "Portuguese." H. Yule's *Hobson Jobson*.

⁴ *Peshkash*, a magnificent present such as is only presented to princes, great men, superiors, or sometimes to equals, particularly on receiving a great appointment.

⁵ *Jaribāna* is a rate imposed on the inhabitants of a district defraying the charges of measurement. See Steingass's *Persian-English Dictionary*, p. 361.

⁶ *Zābitāna*, a fee exacted by the Police officers.

⁷ *Mahrāna*, a fee exacted by the Qazi from the Muḥammadans at weddings. (Steingass's *P.E. Dicty.*, 1354.)

⁸ Fees of a darogha who was magistrate of a town or village. See Burhan (*Tatimmah*, p. 40).

⁹ *Muḥassilāna*=fees of the bailiff, or tax-gatherer.

¹⁰ *Qanungoi* is the office of a *qanungo* in India, who is an officer whose duty it is to register and expound the laws of the empire. An officer in each district acquainted with the customs, and the nature of the tenures of the land.

¹¹ Abān (October) is the Persian name of the eighth lunar month corresponding with the Hindu *Kātik*. This angel was reckoned subordinate to *Kb'urdād*, and presided over iron. The tenth being his name-day, was distinguished also as the anniversary of the expulsion of *Afrāsiyāb*, King of Tartary, or *Tūrān*, who had held Persia in subjection for twelve years, and also for a great rain which, by tradition, fell on this day, after a seven years' drought and famine. This month, in old times, having been the last of the year, they annexed to it the five supplementary days. On this occasion they held a continued festival for eleven days, which began on the 26th, included those days, and ended on the first of the subsequent month *Āsur*.

His Majesty, and the *tughra* in red or vermilion. They have no entries on the reverse, but simply the following brief endorsements at the bottom:—

برسالة كمتربين مريدان باخلاص اعتماد الدولة و نوبت¹ واقعة بنده درگاه محمد حسين شكر الله

III—(Plate II, Fig. 4b).

Endorsement of the least among the faithful servants, trustee of the Empire, and during the period of Muḥammad Ḥusain Shukrullāh's diary duty.

برسالة مخلص تربين بندهای درگاه اعتماد الدولة و نوبت واقعة بدیع الزمان

IV—(Plate III, Fig. 5b).
Endorsement of the most faithful servant of the court, the trustee of the Empire and during the period of Badi'uzamān's diary-duty.

The small seal next to it is illegible.

Since Vasco da Gama cast anchor off the city of Calicut on the 20th May, 1498, the Portuguese had made themselves masters of the Indian Ocean. They never aspired to be more than a maritime power in India, and this continued only so long as they preserved a monopoly. The Dutch were the first European nation who broke through the Portuguese monopoly in the East. In the year 1595, the Dutch, their first rivals, sent two ships to the Indian Archipelago, which were, however, intercepted on their return in 1597. They were followed by a fleet of eight ships which returned to Holland safely, and henceforth the maritime supremacy of the Portuguese was not only disputed, but afterwards destroyed in the East by the Dutch and the English. The first English ship which reached Surat in India was the "Hector" under the command of Captain Hawkins in 1608. Middleton followed in 1610; and in 1612, the Company's fleet, under Captain Best, reached the port of Surat, where it was attacked by an overwhelming force of Portuguese. But the assailants were utterly defeated in four engagements.² In the year 1613, the Emperor Jahāngīr, on the representations of the authorities at Surat and Ahmadabad, conferred privileges of trade upon the English, and granted permission for the establishment of four factories, at Surat, Cambay, Gāya and Ahmadabad.³ He also invited an ambassador from the English court, and Sir Thomas Roe was despatched by King James I to Jahāngīr's court in 1615. Roe was a far greater man than Hawkins; he was a Lord ambassador, and had a Secretary, a chaplain, and a retinue. Roe's negotiations, as well as those of Captain Hawkins, proved a failure throughout. He wanted too much from the Padishāh.⁴

Meanwhile in 1607 Jahāngīr had determined to send a solemn embassy to the

¹ For a complete description of واقعة نوبتي see Ain-i-Akbari, Calcutta edition, pp. 192-193.

² For an account of the engagement, see *Bombay Gazetteer*, Surat and Broach, vol. ii, pp. 77, 78 (Bombay Government Press, 1877). The date there given is 1615, but this must be a mistake.

³ See W. Noel Sainsbury, *Calendar of State Papers* (1513-1516), London, 1862, p. 251, No. 640. Letter Thomas Kerridge to the E. I. Co., dated Surat, March 12th, 1613, and p. 327, No. 773 and fig.

⁴ In 1599, Queen Elizabeth sent Sir John Mildenhall by Constantinople to the great Mughal to apply for privileges for an English Company. (Hunter's *Indian Empire*, London, 1890, 2nd Ed., p. 364). He died in Ajmir and was buried in Agra. The tombstone has the following inscription: 'Joa de Mendenal, Ingles, morreo aos 1 (. .) de Junho de 1614.' It is the oldest English tomb in the Province, and in all probability in India. See E. A. H. Blunt, *List of Inscriptions*, etc. Agra and Oudh, Allahabad 1911, pp. 39-41.—J. Talboys Wheeler, *A Short History of India*, London, 1894, pp. 143, 146.

King of Spain with rich presents valued, it is said, at 200,000 gold coins, and another to the Sovereign Pontiff. The grandees at the court for certain political reasons dissuaded the Emperor and advised him rather to send an ambassador to the Portuguese Viceroy at Goa. Muqarrab Khān, the great captain of the port of Cambay, was selected for this important mission, and Jahāngir asked Father Jerome to let Emmanuel Pinheiro accompany his ambassador. They took their departure from Lahore on 13th September, 1607, and reached Cambay in April, 1608. Here Muqarrab Khan, on hearing that the new Viceroy, Count de Faria, had not yet arrived at Goa, waited at Cambay. Father Pinheiro meanwhile occupied himself with the ordinary duties of his ministry, instructing the Portuguese and Armenian Christians who lived in the city. At that time arrived the picture of the adoration of the Magi, which Father John Alvarez had sent from Rome to the King of Mogor, and as it was a rare masterpiece, Pinheiro exposed it to the public on an altar in the church, beautifully ornamented. Suddenly the news of it spread through the city and the concourse of the people who came to venerate it during the 13 days it remained exposed, exceeded 1300. The Nawab Muqarrab Khān came in person to see it.¹ During their stay at Cambay they met Captain Hawkins at Surat, who was on his way to the Mughal court. During this time also one of Muqarrab Khan's sons fell ill.² Father Pinheiro was called for.

He read over the child the Gospel of St. Mark, touched him with holy relics, and obtained his cure. At this wonderful recovery Muqarrab Khān³ made a vow to have the boy baptized and Father Pinheiro christened him. After nine months' stay at Cambay Father Pinheiro left for Goa, where he remained for the greater part of the winter. Father Pinheiro was sent to Cambay in June 1609 as ambassador of the Portuguese Viceroy of India, on a special Mission to Muqarrab Khān. We find him at Surat in the beginning of October and back again in Goa on November 25th, 1609. Muqarrab Khān, who had remained in Gujarat all this time, was called to Agra, to wait on the Emperor, at the end of September 1609. Thrown into prison, liberated, reinstated, he was soon after sent to Goa as ambassador of the great Mughal. He (Muqarrab Khān) was baptized by Father Nicholas Pimenta, and we find him back again at

¹ Jahāngir in his *Tūzūk-i-Jahāngirī* makes mention of this picture and says that on the 16th Muharram, 1017 (2nd May, 1608), 'Muqarrab Khān sent from the port of Cambay a European curtain (tapestry), the like of which in beauty no other work of the Frank painters had ever been seen.' See H. Beveridge, *Memoirs of Jahāngir*, London, 1909, p. 144.

² Blochmann, pp. 534-4, Nos. 94, 95. 'Muqarrab's adopted son was Māsiha-i- Kairānawī. His real name was Sa'dullah. He was a poet, and composed an epic on the story of S tā, Rāmachandra's wife. In the Jesuit annual letters from Goa and Cochin [1621] (*Bombay Cath. Examiner*, March 23rd, 1912) reference is made to this episode: 'One of them, his father's [Muqarrab's] pet, had been baptized during an illness at Gaore [Gaya, in Gujarāt] by Father Mansel Pinono [Pinheiro]; but he has since had himself circumcised and now he is so much devoted to the sect of Maomet that he outstrips all the rest, and carries the Alcoran round his neck.'

³ Shaikh Hasan or Hassu, a favourite physician of Akbar's, who under Jahāngir rose to great honours, and received the title of Muqarrab Khān, and was appointed Governor of Gujarāt, in which capacity he came in contact with the English at Surat. Cf. Blochmann's *Āin*, I, 543, No. 94. "From the days of his childhood to this day he has always been in my service and in attendance on me, and when I was prince, was distinguished by the title of Muqarrab Khān. . . . He is skilful with the arrow and the gun, and in surgery is the most skilful of his time. His ancestors also had been well practiced in this profession." *Tuzuk-i-Jahāngirī*, Edit. Beveridge, pp. 27, 28.

Surat by the time Middleton's ships arrived there. The English, however, could do but little business at Surat. The Portuguese thwarted them in every way; bribed the Mughal Governor at Surat to prevent the English from buying cargoes; jeered at James I. as a king of fishermen, and scoffed at Great Britain as a contemptible island. The result was that for years the English and Portuguese were natural enemies, and fought one another to death whenever their ships met on the high seas. During these early rivalries between English and Portuguese, the Governor of Goa, who pleaded monopoly of trade, recognized by the West Indian authorities as superior to any pretensions on the part of the English, despatched Father Pinheiro, as his plenipotentiary envoy, to Cambay, with powers to conclude peace or war with the Mughals. Father Pinheiro managed so well that peace was concluded.

From the Jesuit records it appears also that in 1612 Abdelcan¹ [possibly Abdullah Khān Firūz-Jang], though a Muḥammadan, who was in command of the Gujarāt army, invited the Jesuits to come and stay with him at Ahmadābād; and the Goa authorities sent to him in 1612 Father Anthony de Andrada,² who later became Superior of the Mughal Mission, and who in 1625 laid the foundations of a Jesuit Mission at Chaprong in the Gartok district of Western Tibet. About 1650, a political revolution obliged the missionaries to abandon this field.

In the same year 1612 was sent to Surat Father Sebastian Barreto³ to become chaplain to the Mughal ambassador Muqarrab Khān, who had been baptized at Goa, under the Christian name of John, and who was now Governor at Surat. Shortly after Barreto's arrival at Surat another Father, Francis da Piedade, was sent to him as companion.

From the 'Calendar of State Papers'⁴ it appears that, in 1613, the Portuguese had seized a ship of 1100 or 1200 tons in the Swally near Surat, which came from Mocha (Mokkah), notwithstanding she had a pass from them, and was worth £100,000 according to Thos. Aldworthe (p. 259); £70,000 or £80,000 according to Wm. Biddulph (p. 258). They also "carried away 700 persons, the men for slaves, the women and children for Christians."⁵ This seizure of the ship, in which the great Mughal's mother had a large share, naturally caused a breach of peace between the Portuguese and the King of Mogor. "The Portuguese city of Damāun was besieged, and orders given to seize all Portuguese and their goods; their church doors sealed up, and the exercise of their religion forbidden. Xavier, the great Jesuit, who was before loved by the King, imprisoned."⁶ Muqarrab Khān, who was in charge of the port, was dispatched by the King to seek restitution either by peace or

¹ Abdullah Khān Firūz Jān was in command of the Gujarat army in the 7th year of Jahāngir's reign. See Blochmann, *Ain*, p. 496, No. 272, and p. 503.

² Anthony de Andrada: born at Oleyros, Province of Beyra, in 1580; entered the Society at Coimbra on December 15th, 1596; was sent to Lisbon in 1597; embarked for India in 1600; made his studies at Goa, whence he came to Mogor. He died at Goa from poisoning, March 19th, 1634.

³ Fr. Sebastian Barreto; born at Avoeiro, in the Diocese of Coimbra, about 1567; entered the Novitiate in 1584, was Superior of Diu in 1605, made his profession on February 5th, 1606, and died at Goa in 1625.

⁴ W. Noel Sainsbury, *Calendar of State Papers* (1513-1516), London, 1862, pp. 251 and fig.

⁵ *Ibid.* Thos. Aldworthe to Capt. Marlow, p. 260, No. 663.

⁶ *Ibid.* Thos. Aldworthe and Wm. Biddulph to the E. I. Co., Surat, August 19th, 1614, p. 316, No. 763.

by war. At the same time the king authorized Muqarrab Khān to assign a convenient place to the English at Ahmadabad, in which they might fortify themselves, provided it redounded to the King's profit.¹ As the Jesuits on this account had been expelled from their lodging at Ahmadabad, Muqarrab Khān must have allowed the English to occupy it, according to the command of the Emperor. But on the restoration of peace, the King by *Farmān* IV ordered the authorities at Ahmadabad to give back to the Jesuits their former lodgings and to provide other quarters for the English.

No. III. (Plate II, Fig. 4a).

TRANSCRIPT.

الله اکبر

[مهر] ابوالمظفر نور الدین جهانگیر بادشاه غازی

ابن اکبر بادشاه - ابن همایون بادشاه - ابن بابر بادشاه - ابن عمر شیخ مرزا - ابن سلطان ابوسعید - ابن سلطان محمد مرزا - ابن میران شاه - ابن تیمور مرزا صاحب قرآن *

[طغرا] فرمان ابوالمظفر نور الدین محمد جهانگیر بادشاه غازی

حکام کرام و عمال کفایت فرجام و متصدیان مهمات صوبه گجرات / بعنایت و انکفات بادشاهانه مخصوص و مباحی گشته بداند که فرمان / عالی شان واجب الاذعان شرف اصدار و عز ایراد یافته که پادریان فرنگی در احمد آباد یک ایگزیز که عبارت از عبادت خانه / آنهاست از برای خود بسازند و در آنجا بطور و روش خود عبادت میگردانند که چون بر مضمون حکم جهان مطاع گردون ارتفاع / جهانگیری اطلاع حاصل نمایند مانع و مزاحم آنها نگشته بگذارند که از برای عبادت خود ایگزیز بسازند می باید که از فرموده تخلف نورزند در عهده شناسند *

تحریراً فی تاریخ ۲۰ ماه مهر الهی سنه ۷

برسالة كمتريين مريدان باخلاص اعتماد الدولة و نوبت واقعه [بنده] درگاه محمد حسين شكر الله *

Translation.

GOD IS GREAT.

Farmān Abu-l-Muẓaffar Nūru-d-Dīn Muḥammad Jahāngīr, the King, the Hero.

Noble rulers, able commissioners, and comptrollers of the affairs of the province of Gujarat, after having been distinguished with and exalted by the imperial favour

¹ *Ibid.* Thos. Kerridge to the E. I. Co., Ajmere, 20th September, 1614, p. 331, No. 767. See also *Tuzuk-i-Jahāngīrī*, Edit. Beveridge, p. 255, 8th year of accession:—"In the same month [of Āzar] news came that the Franks of Goa had, contrary to treaty, plundered four cargo vessels that frequented the port of Surat in the neighbourhood of that port; and, making prisoners a large number of Muslims, had taken possession of the goods and chattels that were in those ships. This being very disagreeable to my mind, I despatched Muqarrab Khān, who is in charge of the port, on the 13th Āzar."

and consideration, should know, that an exalted imperial mandate necessary to be obeyed has received the honour of issuing and the eminence of appearing, to the effect that European Padris at Ahmadābād¹ may erect an Igriz² (church), which word is an expression for their worship place, and there they may perform their worship according to their own custom and manner. It is necessary that when they (the officers of Gujarat) receive information regarding the contents of the order of Jahāngir, who is obeyed by the world and is as exalted as the sky, they should not molest them, but permit them to build a church for their own worship. They must not disobey this command and should regard its execution as a part of their duty. Dated the 20th of the month of Mihr³ of the Divine year, 7th [of the Emperor's reign].

No. IV. (Plate III, Fig. 5a).

TRANSCRIPT.

الله اکبر

[مهر] ابوالمظفر نور الدین جهانگیر بادشاه نازی

ابن اکبر بادشاه - ابن همایون بادشاه - ابن بابر بادشاه - ابن عمر شیخ مرزا - ابن سلطان ابو سعید - ابن سلطان محمد مرزا - ابن میران شاه - ابن تیمور مرزا صاحب قرآن *

[طغرا] فرمان ابوالمظفر نور الدین محمد جهانگیر بادشاه نازی

متصدیان [مهمات صوبه] احمدآباد بعنایت بادشاهانه / مخصوص و امید وار گشت [ته] بدانند که چنان
بعرض ایستادگان پایه سرپر / سلطنت و اقبال رسید که انگیزان در خانه پادریان که [در محله] جوامعی واره
[است] برغائی آنها فرود آمده اند چون ابواب خانه نزل / در کل ممالک مکروه مسدود ست حکم
جهان مطاع گردون ارتفاع جهانگیری شرف امداد و عز ایوان یافت که آنها را در محلی دیگر جائ داده
خانه پادریان را خالی کرده / بتصرف ایشان باز گذارند و من بعد نگذارند که احدی دران خانه دخل بے تقریب
کند و مزاحمت بحال آنها رساند می باید که از فرموده تخلف و انحراف نورزند در عهده شناسد /

تحریر فی تاریخ ۱۹ مهر ماه الهی سنه ۱۰

¹ Ahmadābād, the principal city of Gujarāt. It is situated on the left bank of the Sībarmati river, about fifty miles from the sea; and was at this time a large and populous city, with flourishing manufactures and a considerable commerce. A good description of it is given by Della Valle (vol. 1, p. 95), who was there in February, 1623.

² Igriza is the Portuguese word meaning a Church.

³ Mihr is the name of the Persian month which is seventh in order corresponding with the Arabic *Rajab* and the Hindu *Kunwār*, and the English September. This angel was supposed to be the intelligence which regulated the sun, and to preside over love and friendship. He was also imagined to be the numbering angel, and the distributor of rewards and punishments on the last day; when they imagined he would sit as judge on a bridge, over which the departed spirits must pass, whilst the merits and iniquities of mankind were weighed in a pair of great scales by another angel, called *Surush*.

Translation.

GOD IS GREAT.

Farmān Abūl-Muẓaffar Nūru-d-Dīn Mūḥammad Jahāngīr, the King, the Hero.

The comptrollers of the affairs of the Ahmadābād Province, who have been honoured by and hope for the royal favours, should know, that a request has reached those standing near the foot of the throne of the empire and prosperity, that Englishmen are staying in the house of the Padris (situated) in the quarter of *Jawāhari wārah* with their consent. As the doors of the Nazūl¹ house are shut throughout the whole protected empire a high order of Jahāngīr, who is obeyed by the world and is as exalted as the sky, has received the honour of issuing and the glory of appearing, to this effect, that they (the Englishmen) may be accommodated in another quarter, [and] the house of the Padris after being emptied should be left in their possession; and hereafter they (the authorities) should not allow anybody to enter the house without proper occasion or to offer any opposition to them. It is necessary that no delay or deviation from this order should be made, and they should consider it as their duty.

Dated the 19th of the month Mihr,² of the Divine accession 10th year [of the Emperor's reign].

Nos. V AND VI.

No. V (Plate IV, Figs. 6a, 6b) is an authenticated copy of Jahāngīr's *farmān* dated *dushambah* of the month Jamad-aṣ ṣāni in the year 1035 (1626), ordering that the twelve bigahs of land in Mohzang at Lahore, formerly bought by Father Joseph da Castro, should be returned to him, free from all troubles of revenue and imperial taxes. No. VI (Plate IV, Fig. 7) is a parwānāh from Aurangzeb or 'Ālamgīr I, with the seal of Fidā Khān, dated 14th year of his accession (1672), to the same effect as the above.

The Jesuit Mission at Lahore dates back to the year 1591, when at the earnest invitation of Akbar, Fathers Edward Leiton, Christopher de Vega, and a companion who was not yet in priest's orders, were sent to the Mughal court. They were received by the Emperor with great kindness, respect and honour. Every kind of favour was shown to them, a lodging was given to them in the palace itself, necessities were supplied, and a school was started in which the sons of the nobles and the Emperor's own son and grandson were taught to read and write Portuguese. But the Jesuit Fathers who held for their special mission the conversion of the Emperor, seeing that he had not decided as they expected, to embrace the Christian faith, proposed to return to Goa, which they eventually did; but we have no further details regarding the time of this abrupt conclusion, or the reason for the sudden termination of this mission.

¹ Khāna-i-nazūl=house entered without permission of the owner (Platts), but the meaning of the term is not very clear.

² *Mihr*, see above.

The Emperor, however, wanted at any cost to have Christian Missionaries at his court, where learned men of all nations and creeds had gathered together to increase his might and glory. For this reason Akbar, in 1594, sent another embassy to the Portuguese Government at Goa earnestly requesting it to send him Fathers of the Society. The Superiors at Goa selected Father Jerome Xavier to conduct this mission. With him as coadjutors went two Portuguese, Father Emmanuel Pinheiro and Brother Benedict Goes, the latter well known to geographers for the daring and adventurous journey he undertook on January 6th, 1603. He started from Agra disguised as an Armenian and travelled by way of Kābul and Yārkand, through the heart of Tibet to Sao-chen in Kan-su, where he succumbed to the fatigues of the journey on April 11th, 1607. The history of the Jesuit Mission in Lahore, its growth and fluctuating fortunes, will be described in another paper.

From the unpublished Jesuit records¹ we learn that a certain rich Armenian, named Mirza Scanderus [Iskandar], a native of Aleppo, died at Agra in 1613. He left in his last will several donations to the Jesuit Mission, including 600 Rupees. 'Pera sa concertar hum adro pa os Xtos defunctos em Lahor' to buy a piece of land to bury the Christians in Lahore. From this we may safely conclude that those 12 bigahs of land were bought in Lahore by F. Joseph da Castro shortly after, say 1613 or in the beginning of 1614, because in July 1614 the Jesuit Mission at Lahore was broken up by an arbitrary and capricious act of Jahāngir, who ordered the civil authorities of that city to shut the church and expel the Fathers from the college. Father Machado, who was then at Lahore, returned to Agra with his little band of native Christians. The reason of this peremptory act of this most lenient Emperor was that he felt himself offended by the Portuguese who had captured at sea four Muhammadan cargo ships coming from Makkah which belonged to his subjects. The Fathers at Agra did not fare better, for their house was searched on July 8th, 1614, and those at Ahmadabad must have been subject to the same ill-treatment as *Farmān* IV seems to imply.¹ After 18 months the Fathers regained the King's favour, when churches and houses were restored to them. In 1626, Jahāngir by a *farmān*, signed by Aṣaf Khān, the prime minister, ordered the return to the Fathers of the 12 bigahs of land which Fr. Joseph had bought shortly before the breaking up of the Mission in Lahore.

No. V.

TRANSCRIPT.

Obverse. (Plate IV, Fig. 6a).

نقل

فرمان حضرت جنت مکانی عرش اشیانی - از قضایا سی ۲۹ شهر ماه فروردین آهی سنه ۲۱ آنکه
چون بعرض مقدس رسید که پادری یوسف و غیره پادریان فرنگی موازی دوازده بیگمه زمین مزروع با یکچاه
بخته و چند درخت از موضع جماعه مهنک شهری پهلوانی خریده اند حکم جهانمطاع گردون ارتفاع جهانگیری

¹ Goana Historia, 1600-1624 (Goa, 33), Ann. Letter, May, 1628.

شرف اصدار و عز ایراد / یافت که آراضی مذکوره در وجه انعام آنها بجهت گور خانه و باغ با چاه و درختان / حسب الضمن مقرر و مفوض باشد می باید که حکام و عمال و جاگیرداران و کورریان / حال و استقبال اراضی مزبوره را پیدموده با چاه و درختان بتصرف آنها باز گذاشته / اصلاً و مطلقاً تغییر و تبدیل بدان راه ندهند و بعلت مالوجیات و اخراجات مثل فتلغہ / و پیشکش و جریبانہ و ضابطانہ و محصلانہ و مہرانہ و داروغگانہ و بیگار و شبکار / و دہ نیمی و مقدمی و صد دولتی قانونگوئی و کُل تکالیف دیوانی و مطالبات سلطانی مزاحمت نرسانند / و از جمیع وجوہات و تکالیفات معاف و مرفوع القلم شمرند و درین باب ہوسال حکم و فرمان مُجدد نطلبند / از فرمودہ تخلف و انحراف نورزند تحریر فی التاریخ صدر سنہ الہی *

Reverse. (Plate IV, Fig. 6b).

انعام / باسم پادری یوسف موافق یاد داشت واقعہ بتاریخ روز اشتاد ۲۶ ماہ اسفندار / الہی سنہ ۵ مطابق در شنبہ تاریخ شہر جمہد الثانی سنہ ۱۰۳۵ بر سالہ وزارت و کالت پنہا / اقبال و اجلال دستگاہ عمدہ الملک رکن السلطنت القاہرہ موتمن الدولہ / الباہرہ اعتضاد الممالک العظمی و اعتماد الخلافہ الکبری جملہ الملکی مدار / المہامی خواجہ ابو الحسن و نوبت واقعہ نویسی کمترین ہندگان سری رام آنکہ چون پادری یوسف و پادریان دیگر / فرنگی موازی دوازده بیگہ زمین موزرع معہ یک چاہ پختہ و چند درخت از موضع جماعہ مہرنک / ہری پہلوازی خرید نمودہ اند حکم جہان مطاع آفتاب شعاع گردون ارتفاع صادر شد / کہ اراضی و چاہ و درختہائے مذکور بجهت گور خانہ و باغ در وجه انعام مشار الیہ / و پادریان دیگر مقرر و مسلم باشد شرح بخط جملہ الملکی مدار المہامی آنکہ در واقعہ داخل نمایند شرح بخط اقبال و اجلال پنہا عمدہ الملک اعتضاد خلافہ و فرمان زوائی اعتماد سلطنت / و کشور کشائی قدوہ خوانین بلند مکان نظام الدولہ و الدین اصفجہای اصف خان آنکہ / بر سالہ جملہ الملکی داخل واقعہ نمایند شرح حاشیہ بخط واقعہ نویس موافق واقعہ است شرح / بخط جملہ الملکی مدار المہامی بعرض مکرر رسانند شرح بخط لایق العنایت و الاحسان / معز الملک بتاریخ روز اسمان ۲۷ ماہ اسفندار الہی سنہ ۲۰ مطابق سنہ ۱۸ شہر جمادی الثانی سنہ ۱۰۳۵ / مکرر بعرض اقدس ارفع اعلی رسید شرح بخط جملہ الملکی مدار المہامی فرمان قلمی نمایند / ۱۲ بیگہ زمین موزرع *

[مہر] جوہرمل بن چہیلداس سہای دیوی سنہ ۱۸ نقل موافق اصل است و اصل نزد جوہرمل است ہرگاہ درکار خواهد شد *

بر سالہ مختار الدولہ العلیہ العالیہ [مستند] الخلافہ الہیہ / الخاقانیہ رکن الساططۃ الوعرا سپہر اعظم الوزرا ناظم نظم / ملک و مال مانع صالح دولت و اقبال کامل مصالح المحمود الکمال / جملہ الملکی مدار المہامی خواجہ ابو الحسن و نوبت واقعہ نویسی سری رام *

TRANSLATION.

Obverse.

A copy of the *Farman* of the blessed *Jannat Makānī*¹ (Jahāngīr) '*Ursh-Ashyānī*'² placed in Paradise on the throne of felicity from the orders passed on the 29th of the month *Farwardīn* in the 21st year of his accession is as follows :—

Whereas it has been brought to our holy notice that Father Joseph³ and other European Fathers have bought twelve *bīgahs* of arable land, with a brick-built well and some trees in village Jumā' ah Muhzang Hari Phulwārī, an order of Jahāngīr to be obeyed by all and high as the sky, has the honour of issuing and the dignity of appearing [to this effect] that the above mentioned lands be confirmed and committed to their care in the manner of *in'ām* (gift) for use as a cemetery and a garden according to the endorsement on the grant.

It is necessary that the officers and officials, the fiefholders and tax-gatherers of the present and future should make over to them the said lands after measuring, with the well and the trees, and should in no way make any change or alteration to it, nor on any account should they trouble them on account of *Fatalgha*, presents, charges of measurement, fees of Police officers, fees of tax-gatherers; marriage fees, magisterial fees, forced labour, night labour, five per cent. tax on manufactures, allowances made to *Muqaddams*⁴, the two per cent. paid to *Qanungos* and all fiscal exactions and imperial taxes.

They should be considered by this exalted order exempted from all these obligations and exactions. And in this matter every year no new order or royal mandate should be demanded. No opposition to or turning away from this order should be made.

Written and issued in the [above] divine year.

On the Reverse.

Gift in the name of Father Joseph according to the extract from the diarist's register written on *Ishtād*, the 26th day of the month *Isfandār*⁵ of the divine year,

¹ *Jannat Makānī* is Jahāngīr's title after death. Blochm. *Āin*, I, p. 309.

² '*Ursh-Ashyānī*' is the title of Akbar, employed after his death. *Tuzuk*, p. 3.

³ Father Joseph da Castro was a Piedmontese, and was born at Turin in 1576. He entered the Society in 1596; professed the three vows, died at Lahore on December 15th, 1646, aged 70 years, of which 30 were passed in the Indian Mission. Thus his arrival in India would have been in 1609 during Jahāngīr's reign. He was disinterred in 1648, more than a year after his burial, and found incorrupt. In February, 1648, Father Christopher da Costa conveyed the remains from Lahore to Agra where they were honourably buried in the Mortuary Chapel of the defunct Fathers. The epitaph on his grave is as follows:—*Aqui jazo P. Joseph da Castro, faleceo aos 15 de Dezbro d' 1646.* He was much beloved by Jahāngīr and Prince Dara Shikoh, who bestowed on him many favours. His services were especially valuable to the Mission. (1) In 1617 he went to arrange for the purchase of the Salsette and Parcel lands, for which Mirza Zu'l Qarnayn found the funds; (2) In 1633, he was tortured as a result of the Hugli persecutions; (3) He was of great assistance to the Portuguese prisoners brought to Agra after the sacking of Hugli; (4) In 1637, he was at Agra and reported Drake's death to the English factors at Surat; (5) In 1640, he was in Lahore and assisted Manrique to obtain the liberation of the Prior of Ilugli.

(References—*Relation de ce que s'est passé dans les Indes Orientales*... by Jean Marucci, S.J. Paris 1651, p. 20. See also *Agrah Archaeological Society's Transactions* for 1876, p. x.—Blunt's *Christian Tombs and Monuments*, etc., p. 34, No. 83.—*Hist. Goan* 1627—1659 (Goa 34) Unpublished MS.—W. Irvine, *Storio do Mogor*, by Manucci, Vols. I, 161; iv, 424; sub Costa da J. Manucci calls him by mistake Joseph da Costa.

⁴ *Muqaddam*—A superior officer of the revenue in a village. Steingass, *Persian and English Dictionary*.

⁵ *Asfandār* is the last month of the Persian year, also called *Isfand-ārnah* or *Isfand-ārman*. The Persian year

corresponding to *dushambah* (Monday) of the month *Jamāda'-ṣ-ṣānī*¹ in the year 1055 with the endorsement of the office of the wazīr, the centre of administration, the possessor of fortune and glory, the prop of the empire, the pillar of the victorious realm, the trusted protector of the brilliant kingdom, the support of the mighty realms, on whom the great Khalifate relies, the all-in-all of the realm, the centre of important affairs, Khwājah Abul Hasan² and during the diary duty³ of the least of slaves Siri Ram as follows:—

Whereas it has been shown that Father Joseph and other European priests had purchased about twelve bīghahs of cultivated land with a brick-built well and some trees [situated] in the quarter *Jumā' ah Muhzang* Hari Phulwārī, an exalted order of him who is obeyed by all, whose rays are like those of the sun and who is as exalted as the sky, has been issued, that the aforementioned lands, with well and trees for use as a cemetery and garden, be conferred on and given in charge of the above mentioned and other priests as a gift.

Note in the writing of the Jumlatul-Mulki Madārul Mahāmī—Let them enter it in the diary.

Note by the most prosperous and august asylum, the pillar of the State, the trustworthy one of the Khalifate, and the governor-trustee of the realm, the conqueror of the country, the selected prince amongst the High Khāns, the Governor of worldly affairs and religion, Aṣaf-jāhī Aṣaf Khān, as follows: With the endorsement of Jumlatul Mulki, let them enter it in the diary.

Note in the margin of the farmān written by the Wāqī'ah Nawīs: Compared with diary and found correct.

Note by the Jumlatul Mulki (prime minister), Madārul Mahāmi (the manager of the important affairs):—Let the case be put up again.

Note in the handwriting of him who is worthy of kindness and beneficence, the strengthener of the country: On the day *Asmān*, 27th of the month Isfandār in the twentieth divine year of accession, corresponding with Monday, the 18th of Jamāda'-ṣ-ṣānī in the year 1035, the case was again presented to His Most Holy and Eminent Majesty. Note by Jumlatul Mulki Madārul Mahāmi:—Let the farmān be drawn up.

consisting of twelve months of thirty days each, they add five days to this month in order to make it equal to a solar year.

¹ *Jamāda'-ṣ-ṣānī* —*Jamāda'* is the name of two months (the fifth and sixth of the Arabian year). *Jamāda' l awwal*, *Jamāda'* the first and *Jamāda' l ākhir* or *Jamāda' ṣ-ṣānī*, the second.

² Abūl Ḥasan 'Aṣaf Khān (iv), also called 'Aṣaf-jāh or 'Aṣaf-Yāhī, was the son of Chāās Beg of Tahrān, the celebrated Vazīr I'timād-ud-daulah, and father of Mumtāz Maḥal (Tāj Bībī), the favourite wife of Shāh Jahān, whom European historians occasionally call Nūr Jahān II. After his father's death in A.D. 1621, A.H. 1030, he was appointed Vazīr by the Emperor Jahāngīr and had several other titles conferred on him at different times, such as Ya'tqad Khān, Yanūn-ud-dowlah, and Khān Khinān Sipahsālār, and was a commander of 9000. Aṣaf Khān died at Lahore in the 15th year of Shāh Jahān's reign on the 10th of November, O.S. 1641, 17th Shā'bān, A.H. 1051, aged 72 lunar years, and was buried there on the banks of the Rāvi opposite to the city of Lahore. See Blochm. *Ain*, Vol. I, pp. 510-12. Keene's *Orient. Biog. Dict.*, 1894.

³ *Wāqī'ah Nawīs*—an event writer. There was a *Wāqī'ah Nawīs*, or recorder, in each Šūbah.

TWELVE BĪGAHS OF ARABLE LAND.

[*Seal*] Devi Jauhar Mall, son of Chhabildās Sahai Devi, year 18th.

The copy is according to the original. The original is with Jauhar Mall, whence it can be obtained whenever required.

The endorsement of the chosen of the exalted and high empire, the support of the divine and imperial Khalifate, the pillar of the unconquerable kingdom, the sun of the revered ministers, the chief administrator of finances and government, the fit bestower of wealth and fortune, and the sole dispenser of good affairs of Jumlatul-Mulki Madārul Mahāmi Khwājah Abūl Ḥasan and during the diary-duty of Siri Rām.

No. VI. (Plate IV, Fig. 7).

TRANSCRIPT.

هُو

[مُهر] فدا خان غلام عالم گیر بادشاه سنه ۱۰۷۱

مُتصدیان حال و استقبال مهمات هری پهلواری متعلقه صوبه دار السلطنت لاهور بدانند (که) چون موازی دوازده بیگه زمین زری با یک چاه پخته و چند درخت / از موضع جماعه مهونگ هری مذکور خرید پادری یوسف و نمیره پادریان / فرنگی واقعه است و بموجب فرمان در وجه انعام آنها برائے مقابر / (و) غیره مُقرر شد قدغن می رود که اراضی مذکور را بدستور پیشین / بر طبق فرمان مُسلم دانسته احدی مزاحم و متعرض نگردد / و تغیر و تبدیل بآن راه ندهد درین باب برین موجب / معین دانسته تخلف و انحراف جایز ندارند / تحریراً فی التاریخ ششم شهر ذی حجه سنه ۱۱۴ *

Translation.

HE IS GOD.

The officers of the present and future of the important affairs of Hari Phulwāri belonging to the Ṣubah of the imperial city of Lahore should know; that twelve bighas of cultivable land with a brickbuilt well and some trees [situated] in the aforesaid village Jumā'ah Muzang Hari were in fact bought by Father Joseph and other European priests and according to the royal mandate have been settled as a gift for their church, etc. It is herewith enjoined that the aforesaid lands according to the previous custom in conformity with the mandate should be kept up, and no one should trouble or oppose them, or cause any alteration or change. In this matter therefore let them (the officials) recognise the grant as duly sanctioned and offer no opposition or objection.

Written on the sixth day of the month Zi Hijja; 14th year of the accession.

No. VII. (Plate V, Fig. 8).

This is a copy of *Shāh Jahān's* royal mandate, dated 2nd day of the month *Day* in the 8th year of his accession, ordering the destruction of the church at Agra, and allowing the Fathers to use the materials for the building of their house which is the present small chapel, called Akbar's church, at Agra. The reason of the sudden change in the friendly relations which had hitherto existed between the Fathers and the Mughal Princes is to be sought for in Bengal. Various reasons are given by different writers. Be that as it may. Hugli fell into the hands of the Mughals on September 20th, 1612, and the sad train of 4000 Christian captives reached Agra in July 1633. According to the *Bādshāh Nāma*,¹ *Shāh Jahān* "ordered that the principles of the Muhammadan religion should be explained to them and that they should be called upon to adopt it. A few appreciated the honour offered to them and embraced the faith: they experienced the kindness of the Emperor. But the majority in perversity and wilfulness rejected the proposal. They were distributed among the Amīrs who were directed to keep these despicable wretches in rigorous confinement. When any one of them accepted the true faith a report was to be made to the Emperor, so that provision might be made for him. Those who refused were to be kept in continual confinement. So it came to pass that many of them passed from prison to hell. Such of their idols as were likenesses of the prophets were thrown into the Jumna, the rest were broken to pieces." Among the captives were two Fathers, Priests of St. Augustin, and two other priests, clerics. The two latter died in prison and were buried in the Santus Chapel, in the old Agra cemetery. In 1640, Father Joseph da Castro, who was then at Lahore, took the Augustinian Friar Manrique to Aṣaf Khān, the Prime Minister, and obtained the liberation of the Hugli prisoners and many other privileges.²

VII. (Plate V, Fig. 8).

TRANSCRIPT.³

الله اکبر

درینوقت فرمان عالیشان سعادت نشان شرف / صدور و عز و زود یافت که منازل و حویلی و گورستان / پادریان
فرنگی که در دار الخلافه اکبر آباد عرف آگوه واقعت / و آنچه بموجب فرمان عالیشان حضرت - در وجه
انعام / آنها مقرر شده و هرچه خود بموجب قبالة شرعی خریدده عمارت / نموده اند بدستور سابق به پادریان

¹ In Sir H. Elliot's *History of India*, London, 1877, vol. VII, pp. 35 and 42-3.

² For more particulars on this subject, see Bernier, *Travels in the Mogul Empire*, Constable's Edit. 1891, pp. 177, 288; Irvine's translation of Manucci, vol I, pp. 182-183; Letters from Fr. Corsi, S.J., to Rev. Fr. Mutius, Agra, 17th Oct. 1633; from Fr. Franc. Morando, Agra, 15th Oct. 1633; and from Fr. Joseph da Castro, Agra, 15th Oct. 1633, in Marsden MSS. in the British Museum, Nos. 6666-12,229. Catron, *History of the Mogul Dynasty*, London, 1826, p. 186.

³ A copy of this *farmān* is to be found among the Marsden MSS. in the British Museum 9852 to 9861 in Catalogue of Additional Manuscripts, Vol. I (1828-41), Nos. 6666-12,229.

مذکور بموجب ضمن مقرر / و مفروض باشد می باید که حکام کرام و متصدیان کفایت / فرجام و کوتوالان دار الخلافه
مذکور حسب الحکم اشرف / اقدس اعلی عمل نموده محال مسطره صدر را بتصرف / آنها باز گذاشته اند
و مطلقاً تغییر و تبدیل بدان راه / ندهند و نیز حکم شد که عمارت کایسیدی که در آنجا ساخته اند تا پایتخت غلطانیده
خراب سازند اما مناصح به آنها و / گذارند تا اگر میخواسته باشند حولی از برای خود بسازند / و همچنین اگر
جمعی از مردم عیسوی بوقت تولد فرزند / یا کدخدائی یا بیماری با بجهت عبادت بخانه پادریان / میخواسته
باشند بروند مانع و مزاحم نگردند و نیز بگذارند / که مرده خود را بطور خود برداشته و زمین که بایشان / مرحمت
شده دفن کنند از فرموده تخلف نوزند *

تحریراً فی التاريخ ۲ دی ماه الهی سنه ۸

Translation.

GOD IS GREAT.

At this time an exalted and auspicious royal mandate is issued with honour and dignity [to the effect] that the buildings, houses and cemetery belonging to the European Fathers and situated in the capital Akbarābād known as Agra, which were granted to them in the way of *in'ām* by an order of His Blessed Majesty—and whatever more they have constructed themselves after the legal purchase by virtue of different documents, in accordance with the past custom, should be left to them. It is required that the honoured officers and economical officials and kotwals of the said capital should act in obedience to the sublime and sacred order, and make over absolute and entire possession of the above mentioned buildings without any change or alteration. It is also ordered that the Church building constructed therein be entirely dismantled but the materials must be made over to them, so that should they desire, they may build a dwelling house for themselves. In the same manner, if a party of Christians in times of birth, marriages and sickness and for prayers should like to go to the house of the Padris, they should not be prohibited or interfered with. It is also allowed, that they may bury their dead according to their own rites in the land bestowed upon them. None should act contrary to the order.

Written on the 2nd day of *Day*,¹ in the eighth divine year.

No. VIII. (Plate VI, Fig. 9a).

Next follows a series of *parwānahs* authenticated with the seals of several well-known Vazirs. They remind us that with Aurangzeb's death the history of the Mughal Empire is a mere record of ruin. For a time the Mughal Emperors still ruled India from Delhi, but of the six immediate successors of Aurangzeb two were murdered at the instigation of an unscrupulous general, Zul-fiqār Khān,² while the

¹ *Day*, tenth month of the Persian year corresponding with December

² Sir Henry Elliot's *Persian Historians*, vol. VII, pp. 348-558 (Trübner, 1877).

four others were the creatures of a couple of Sayyid adventurers who earned the title of the 'King-makers.'¹

These *parwānahs* show that the Pādrīs were exempted from paying the jizyah or capitation tax. They are—

Parwānah No. VIII, from Aurangzeb or 'Ālamgir I, with the seal of Asad Khān (Plate VI, Fig. 9a).

Parwānah No. IX, from Shāh 'Ālam I, with the seals of Āṣaf ud Daulah and Zafar Jang (Plate VII, Fig. 10a).

Parwānah No. X, from Muḥammad Shāh, with the seal of Ikhlās Khān (Plate VII, Fig. 11a).

Parwānah No. XI, from Muḥammad Farrukhsīyar, with the seal of Sa'id Asad Khān (Plate VIII, Fig. 12a).

The introduction of the jizyah in India dates back to the first appearance of the Muḥammadans in that country. An Arab expedition set out from *Oman*, A.H. 15 or 16, to pillage the coast of India and proceeded to Tana in Bombay.² But it was in the reign of the Khilif Wālid that the Muḥammadans (A.D. 711, 92 A.H.) entered Northern India and occupied every part of the dominions of Rājā Dāhir. Their treatment of the conquered country showed the same mixture of ferocity and moderation which characterized the early conquests of the Arabs. On the first invasion, each city was called on, as the army approached, to embrace the Muḥammadan religion or to pay tribute. This was the celebrated jizyah. In case of refusal, the city was attacked, and if it did not capitulate, all fighting men were put to death, and their families were sold for slaves.

"According to the original ordinance of Omar, those persons who were of any religion non-Muḥammadan, called *Zimmis*, or those under protection, were assessed with a toleration or poll-tax, at the following rates: a person in easy circumstances had to pay 48 dirrhems,³ one of moderate means 24 dirrhems, and one in an inferior station or who derived his subsistence from manual labour, 12 dirrhems. Women, children, and persons unable to work paid nothing."⁴ The terms upon which Jews and Christians were permitted to reside in Musalman countries were originally laid down in the treaty of 637 between Khalif Omar and the patriarch of Jerusalem.⁵ But a century had not elapsed when Omar II, considering these rates too moderate, calculated what a man could gain during the year and what he could subsist on, and claimed all the rest, amounting to four or five dinārs, about two pounds a year.

There is an interesting dialogue in *Farishta*⁶ between 'Alā-ud-dīn and his principal Qāzī respecting the proper amount of this tribute. The Qāzī decides, on

¹ Irādat Khān calls Zūl-fiqār "Seater, nay creator of emperors."

² Sir Henry Elliot's *Arabs in Sind*.

³ Dirrhem, dirham or dirhim is a silver coin, of which from 20 to 25 have at different times passed current for a dinar, which is nearly equal to a ducat or sequin, about nine shillings.

⁴ Sir Henry Elliot's *Arabs in Sind*, p. 82. H. S. Jarrett's *Ain*, Vol. ii, p. 57.

⁵ See Ockley's *History of the Saracens*.

⁶ Brigg's translation of *Farishta*, vol. I, p. 349.

the authority of the Imām Hanifa, that the "jizyah, or as heavy a tribute as they can bear, may be imposed instead of death, on infidels, and it is commanded that the jizyah and *khiraj* (or land tax) be exacted to the uttermost farthing, in order that the punishment may approximate as nearly as possible to death." Up to the time of Fīroz Shāh, Brahmans were exempted from this tax; in his time the highest class of Hindūs were rated at 40, the second at 20, the third at 10 tankas per head, and the Brahmans were allowed to pay the lowest. It was enforced with great severity under the Lodi Kings. "Akbar in the seventh year of his reign abolished the jizyah or 'capitation tax,' which served to keep up animosity between people of the predominant faith and those under them."¹ Aurangzeb reimposed it in the 22nd year of his reign, A.D. 1677.

This detested act, which excited the utmost unpopularity and discontent in all portions of the empire, proved the means of detaching from Aurangzeb not only many friends, but the goodwill of the entire Hindu population of his dominions, which the tolerance of preceding reigns had so satisfactorily secured. On the promulgation of the imperial edict, his palace was besieged by masses of clamorous petitioners; and on the occasion of a state visit to the great mosque, many of the people, who had blocked up the streets in crowds in order to beg remission of the tax, were trampled to death by his elephants.²

Ināyat Ullah, who had been secretary to Farrukhsiyar, being appointed to the head of the finance, endeavoured (about 1719) to enforce the capitation tax on Hindūs with the rigour of his former master, but he was soon forced to desist by the public clamour, and the odious tax was formally abolished in the reign of Muḥammad Shāh.³ Elliot⁴ says that the capitation tax was regularly levied until the reign of Farrukhsiyar, when opposition to it forced the minister to desist, and it was formally abolished by the Sayyids under Rafi-ud Dirjat.

Aurangzeb imposed the jizyah on all his infidel subjects who refused to become Muḥammadan. Even English and Dutch residents in India were subjected to the same obnoxious impost; but they seem to have escaped payment by tendering presents to the Viceroy of the Province in which they had their respective factories.⁵

The question now naturally arises, how is it that the Jesuits with their Christian dependents were exempted from paying the jizyah by Aurangzeb, who

¹ Elphinstone's *History of India*, pp. 538-39. Badā'uni II, p. 276, in Blochmann's *Ain*, vol. I, 189, says: "In this year (987), the *tamgha* (inland tax) and the *jaziya* (tax on infidels) which brought in several karors of *dāms*, were abolished, and edicts to this effect sent over the whole empire." W. W. Hunter, *Indian Empire*, 2nd edit. 1890, pp. 306-309.

² See Elphinstone's *History of India*, p. 638; Taylor's *History of India*, pp. 342-43.

³ Elphinstone's *History of India*, p. 690.

⁴ *Suppl. Gloss.*, p. 442. When the Hindu Rājās . . . submitted to Tamerlane it was on these capital stipulations: that . . . the emperors should never impose the *jesseroch* [*jaziya*] (or poll tax) upon the Hindoos." Halwell. *Historical Events*, i. 3.

⁵ "Books of accounts received from Dacca, with advice that it was reported at the court there that the poll-money or judgea lately ordered by the Mogul would be exacted of the English and Dutch. . . . Among the orders issued to Pattana, Cossumbazar, and Dacca, instructions are given to the latter place not to pay the judgea or poll-tax, if demanded." 1686. Fort St. George Consuls (on Tour), Sept. 29th and Oct. 10th; notes and extracts No. i, p. 49. See also Talboys Wheeler, *Hist. of India*, Vol. IV, pt. I, p. 11.

seems to have been inexorable in this matter. Was it the prayers of his Georgian Christian wife, the inconstant Udepuri,¹ or was it not rather the powerful intercession and support of Lady Juliana Dias da Costa of Cochin?

The parwānah of Asad Khān (1103) does not say so. But as this parwānah presupposes another one (which has been lost), and all the others distinctly mention Juliana's request in favour of the remission of the Jizyah for the Jesuit Fathers and their Christian dependents, there is little doubt that Aurangzeb also exempted them through Juliana's intercession. Father Eman. Figuieredo says:² "Besides many other kind favours which this Christianity received from Juliana, it is specially obliged to her for having by her powerful mediation persuaded the Emperor [Aurangzeb] to exempt the Christians for ever from the taxes to which the Muḥammadans themselves were subject." This Juliana was a powerful Portuguese Christian lady, who lived at the Mughal courts of Delhi and Lahore in the capacity of a lady doctor during the reigns of Aurangzeb, Bahādur Shāh, Jahāndār Shāh and Farrukhsiyar.³

Valentyn, the Dutch traveller and historian of the East Indies, in his 'Oude en Nieuw Oostindien'⁴ describes her as a second Madame de Maintenon and Ismael Gracias 'Uma Dona Portuguesa na corte do grão Mogol,' compares her with her contemporary Maria Ursula de Abreu of Lencastre.⁵

According to the official Portuguese records Juliana was born in Cochin about 1645⁶ and not in Bengal in 1663 as Beveridge tells us. She accompanied her husband, who in the capacity of a physician was sent to Aurangzeb's court at Delhi by the Portuguese Viceroy Conde de Alvor about 1683.⁷

She attended Prince Muazzam during his 12 years' imprisonment (1687-1699). About 1699, Prince Muazzam, also called Shāh 'Alam, was released and was sent as Governor to Kābul where he remained till his father's death. Juliana accompanied him there, and also went with him to Agra when he marched to India to contest the throne with his younger brother A'zam Shāh. It is even said, says Valentyn, she rode with him on his elephant and encouraged him to hope for victory, saying that

¹ See Manucci's *Storia do Mogor* by Irvine, London, 1907, Vol. I, p. 361; and Ma'āsir-i-Alamgiri, p. 528, where she is called Bāl-Udepūri.

² Brief No. 595 des R. P. Eman. de Figuieredo, Portugies Missionär an Ihre Kgl. Majestät Maria Anna: in *Welt-bott*, Bd. 31, pp. 3-4. "Nebst vielen andern Guttaten, Welche diese Christenheit von Juliana empfangen, ist selbe ihr höchstens verbunden, dass sie den Kaiser durch ihre mächtige Fürsprache dahin beredet, dass er die Christen von dem Tribut, welchem sogar die Mohammedaner unterworfen waren, auf ewig befreit hat."

³ I. A. Ismael Gracias, 'Uma Dona Portuguesa na Corte do Grão-Mogol,' Nova Goa, 1907, p. 106.

⁴ (1726) vol. IV, 283.

⁵ Gracias; *ibid.* *Para todos*.

⁶ *Ibid.* p. n. xxxv, 20th Oct. 1715, p. 163, speaking of Juliana says: "e como me persuado que esta malher cuida muito em que por sua morte (ga' tem mais de 70 annos) etc. According to Father Figuieredo, *op. cit.*, p. 2, Juliana was born at Agra shortly after the death of Zu'l Qarnayn. Valentyn states that she was 55 years old in 1712, and Colonel Gentil (*Memoires de l'Indoustan*) says that she was born in 1658.

⁷ *Ibid.* xii, 14th Jan. 1714, p. 127: "Foi Dona Juliana Dias . . . que sempre teve do tempo em que entrou na corte, que foi governando este Estado o Vice-rei Conde de Alvor que, mandando ao mogor hum cirurgião, com quem estava cazada esta molher, o acompanhon, e foi tal o agrado que achou em todos os principes, que logrou sempre o valimento (de) Aranseb e de Xalão. . . ."

she and all the Christians had offered up prayers for him. It was perhaps in allusion to this circumstance that she received the title of Juliana *fidavi duago*, the faithful and prayerful Juliana, and that she had engraved upon her seal the words *fidavi Bahādur Shāh Juliānā*—'Juliānā the faithful servant of Bahādur Shāh.'¹ She was the protectress of all the Christians, had three hundred of them brought from Goa, and while she had the good sense to send back those who were inefficient, she procured suitable employment for the others. She rendered many signal services to her country, helped the Dutch in their negotiations with the Mughals, and is believed to have called in Hamilton, the surgeon of the East India Company. Here Juliana's influence seems to have helped the English too, who obtained certain trading privileges owing most probably to William Hamilton's having cured Farrukhsiyar of a bad distemper. Juliana died at Delhi in July or August, 1734.

No. VIII. (Plate VI, Fig. 9a).

TRANSCRIPT.

له

[مهر] آسد خان بنده بادشاه عالم گیر غاري سنه ۱۱۰۳

مُتصدیانِ حال و استقبالی جزیه زمینان سکنه بلده مُستقر الخلفه ابر آباد بدانند که / قبل ازین بموجب
سیاهه روح الله خان مرحوم در باب موقوفی جزیه پنجغفر پادری معه وابستها پروانه بنام / شیخ محمد سعید
مغفور امین سابق جزیه آنجا نوشته شده بود درینولا وکیل آنها التماس نموده که / امین حال سند بنام
خود میخواست امیدوار است که پروانه بنام مُتصدیان حال و استقبالی جزیه / آن محال مرحمت شود لهذا
قلمی میگردد که در باب اخذ جزیه رنور و غیره پادری که اسم آنها در ضمن / مرقوم شده بموجب حکم سابق مزاحم
نشوند درین باب تاکید بلیغ دافند *

فی التاريخ نهم شهر جماد الثاني سنه ۳۷

از جلوس می [مخت مانوس میمنت تحریر یافت]

¹ Nearly the same circumstance is related of Jahāndār Shāh. On the death of Bahādur Shāh, February 16th, 1712, a contest for the throne at once ensued between his sons: "e depois de hum grande destroço sentenciāo as armas pelo primogenito, que, antes de entrar na batalha, se valeo dos orações dos christãos, esperando que por ellas prevalecesse o seu direito, e a circumstancia de alcançar a Victoria no mesmo die, em que se acabaira hua novena, que fizerão por este motivo a Nossa Senhoro, deu fundamento o crer a nossa piedade que fôra milagroza, principalmente considerado o genio deste principe, que era naturalmente inclinado aos christãos, e portuguezes, o que não tinham os outros dous." Gracías, xii, 14 Jan. 1714, p. 125.

Translation.

Lah.¹Aṣad Khān,² the servant of King 'Ālamgīr, the Hero, 1103—

The present and future officers of the capitation tax [taken from] the *zimmis*³ residing in the permanently established capital Akbarābād, should know that before this, according to the account book of the late Rūḥullah Khān⁴ regarding the exemption of the capitation tax from five Padris in number with their dependents, a parwānah to the address of late Shaiḫ Muḥammad Sa'id, the late Amīn⁵ of the capitation tax of that place, had been written. Nowadays the vakīl (agent) of the Padris [has made] a request that the present Amīn asks for a *sanad* [addressed] to his own name. He [the vakīl] hopes that a parwānah to the address of the present and future officers of the capitation tax of that place will be given. It is therefore ordered that in the matter of taking the capitation tax from Rator and other Padris, whose names are written in a marginal note, they according to the former order should not hinder them (the Padris). In this matter they should take as much care as possible.

Dated 9th of the month Jamāda-ṣ-ṣānī, 37th year of the exalted accession.

On the Reverse (Transcript). (Plate VI, Fig. 9b).

- ۱ پرانہ ضمن باسم رتور وغیرہ پادری کہ حسب الحکم والا جزیہ آنها موقوف است *
- ۲ پنج نفر معہ وابستہا پادری رتور - پادری میکل - پادری جان امانون - پادری عناس - پادری دیوک *
- ۳ بتاریخ ۱۳ شہر رجب سنہ ۳۷ نقل در سرشتہ صونہ رسید *
- ۴ بتاریخ ۱۱ شہر جماد الثانی سنہ ۳۷ داخل سیاحہ حضور نمودہ شد *
- ۵ موافق احکام است *
- ۶ موافق دفتر است *
- ۷ ملاحظہ شد *

On the Reverse (Translation).

- i. Abstract of parwānah to the name of Father Rator and other priests: that according to the order of the King they are exempted from the capitation tax.

¹ Lah or lahu, "He" or "God."

² Asad Khān, father of Zūlfiqār Khān, was son-in-law of Aṣaf Khān whom Shāh Jahān promoted to the office of second Bakhshī. In the 15th year of Aurangzeb's reign he was raised to the rank of 4000 and after a few years to the office of Vazīr. Having made his submission to the victorious Bahādar Shāh, he was appointed *Va'it-i-Mu'laq*, an office superior to Vazīr, and his son Isma'el made *Mir Bakhshī*, but on the accession of Farrukhsiyar, he was disgraced, his estates seized, and his son put to death. He died in 1716 (Elphinstone, p. 683, note 12) or according to Beale (*Orient. Biogr. Dict.*, pp. 79-80) in the year A.D. 1717, A.H. 1129, aged 90 lunar years. The *Seir-ul-Muta'akhkhirin* calls him "the last member of that ancient nobility which had conferred so much honour on the empire." Irādāt Khān says, "for above 200 years their family had filled the highest offices in the state."

³ *Zimmi*, one tolerated by the Muḥammadan law, on paying an annual poll-tax; a Christian; or a Jew.

⁴ Rūḥullah Khān was the *Mir Bakhsh* or Pay Master General in the reign of Aurangzeb. He died in the Deccan in 1103 A.H., A.D. 1662. See *Orient. Biogr. Dict.*, p. 334.

⁵ *Amin*, a supervisor employed by Government to examine and regulate the state of the revenues of a district in India. It is also a title frequently bestowed upon governors of cities or castles.

2. Five Padris in number with their dependents: Padri Rator, Padri Michael, Padri John Emmanuel, Padri Anās, Padri Diūk.
3. On the 13th day of the month Rajab, in the 37th year [of accession] a copy was made in the office of the Province.
4. On the 11th day of Jamāda-s-sānī in the 37th year it was entered in the government account register.
5. It is according to the orders.
6. It is according to the register.
7. It has been seen.

No. IX. (Plate VII, Fig. 10a).

TRANSCRIPT.

له

[مهر ۱] اصف الدوله بنده شاه عالم بادشاه غازي سنه احد *

[۲ =] ظفر جنگ خانخانان بهادر فدوي شاه عالم بادشاه غازي سنه احد *

آخذان جزیه حال و استقبال صوبه مستقر الملک و دار الخلافه / بدانند درین ولا بعرض اقدس اعلی رسید
که موافق شرع شویف / تکلیف اخذ جزیه بفقرا نیست پنجکس پادری و ده ده کس از وابستههای آنها / که
در آنجا قیام دارند امید وار سند معافی جزیه اند منظور حکم شد / لهذا حسب احکم الاعلی قلمی میگردد که
برای اخذ جزیه / نام بردها بر طبق حکم معلی مزاحم نشوند درین باب تاکید دانند / چهاردهم ۱۴ شهر
رمضان المبارک سن احد جلوس معلی قلمی شد *

Translation.

GOD.

[Seal 1st] Aṣaf-ud-daulah¹, the servant of Shāh 'Ālam, the king, the hero. First year.

[Seal 2nd] Khān Khānān Bahādur² Zafar Jang³, the devoted servant of Shāh 'Ālam, the king, the hero! First year.

The present and future collectors of the capitation tax of the permanently established Province and of the Capital should know that at present it has come to our holy and high notice that in accordance with the eminent Muḥammadan law the levying of the capitation tax on mendicants is not lawful. Five Pādrīs and ten of their dependents with each have applied for a sanad to be exempted from paying the capitation tax, which has been granted. In accordance with the exalted order it is

¹ Aṣaf-ud-daulah was son of Shujā'-ud-daulah the Vazir of Oudh. On the death of his father he succeeded him in the Vazirship early in 1775. He died in 1797. Taylor's *Hist. of India*, pp. 485, 534.

² Bahādur=brave, a cavalier, a knight. Bahādur forms part of the title of honour conferred by the great Mughal and other Eastern potentates upon the *Nawabs* and other great men, bearing some resemblance to the European title of Military Knighthood.

³ Zafar Jang=Victorious in battles.

therefore being written that the above mentioned persons should not be troubled to pay the capitation tax. In this matter they should regard it as an injunction. Written on the 14th of the holy Ramazān, in the first year of the exalted accession.

Reverse. (Plate VII, Fig. 10b).

- ۱ بتاریخ هفت دهم ۱۷ شوال نقل بدفتر وکالت رسید *
- ۲ موافق دفتر است *
- ۳ ملاحظه شد *

Translation.

1. On the 17th of the month Shawwāl a copy was received in the office of the Vicegerency.
2. It is according to the register.
3. It has been noted.

Mark ح

No. X. (Plate VII, Fig. 11a).

TRANSCRIPT.

له

الله

خلد منزل

خلد مکان

[مهر] اخلاص خان سنه ۷ غلام بادشاه غازی محمد شاه ۱۱۳۷

آخذان جزیه حال واستقبال صوبه مستقر الملک اکبر آباد و دار الخلافت بدانند/ دریغوا بموجب فرد گذرانیده جلینا بعرض اقدس اعلی رسید که پادریان فقرائی قوم عیسائی که/ در اکبر آباد و دار الخلافت با وابستههای خود اقامت دارند در عهد بادشاه مغفرت پناه/ صاعد مصاعد قرب یزدان اسکنه اعلی درجات جنان حضرت بموجب سند بمهر آمد خان و در عهد حضرت مطابق پروانه بمهر اصف الدوله و خانخانان و در عهد شهید مرحوم بر طبق سند بمهر عبد الله خان وجه جزیه مع وابستهها بآنها معاف بود امید وار است در عهد مبارک نیز معاف شود چون در عهد حضرت چهار پنجکس پادریان مع وابستهها ساکن صوبه اکبر آباد معاف بودند حکم معلی صادر شد که بدستور عهد حضرت سند دیوانی بدهند لهذا حسب الحکم الارفع الاعلی قلمی میگردد که جزیه چهار پنجکس پادریان مع وابستههای سکنه صوبجات مذکور معاف اعتبار نموده مزاحم نشوند درین باب تاکید دانند *

بتاریخ بست و یکم شهر شوال سنه ۷ جلوس والا قلمی گشت

*Translation.*Lahū. Allah¹Khuld Makan.²Khuld Manzil.³

[Seal.] Ikhlas Khān,⁴ the servant of Muḥammad Shāh, the king, the hero! 1137.
7th year.⁵

The present and future collectors of the capitation tax of the permanently established seat of the empire and of the capital should know: that it has now reached our exalted and holy notice, according to the statement laid before us by Juliānā, that the Pādris, mendicants of the Christian sect, who live with their dependents, at Akbarābād and in the capital, were exempted with their dependents from the system of capitation tax, in the reign of the deceased monarch who ascends the steps nearest to omnipotence and resides in the highest mansion of Paradise in accordance with the sanad [verified] with the seal of Aṣad Khān, and in the reign of His Majesty according to the parwānah bearing the seals of Aṣaf-ud-daulah and Khān Khānān; and in the time of the late martyr according to the sanad [verified] with the Seal of 'Abdullāh Khān. She [Juliana] hopes that the capitation tax in this blessed reign be also remitted. Whereas in the reign of His Majesty four [or] five Pādris and their dependents living at Akbarābād were exempted, an exalted order was issued that according to the custom of the reign of His Majesty a Treasury sanad may be given; therefore according to the high and exalted order it is to be written that the capitation tax from four [or] five Pādris and their dependents residing in the said province be considered exempted. No one should oppose them, and care should be taken in this matter. Written on the 21st of the month Shawwāl⁶ in the 7th year of the exalted accession.

On the Reverse. (Plate VII, Fig. 11b).

۱ بتاریخ ۲۱ شهر شوال سنه ۷ جلوس والا نقل در سرشته عربیہ رسید - الف *

۲ بتاریخ ۲۱ شهر شوال سنه ۷ داخل سیاهہ حضور نموده شد - ج *

۳ موافق سیاهہ احکام است - ح *

۴ ملاحظہ شد *

¹ *Lahu Allah.* God. The God. *Allah* is used by all the nations that profess Muḥammadanism, whatever language they speak.

² *Khuld makān* is the *laqab* of Muhi-ud-din Muḥammad Aurangzeb. The Mughal emperors of Delhi are rarely mentioned by their names, but their *laqabs*: and these names are not written in the body of farmāns or sanads, but placed at the top of the page under the name of 'God.' *Khuld makān* means "He whose place is in paradise."

³ *Khuld manzil* is the *laqab* of Quṭb-ud-din Muḥammad Mu'azzin Shāh 'Ālam, also called Bahādur Shāh. It has the same meaning as *Khuld makān*.

⁴ Ikhlas Khān was a Hindu of the tribe called Khattri of Lahore. He was well versed in Persian and served under the Emperor 'Ālaungir,' who conferred on him the above title. In the time of Farrukhsiyar (1715) he was raised to the rank of 7000. He wrote the history of that Emperor and called it *Bādshāhnāma*. See Beale's New Edit. *Orient. Biog. Dict.*

⁵ Roshan Akhtar was raised to the throne of Delhi by the title of Muḥammad Shāh, A.D. 1719, September. Ziqā'da 1131 A.H. (See Elphinstone's *Hist. of India*, p. 621).

⁶ *Shawwāl*, the tenth month amongst the Muḥammadans.

Translation.

1. On the 21st day of the month *Shawwāl* in the seventh year of the accession it was entered in the office of the Province.
2. On the 21st day of the month *Shawwāl* in the seventh year of the King's reign it was entered in the Government account register.
3. It is according to the Order Book or register.
4. It has been seen.

No. XI. (Plate VIII, Fig. 12a).

TRANSCRIPT.

هو
خُلد مَكان
خُلد منزل
والا

[مُهر] اسد خان [سالار] جنگ قُطب اَلْمَلِك يَمِين الدوله سپه سالار يار با وفا فدري مُحَمَّد فرح سير
بادشاه غازي *

آخذان جزیه حال و استقبال صوبه مُستقر اَلْمَلِك اکبر آباد و دار الخلافه بدانند / درینوا بموجب فرد
گزرا نیده جلینا بعرض اقدس اعلی رسید که پادریان / فقرائی قوم عیسائی که در اکبر آباد و دار الخلافه
با وابسته های خود اقامت دارند در عهد / بادشاه مغفوت پناه صاعد مُصعد قرب یزدان اسکند الله اعلی درجات
جنان / حضرت بموجب سند بمهر اسد خان و در عهد حضرت مطابق پروانه بمهر آصف الدوله
و خانخانان وجه جزیه مع وابسته ها بانها مُعاف بود اُمیدوار است که / در عهد مُبارک نیز مُعاف شود چون در عهد
حضرت چهار پنجکس / پادریان مع وابسته ها ساکن صوبه اکبر آباد مُعاف بودند حکم صادر شد که / بدستور عهد
حضرت سند دیوانی بدهند لهذا حسب اَلْحُکْم اَلْاَعْلَى / قلمی میگردد که جزیه چهار پنجکس پادریان مع
وابسته ها سکنه صوبه مذکور مُعاف / اعتبار نموده مواحم نشوند درین باب تاکید دانند بتاریخ دهم شهر ذیقعد سنه ۶
جلوس مُعلی صواب تحریر یافت *

Translation.

Hu.

Khuld Makān—Khuld Manzil—Wālā.

[Seal] Asad *Khān*, *Sālār Jang*, the pole-star (Lord) of the Empire, the right hand of the State, the generalissimo of the army, the sincere friend and devoted servant of Muhammad Farrukhsiyar, the king, the hero.

The collectors of the capitation tax of the present and future of the permanently established province Akbarābād and of the capital [*Shāhjahānābād*, Delhi] should

know ; that now according to the statement submitted by Juliana to our holy and exalted Eminence, the Pādris, dervishes of the Christian sect, who dwell at Akbarābād and in the imperial city with their dependents, were exempted from the capitation tax in the reign of the deceased, monarch who ascends the steps nearest to Omnipotence and resides in the highest mansion of Paradise, in accordance with the sealed sanad of Asad Khān and in the reign of His Majesty according to the parwānah sealed by Aṣaf-ud-daulah and Khān Khānān. She [Juliana] hopes that the [capitation tax] in this blessed reign be also remitted. As in the reign of his Blessed Majesty four [or] five Pādris with their dependents residing in the ṣūbah Akbarābād were exempted, a command has been issued that according to the custom of His Blessed Majesty a treasury sanad may be issued. For this reason in accordance with the most sublime command an order is hereby written that the four or five Pādris with their dependents who are residents in the aforesaid ṣūbah should be exempted from the capitation tax, and no one should oppose them. In this matter care should be taken.

Written on the 10th of the month Ziqa'dah in the sixth year of His Majesty's reign.

Reverse. (Plate VIII, Fig. 12b).

- ۱ بتاریخ ۲۱ ذوالقعدة سنه ۶ نقل در سرشته صوبه رسید . ج *
- ۲ بتاریخ ۲۰ ذیقعدة سنه ۶ داخل سیاهه حضور نموده شد - ج *
- ۳ موافق دفتر است *
- ۴ ملاحظه شد *

Translation.

1. On the 21st day of Zulqa'dah in the sixth year a copy was entered in the office of the Province [mark] ج i.e. 3.
2. On the 20th day Ziqa'dah in the sixth year [of the king's reign] it was written in the government account register [mark] ج i.e. 3.
3. It is according to the office [register].
4. It has been seen.

No. XII. (Plate IX, Fig. 13a).

This is a farmān of Shāh 'Ālam regarding the grant of the village 'Amādalpūr in the Parganah Pālam in the ṣūbah of Shāhjahanābād, for the maintenance of the dervish Padri Gregory in the 44th year of His Majesty's reign. The imperial seal of 1173 A.H., A.D. 1759, is on the right hand and the *tughra* of the king's name is to its left. The dedication is at the top.

In 1759, Portugal broke up the Society of Jesus, seized its property, and imprisoned its members. France did the same in 1764; and to prevent greater evils, Clement XIV in 1773 was forced to suppress the Society altogether. But though orders change, the Church remains. In 1780 the Mughal Mission was entrusted to the barefooted Carmelites of Bombay, who had founded missions at Ormuz in the Persian

Gulf in 1603 and also at Tatta on the Indus in 1615.¹ Fr. Gregorio arrived at Agra in June, 1780, and took charge of the various missions in the Mughal empire.² His name occurs in many important documents. He baptized the famous Begum Sumroo of Sardhana, the relict of Walter Reinhardt. He died at Delhi on September 29th, 1807, and his grave is still to be seen in the old Catholic cemetery on the Rohtak Road at that place. It bears the following epitaph³: رفت پادری کریکور بست و پنجم ماه رجب سنه ۱۲۲۴
'In memory of the late priest Gregory, 29th September, 1807.'

No. XII. (Plate IX, Fig. 13a).

TRANSCRIPT.

باسمه سُبْحَانَهُ وَتَعَالَى شَانَهُ

[مُهر] هُوَ الْغَالِب أَبُو الْمَظْفَر جَلال الدین شاه عالم بادشاه غازی سنه احد ۱۱۷۳ *

ابن عالم گیر بادشاه - ابن جهاندار شاه - ابن شاه عالم بادشاه - ابن عالم گیر بادشاه - ابن شاه جهان بادشاه -
ابن جهانگیر بادشاه - ابن اکبر بادشاه - ابن همايون بادشاه - ابن بابر بادشاه - ابن عمر شیخ شاه -
ابن سلطان ابوسعید شاه - ابن سلطان محمد شاه - ابن میران شاه - ابن امیر تیمور صاحب قرآن *

[طُغرا] فرمان أَبُو الْمَظْفَر جَلال الدین مُحَمَّد شاه عالم بادشاه غازی *

درینوقت میمنت اقتران فرمان والا شان واجب الاطاعت / و الاذعان صادر شد که موضع عمادالپور عمله برگذره
حویلی پالم و صوبه / دار الخلافه شاهجهان آباد در وجه انعام آلمغائی پادری کریکور درویش با فرزندان بمعافی
تصدیق و یادداشت و توفیر حسب الضمن مقرر باشد / باید که فرزندان نامدار کام کار عالی نسب والا تبار
دو زرائی ذوالاقتدار و آمرائی عالی مقدار و حکام کرام و عمال کفایت فرجام و متصدیان مهمات دیوانی /
و متکفلان معاملات سلطانی و جاگیر داران و کروزیان حال و استقبال موضع مذکور را نسلاً بعد نسل و بطناً بعد بطنی
خالداً و مُمْتَداً بتصرف درویش مذکور / با فرزندان را گذارند و از صوامد تغییر و تبدیل مصُون و محروس دانسته
بعلت پیشکش صوبه داری و فوجداری و مالوجها و سایر اخراجات مثل قفلغه و محصلانه و / داروغخانه
و ضابطانه و شبکار و بیگار و ده نیمی مُقَدَّمی و صد دوئی قانونگویی مزاحم و متعرض نشوند و از کل تکالیف
دیوانی و مطالبات خاقانی مُعَاف و مرفوع القلم شمارند / - درینباب تاکید اکید و قدغن مزید دانسته هر سال
سند مُجَدِّد نطلبند و از یرلیغ کرامت تبلیغ والا تخلف و انحراف نوزند بتاریخ غره شهر / رجب المرجب سال
فرخنده فال چهل و چهارم از جلوس میمنت مانوس مُقَدَّس مُعَلَّى زینت تحریر و زیب تسطیر پذیرفت *

¹ For the history of the Carmelite Mission in India see Paolino a S. Bartholomaeo 'India Orient. Christiana', pp. 46, 47—*Historia Generalis Fratrum Discalc.* Ord. B. Y. M. de Monte Carmelo, tom. I, p. 361 et seq. Romae, typis Moncini 1668, Item *Etat présent*, etc., p. 177. Mülbauer *Geschichten*, p. 344.

² *Acta S.C.P.F.*, Vol. 40—1780-85—*Ibid.*, Vol. 37, 1782-84, Indie Orientali e Cina.

³ Miles Irving, *List of Inscriptions in the Punjab*, p. 6, No. 29. Crecour.

Reverse. (Plate IX, Fig. 13c).

۱ بتاریخ غرة شهر رمضان سنه ۹۴۴ مبارک نقل بدفتر خالصه شریفه رسید *

۲ ثبت شد *

۳ [مهر] هو الغالب — قرة باصرة خلافت درة التاج سلطنت مهین پور شهزاده دین بفا میرزا محمد

اکبر شاه بهادر ولیعهد شاه عالم بادشاه غازی سنه ۱۲۳۴ *

۴ برساله فرزند بجان پیوند سعادت مند برخوردار کامکار مؤید منصور بختیار والا نسب عالی تبار گلدسته

بهارستان بوستان سلطنت بانی مبنای معدلت ثمره درد عظمت قرة باصرة سعادت / عرق ناصیه حشمت رافع

لواى نصرت هربر بیشه دلاوری و دلیری شهنسوار جولانک شیر مردی و شیرینی درة التاج خلانت اختر بروج

سعادت حامی دین متین مروج احکام سید المرسلین مصباح / ابد فروغ جهانبانی مؤسس اساس گوزگانی چراغ

دردمان صاحب قرآنی بادشاهزاده عالم و عالمیان نور حدقه جهان و جهانیان نور چشم راحت القلوب رفیع القدر

بلند مکان / المختص بمیامن ملک مَنان مهبط انوار عنایت ایزد متبککان عالی جاء میرزا محمد اکبر شاه

ولی عهد بهادر *

۵ [مهر] راجه مهتاب راء فدوی بادشاه غازی شاه عالم سنه ۱۲۰۲ *

۶ فی التاریخ هیزدهم ۱۸ شهر شعبان المعظم سنه ۹۴۴ جلوس والا ثبت شد * م

(Plate X, Fig. 13e).

۷ [مهر] راء کنور سین فدوی خانه زاد بادشاه غازی شاه عالم سنه ۱۲۳۳ *

۸ مطلع شد بست یکم شهر شعبان المعظم سنه ۹۴۴ جلوس والا *

۹ بتاریخ بست یکم شهر شعبان المعظم سنه ۹۴۴ جلوس مبارک نقل بدفتر استیفاء ابواب آمال ممالک

محروسه رسید مع وکیل مشار إليه *

(Plate X, Fig. 13f).

۱۰ داخل سیاهه نموده شد *

۱۱ بتاریخ هیزدهم ۱۸ شهر شعبان المعظم سنه ۹۴۴ جلوس معلی موافق سنه ۱۲۱۶ هجری مطابق

۴ دی ماه نقل بدفتر صاحب توجیه رسید لمص مع سچانند وکیل *

۱۲ بتاریخ هیزدهم ۱۸ شهر شعبان المعظم سنه ۹۴۴ جلوس والا نقل بدفتر مستوفی ائمه عظام رسید *

(Plate X, Fig. 13d).

۱۳ مقررا ضمن بموجب سیاهه دفتر خالصه شریفه آنکه عرضی گذرانیده پادری گریگور درویش مژین

بدستخط انور بدفتر رسیده بآنکه موضع عمادپور عماله پرگنه حویلی و پالم صوبه دار الخلافه شاهجهان آباد که از

مَدَّت سالها ویران و بے تردد و بسیار کم جمع است شاه نظام الدین بدرویش برای اخراجات نمازگاه و بیوه‌ها مقرر کرده داده / امیدوار فضل و کرم خسروانه است که موضع مسطور در وجه التمعانی فقیر مقرر شود و بنام متصدیان خالصه شریفه دستخط خاص مژن شود که سیاهه بجهت تیاری فرمان والا شان بمعافی تصدیق و یاد داشت برای دفتر دار انشا کرده دهند *

واقعه ۲۹ جمادی الثاني سنه ۱۰۴۴

۱۴ شرح دستخط مرشد زاده آفاق ولیعهد بهادر آنکه مطابق دستخط خاص بعمل آرند * مم

۱۵ نقل خط انور متصدیان خالصه شریفه سیاهه فرمان والا شان تیار کرده دهند *

(Plate X, Fig. 13g).

۱۶ بموجب سیاهه دفتر خالصه شریفه فرمان والا شان قلمی شد *

۱۷ داخل روز ناصحه واقعه غره رجب سنه ۱۰۴۴ بتاریخ هفت دهم شهر شعبان سنه ایضاً داخل ایجاب شد

مع سجانند وکیل دفتر معلی *

۱۸ بتاریخ غره رمضان سنه ۱۰۴۴ جلوس والا نقل بدفتر جمعدامی ممالک محروسه رسید - ج *

(Plate X, Fig. 13d).

۱۹ حقیقت دفتر این است که موضع عمادپور عمله پرگنه پالم سرکار صوبه دار آلخلافه شاهجهان آباد / در خالصه شریفه تعلق عامل پرگنه حویلی و پالم است کیفیت داسی و رقبه موضع مذکور بموجب نوشته قانون گویان / مفصله ذیل جهت دادن سیاهه موضع مذکور در وجه انعام التمعانی پادری گریگور درویش برای دفتر دار الانشا / پرچه حکم *

۱۳۶۰ بیگنه ۵۳۷ شور و غیبه منها ۱۸۹۷ بیگنه مفت ۱۷۰۰۰ دام جمع سال تمام سنه ۱۲۰۸ فصلی

روپیه ۵۰ موضع سوائے سایر و اراضی املاک و باغات موافق معمول قدیم *

۲۰ ثبت نمایند *

Translation.

[Dedication] In the name of the most holy, high and glorious God.

[Seal]. He who is victorious.

[Tughra] Abu-l Muzaffar Jalāl-ud-din Shāh 'Ālam, the king, the hero !

In this auspicious time a royal mandate of high dignity and proper to be submitted to was promulgated [to the effect] that the village 'Amādalpūr of the 'Amla Parganah, Haveli (mansion) Pālam, in the şūbah [province] of the capital Shāhjahānābād should be given as in'ām āl tamghā to Father Gregorio, a priest, and sons [successors], with exemption from *taşdiq*, *yāddāsh*t and *taufir* according to the entry in the register. It is necessary, therefore, that the famous, prosperous and illustrious

princes, the powerful ministers, the chiefs of high dignity, noble rulers, economical commissioners, officers of the financial department, statesmen of the affairs of the kingdom, fiefholders and revenue collectors of the present and future, should make over possession of the said village in the possession of the above-named dervish, as hereditary in his family for good, and should regard it as exempted from all troubles of change or alteration, and should not raise any opposition or objection in regard to any sort of presentation to the governor, or magistrate or *Māl-o-jihāt* (revenue tributes) and other expenses like *qanalgha* and *muḥassilānah*, *dāroghānah*, *zabiṭānah*, *shabkār*, *begār*, *dahnīmi*, *muqaddami*, *sad doi*, *qanungoi* and should consider them as exempt from all fiscal exactions and imperial demands. In this matter great diligence and care should be taken and no new sanad should be demanded every year, and none should behave contrary to this exalted farmān.

Written on the 15th of Rajab of the auspicious year 44 of the exalted accession.

Reverse.

1. On the first day of the month Ramazān, in the 44th year of the blessed accession, a copy was received in the office of *Khālīṣah Sharīfah*.¹

2. It was affixed.

3. [Seal] He who is victorious.

The pupil of the eye of royalty, the pearl of the crown of empire, the eldest son of the Emperor, the asylum of religion, Mirzā Muḥammad Akbar Shāh, the brave, heir-apparent of Shāh 'Ālam, the king, the hero, year 1234.

4. In the writing of the son, linked to the soul of the august Emperor enjoying long life and prosperity, the powerful, victorious, triumphant, fortunate, majestic lineage of the illustrious house; the nosegay of the vernal blossoms of the garden of the empire; the architect of the edifices of justice; the fruit of the tree of magnificence; the pupil of the eye of felicity; the whiteness of the forehead of the State; the uplifter of the flag of victory; the lion of the forest of valour and magnanimity; the valiant champion and lion-like in the field of military exercises; the pearl of the crown of the Empire; the star of the zodiacal sign of felicity; the protector of the firmly established religion; the circulator of the commands of the prince of prophets [Muḥammad]; the torch of eternal brightness of the government of the world; the strengthener of the foundation of the house of Timūr; the lamp of the illustrious house of Ṣāhib Qirān [Timūr]; the prince of the world and men; the light of the pupil of the eye of the world and of mortals; the light of the eye; the pleasure of the hearts; the exalted of the powerful hearts; the exalted of the powerful high dignity; the chosen for the blessings of the beneficent king [God]; the resting place of the favourable splendours of the Holy God; the eminent Mirzā Muḥammad Akbar Shāh, heir apparent, the hero!

5. [Seal] Rājah Mahtāb Rāi, the faithful servant of Shāh 'Ālam, the king, the hero! 1202 year 20.

¹ The principal court of exchequer, where all matters touching the revenue of land held immediately from Government are transacted.

6. Recorded on the 18th of the month Shā'bān-ul-mu'azzam in the 44th year of the Emperor's accession.

7. [Seal.] Rāi Kanwar Sain, the houseborn (slave) of King Shāh 'Ālam, the hero! year 1233.

8. Read on the 21st Shā'bān-ul-mu'azzam in the 44th year of the eminent accession.

9. On the 21st of the month Shā'bān-ul-mu'azzam, in the 44th year of the Emperor's reign, a copy was entered in Head-revenue (or Financial) office of the protected dominions. With the vakil of the above mentioned.

10. Was entered in the account register.

11. On the day 18th of the month Shā'bān-ul-mu'azzam, in the 44th year of the exalted accession, corresponding with the 1216th year of the Hijri, 4th day of the month Dai, a copy was received in the office for keeping description-rolls. With Sajanand as Vakil.

12. On the 18th day of the month Shā'bān-ul-mu'azzam in the 44th year of the Emperor's reign, a copy was received in the office of the Examiner of the important charity lands.

13. As allotted in the detailed list according to the register kept in the office of the Khālīshah Sharīfah as follows :—The petition presented by Father Gregory, dervish, adorned with the royal signature, was received in the office to this effect: that mauza 'Amādalpūr in the parganahs Haweli and Pālam situated in the ṣūbah of the capital Shāhjahānābād, which since many years lies waste, without cultivation and brings in very little revenue. Shāh Nizām-ud-dīn has made it over to the dervish for the expenses of a church and widows. The applicant is expectant of the royal generosity and beneficence, and that the aforesaid mauza' by way of permanent estate may be confirmed to the faqīr, the applicant, and the order adorned with the royal signature should be issued to the name of the accountants of the office of Khālīshah Sharīfah, that they may hand over the accounts' register to the office of Dāru-l-inshā (patent office) for the preparation of the royal and exalted order in accordance with the attested memo.

Written on the 29th Jamāda-ṣ-ṣānī, in the 44th year of the accession.

14. Note. Autograph order of the Prince of the Universe, the heroic, heir-apparent: according to the autograph order of the Emperor let them give effect to the grant.

15. The controllers of the Khālīshah Sharīfah should prepare and forward a copy of the imperial order.

16. According to the writing of the office Khālīshah Sharīfah a royal mandate was written.

17. Was entered in the journal of daily transactions, on the 1st of Rajab, 44th year. On the 17th of the month Shā'bān in the above year it was entered as affirmed together with the change made by Sajanand the Vakīl of the eminent office [Emperor's office].

18. On the first of Ramazān, 44th year of the King's reign, a copy reached the Revenue office of the protected kingdom.

19. The note of the office is this: that mauza 'Amādalpūr in the Pargānah Pālam Sarkar, in the Government's sūbah of the capital of Shāhjahānābād, has been entered in the office of *Khālīshah Sharīfah* to be under the officer in charge of Pargānahs Hāweli and Pālam. The state of the lands and measurements of the said village according to the writing of the Qānūngos are fully described below for being handed over to the office of Dāru-l-inshā, the account-book of the above mentioned village (which had been) granted as a permanent estate to Pādri Gregory, dervish. The parcha of order.

1360 Bigahs.

537 Bigahs salt-impregnated ground deducted.

1897 Bigahs without payment.

17,000 dām. Total revenue of the year 1208 Faṣli Rs. 50. Village cesses and extra charges and land comprised in *imlak* gardens according to the ancient custom.

20. Ordered to be entered.

Nos. XIII AND XIV. (Plates XI and XII).

Finally I must mention 'a document of Shāh 'Ālam,' which according to Mr. Fanthome¹ shows that a pension had been allowed to Catholic priests by the recommendation of Queen Mary, Akbar's Christian wife. Whether Akbar had a Christian wife is a question which has been warmly debated.

Mr. Frederic Fanthome, in his 'Reminiscences of Agra', 2nd edition, 1895, maintains stoutly that he had. Her name he says was Mary and he would identify her with "the beautiful wife of Abdul Wassi",² probably a corruption of 'Abdul Massi' (Massi signifies Messiah); because, as he says 'it is a fact established by inscriptions on graves in the Catholic cemetery at Agra, that during the Mughal reign Christians bore Muḥammadan names and titles, and I conceive Abdul Wassi³ or Massi was a Christian. Under the circumstances, I should not be surprised if "the beautiful wife of Abdul Wassi" was no other than Mary herself.'⁴ Fanthome moreover supports his statement by saying that "when [in 1580] Catholic priests came at Akbar's invitation, they used one of the rooms of Mary's kothi as a chapel" at Fatehpūr⁵; and that "the captives taken away by Aquaviva in 1583 were Mary's slaves."⁶ He also says that "the Catholic priests, who visited Akbar's court, mention Mary as one of wives of the Emperor. And to crown all, I have seen an original document, bearing the seal and signature of Shāh 'Ālam, which shows that a pension had been allowed to Catholic priests on the recommendation of the said queen Mary. The document has the name Mariam (Mary), not Mariam-uz-Zamānī, nor Mariam Makānī."⁷

Ismael Gracias in his 'Uma Dona Portuguesa na Corte da Graõ Mogol'⁸ and

¹ Frederic Fanthome, *Reminiscences of Agra*, Calcutta, Thacker & Co. 1894.

² Blochmann's *Ann*, Vol. I, p. 309.

⁵ *Ibid.* pp. 12-13 & 23.

⁸ Nova Goa, imprensa nacional, 1907.

³ Fanthome, p. 7.

⁶ *Ibid.* p. 26.

⁴ *Ibid.* p. 7.

⁷ *Ibid.* p. 6.

Mr. C. A. Kincaid in 'The Tale of the Tulsi Plant'¹ improve upon the story, and the latter tells us that Mr. Gracias has with great acuteness and research been able to trace Mary's origin.

They both establish the historical facts that Akbar in 1572 after a bloodless campaign ended the Gujarāt Kingdom, and that in 1581 a detachment of the Mughal army attacked the Portuguese territories of Bassein and Damāūn, but was driven off by the Governor Martini Affonso de Mello.² This repulse would, as in other cases, have been followed by an attack in force which would surely have succeeded had the Emperor not been stopped by something more terrible in his eyes than the Portuguese cannon and more persuasive than the lips of their ambassadors—the frowns and tears of a Lusitanian Lady.

Instead of war he made a treaty³ and sent envoys of congratulation to the new Portuguese king, Philip II, of Castile.⁴

"Who was this lady," asks Mr. Kincaid, "who did such signal service to her country? She has hitherto been styled Maria Makany, Akbar's Christian wife, whose tomb is still visible at Fatehpūr Sikri. But Mr. Gracias with great acuteness and research thus traces her origin. In the reign of King John III there was founded at Lisbon a home for orphan girls of good family. When these girls reached woman's estate they were shipped off to the various Portuguese colonies to make wives for the officials and settlers.⁵ The ladies did not, however, always reach their destination but, like the Moorish king's bride in Boccaccio, sometimes fell into wrong hands. One of them was rescued from a wreck to become queen of the Maldives.⁶ Another, Mary Mascarenhas, captured with her sister by the Dutch, was brought to Surat and thence sold at the Mughal court,⁷ where she became one of Akbar's queens, and is known to history under the Musalman corruption of her name Maria Makāny."⁸

"Her sister's fate was, if possible, more romantic still. In 1560 Prince Jean Philippe Bourbon, a cadet of the house of Navarre, fled from France as a result of a fatal duel, and making his way from Madras to Delhi applied to enter Akbar's service. He was received with great distinction, given the title of Nawab, appointed governor of the royal harem, and wedded to Juliana Mascarenhas, Maria's sister."⁹

¹ *The Tale of the Tulsi Plant and other studies* by C. A. Kincaid, Bombay, 1908, pp. 96-105.

² See Ism. Gracias, *op. cit.*, p. 39—Ant. Franc. Moniz *Noticias e documentos para a História de Damão*, I, 59-63. See also F. M. Danvers, *The Portuguese in India*, II, 42-43.

³ J. Campbell, *Thana, Bombay Gazetteer*, XIII, Part, ii, 453, says that this treaty was concluded "partly by the good offices of a Portuguese lady who was an inmate of Akbar's household."

⁴ See E. D. MacLagan, *op. cit.*, p. 54; and Mr. Rehatsek in the *Indian Antiquary*, April 1887, p. 137.

⁵ Ism. Gracias, *op. cit.*, p. 46.

⁶ *Ibid.*,—Victor Ribeiro, *História da beneficência pública em Portugal no Instituto de Coimbra*, I, 517 and 518. "Uma fôitão feliz que chegou a ser rainha, casando com um rei das Maldivas."

⁷ Ism. Gracias says *op. cit.*, p. 47, "Não é igualmente improvável que, chegando a Goa, a donzella, de que fallamos, tivesse ido, por qualquer circunstancia, a Surrate, Agra ou Delhi."

⁸ Ism. Gracias, *op. cit.*, pp. 47, 48, "Quanto ao nome, Maria Makany não poderia ter sido a corruptela Mahometana por exemplo, de Maria Mascarenhas, como Farmatium ou Redif foi de Rodolfo?"

⁹ See *Historical Sketch of the Indian Branch of the Bourbon Family*, together with a genealogical table from the time that the founder John Philip Bourbon landed in India, by Col. W. Kincaid, Political Agent in Bhopal, 1883.

Such is the story of Akbar's Christian wife as told by Fanthome, Gracias and Mr. C. A. Kincaid. But other serious writers ridicule this idea and argue that Mariyam or Mary the supposed Christian wife of Akbar who enjoyed the title of Maryam-uz-zamānī, or 'the Mariyam Makānī' or 'the Mary of the age,' was really the daughter of a Hindu Rāja. "Akbar's mother was known by a similar title, Mariyam Makānī, and there is no more reason for believing Akbar's queen, who bore the court title of Mariyam uz zamānī, to have been a Christian, than there is for believing in the Christianity of his mother. In short Akbar's Christian queen seems to be the creature of imagination of guides greedy for *bakhshish*". "The Roman Catholic priests," they also say, "insist on believing in her existence, and their congregation of course are of the same opinion."¹

This latter statement does not prove anything against Mr. Fanthome's authorities quoted above; nor does it in any way do away with the local tradition that Akbar had a Christian wife, whatever her name might have been. It is also wrong to state that the Catholic priests insist on believing in her existence, simply because Fanthome (p. 16) mentions this tradition, and the Bishop and Vicar Apostolic of Agra writing in 1832 to the traveller Dr. Wolff also alluded to it, saying that the Jesuits first gained Akbar's favour 'per impegno di una certa Signora Giuliana di Goa che come Dottoressa si trovava nel seraglio del sudditto Imperatore.'²

But let us now carefully examine Mr. Fanthome's authorities and weigh their worth. It is clear from the annual letters of the Society that the Jesuits at Fatehpūr Sikri used a room of their *own* house as a chapel, and that their dwelling was near to Akbar's quarter.³ They seem also to imply that they had eventually built a small chapel, which is perhaps the small building with a thatched roof near Mariyam's kothi; but they do not in the least tell us, as Mr. Fanthome so categorically and absolutely states, that "they used one of the rooms of *Mary's* kothi as a chapel at Fatehpūr"; nor do they mention, as far I have been able to ascertain, any Christian wife of Akbar,⁴ and the Christian captives taken away by Fr. Aquaviva in 1583 were not the Christian queen Mary's slaves, but those of Begum Hamidah Bānū, the mother of Akbar, Mariyam Makānī.⁵

¹ See *The Pioneer*, July 12th, 1895; and *The Moghul Architecture of Fatehpūr Sikri*, by E. W. Smith, Architectural Surveyor, N.W.P. and Oudh.

² See Wolff's *Researches and Travels*, 1835.

³ Francis Goldie, S.J., 'The First Christian Mission to the Great Mogul,' Dublin, 1897, pp. 68-69, says: "He [Akbar] bade the Fathers to leave the public inn and take their abode within the vast enclosure of his palace. The Fathers fitted up a chapel in their new quarters as handsomely as they could and placed over the altar a copy of the Madonna of St. Luke, etc."; and E. D. MacLagan, *op. cit.*, p. 50: "He [Akbar] also removed the Fathers from their noisy house in the city and gave them accommodation in the palace, where they built a small chapel."

⁴ Goldie, *op. cit.*, p. 69, note 1: "Colonel Cole, *Akbars' Folly*, May, 1897, marks in his plan of Fatehpūr Sikri, the house of Miriam which tradition assigns to a Portuguese wife of Akbar. No such person is mentioned by contemporary European historians." E. D. MacLagan, *op. cit.*, p. 53, note 1: The Jesuit records "make no mention, so far as I have been able to ascertain, of any Christian wife of Akbar's."

⁵ Goldie, *op. cit.*, pp. 105-6: "The Begam, Hamidah Banu, the mother of Akbar, had in her household, among her other slaves a Russian from Moscow, with his Polish wife and their two children, whose faith and morals alike were in the gravest peril. These four he (Aquaviva) begged to be allowed to take with him to Goa. The Begam, who was no friend of the *Farangi* and infidel *Padres*, was most unwilling to give up these slaves, specially prized, no doubt, because

The farmān of Shāh Ālam alluded to by Mr. Fanthome grants verily a handsome annual allowance to Fr. Wendell, but it does not mention such a thing as 'by the recommendation of the said queen.' Mr. Fanthome misread the words از قدیم 'āz qadīm' for از مریم 'Az Mariyam' which are however found in another farmān of Shāh 'Ālam relating to the Agra cemetery.¹

The suggestion of Mr. Gracias as to the possible origin of the two sisters Maria and Juliana Mascarenhas, who on their way to Goa were taken prisoners by the Dutch and sold at Surat (an hypothesis of which Mr. Kincaid makes a certainty), is very acute indeed. As a matter of fact it would prove how they could have come to Akbar's court, a point which remained unexplained before, but it does not in the least prove that Maria became Akbar's Christian wife and that Juliana was married to John Philip Bourbon. This according to Mr. Kincaid took place before 1581.² Now it is quite certain that it was not the Dutch, who took them prisoners, because the first Dutchman to double the Cape of Good Hope was Cornelius Houtmann, who only on June 1st, 1596, reached Sumatra and Bantam, a Portuguese factory in Java, and the Dutch East Indian Company was not founded till 1602.³ We should feel very much inclined after this to discard completely the local tradition and look upon Akbar's Christian wife as a myth, if there was no contemporary evidence to uphold it, and this from an impartial Muhammadan writer. Blochmann in his additional notes to the *Āin* (vol. 1, p. 618) on the authority of Sayyid Ahmad's *Tuzuk-i-Jahāngīrī* (p. 324) states that among Akbar's wives there was 'an Armenian woman'; and Keene (*Sketch of the History of Hindustan*) says: "Akbar subsequently married at least two other foreign ladies, an Armenian and a princess of Marwar. Preserving unmolested in the palace their chapels and their chaplains, these ladies would necessarily have their share in promoting the catholicity of the Emperor's mind and predisposing him to regard with favour Hindus and Christians."

Who was this Armenian lady? What was her name? I cannot tell, but what I know for certain from the unpublished annual letters of the Jesuits,⁴ who were at that time, or a little later, at the Mughal court, is, that there was a certain lady Juliana, daughter of an Armenian merchant named Khwajah Abdullahi, high in favour with Akbar; possibly Akbar's ambassador to Goa in 1579. This lady Juliana was married to another Armenian by name Mirza Scanderus [Iskandar] native of Aleppo and of a noble family. From them were born [about 1596?] Mirza Zu'l Qarnayn a name given him by Akbar as a special favour; and one year later [hum anno] Mirza

brought from afar. But Akbar would refuse nothing to Blessed Rudolf, and so, upon his departure, the Father carried them off in triumph."

¹ Mr. Fanthome is no authority on the reading of these farmāns: he misread them and misunderstood them. For instance: Fanthome, *Reminiscences*, p. 29, translates the Farman of Akbar (I above) as follows: "It has been represented to us that the Reverend Fathers are desirous of erecting in the city [of Agra] a house for divine worship. We accordingly issue this our imperial Farman" etc., and on page 65 he says that the old cemetery at Agra, the ground for which was granted by Akbar about the end of the sixteenth century of our Lord, during the incumbency of one Father Joseph, or 'Yusuf,' and his coadjutors as mentioned in the grant. Compare Farmāns II and V above.

² C. A. Kincaid, *Tulsi Plant*.

³ Meadows Taylor, *Manual of the History of India*, pp. 283, 286. W. W. Hunter, *Indian Empire*, p. 361.

⁴ Goana Historia, 1600-1624 (Goa 33) Lett. Ann. mail. 1628, p. 671.

Scanderius. Juliana, the mother, died at the birth of this latter and Akbar took both boys, had them tended and brought up in his seraglio by a certain *Rānī* who was childless. Unfortunately the Jesuit records do not mention the *Rānī*'s name, nor do they state that she was a Christian.

In my opinion, the Bourbon and Zu'l Qarnayn stories have been mixed up. One thing is certain, that Colonel Kincaid, in saying that Juliana, wife of Bourbon, was also a lady doctor, is mixing up two persons, the Lady Juliana, sister of Mariyam, the supposed Christian wife of Akbar, and the Lady Juliana Dias da Costa.

No. XIII. (Plate XI, Fig. 14a).

TRANSCRIPT.

له

[مُهر] مرزا نجف خان بهادر غالب جنگ ذو الفقار الدوله بخشي المالك فدوي بادشاه غازي -
شاه عالم سنه ۱۱۸۷ *

مُتصدیان مُهمّاتِ حال و استقبالِ صوبه اکبر آباد بدانند / [که دیهات بعوض مُبلغ دو هزار] چهار صد روپيه /
[برائے مُصارفِ فرنگ گهرامي باسم] پادري و نکل صاحب / [بابت سال تمام خرچہ فصل ربیع] سنه ۱۱۸۱
مقرر نموده شد / [باید که] دیهات حسبِ اضمن بجمع مرقومه بتصرف / گماشته های سالانه را گذارند
و نوعی در گذاشت / آن توقف و تغافل ننمائند و همیشه ممد و معاون کل / باشند و هر سال سندِ مُجدد نه طلبند
در این باب / قید دانسته حسبِ المسطور بعمل آرند قدغن دانند / *

مرقوم نهم ۹ شهر ذی حجه سنه ۱۵ جلوس والا *

Translation.

The comptrollers, present and future, of the important affairs of *Ṣūbah Akbar-ābād*, should know, that for the expenses of the European of exalted name, Father Wendel *Ṣāhib*, villages [have been granted, and] in return has been fixed a sum of rupees two thousand four hundred in lieu of revenue for the whole year [to be paid] at the spring harvest of 1181. The villages noted below should be left in the possession of the agents on payment of the above sum. In doing so let there be no delay or negligence. Let them always give help and assistance in all affairs, and let them demand no fresh sanad every year. In this matter they should be careful to comply with the directions given above. This is imperative.

Dated 9th of the month *Zi Hajj*, the 15th year of the accession.

On the Reverse (Transcript). (Plate XI, Fig. 14b).

۱ بتاريخ دهم ۱۰ ذی حجه سنه ۱۵ جلوس والا نقل بدفتري ديوان رسيد *

۲ بتاريخ دهم ۱۰ شهر ذی حجه سنه ۱۵ جلوس والا داخل سياحه حضور نموده شد - ج *

- ۳ بتاریخ پانزدہم ۱۵ شہر ذی الحجہ سنہ ۱۵ جلوس والا نقل بدفتہر امانت رسید *
- ۴ بتاریخ چہار دہم ۱۴ ذی الحجہ سنہ ۱۵ جلوس والا نقل بدفتہر داروغہ رسید *
- ۵ بتاریخ چہار دہم ۱۴ ذی الحجہ سنہ ۱۵ جلوس والا نقل بدفتہر وقائع رسید *
- ۶ بہو کے پورہ یک موضع *
- ۷ بتاریخ چہار دہم ۱۴ شہر ذی الحجہ سنہ ۱۵ جلوس والا نقل بدفتہر استیفا رسید *
- ۸ ضمن نویسنند *

On the Reverse (Translation).

On the 10th day of Zi Hajj in the 15th year of the august accession, a copy was received in the office of the Diwān.

On the 10th day of the month Zi Hajj in the 15th year of the august accession, it was entered in the Government account register.

On the 15th of Zi Hajj in the 15th year of the august accession, a copy reached the Trust Office.

On the 14th day of Zi Hajj, 15th year of the august accession, a copy reached the office of the daroghah.

On the 14th day of Zi Hajj, 15th year of the august accession, a copy reached the Intelligence Office.

Bhogipūra, one village.

On the 14th day of the month Zi Hajj, in the 15th year of the august accession, a copy reached the Head Revenue Office.

They should write an abstract.

No. XIV. (Plate XII, Fig. 15a).

TRANSCRIPT.

لہ

[مہر] سنہ ۱۵ بخشہ الملک ذوالفقار الدواہ میرزا نجف خان بہادر غالب جنگ فدوی بادشاہ غازی شاہ عالم سنہ ۱۱۸۸ *

متصدیان مہمات حال و استقبال موضع لشکر پورہ تعلقہ مندوئی اہن مضاف صوبہ مستقر الخلافہ اکبر آباد بداند کہ / دو قطعہ باغ قبرستان اہل فرنگ باسم پادری و نڈل از قدیم مقرر است / و ہموارہ قابض و متصرف ماند درینولا از سرکار ہم وا گذار نمودہ شد باید کہ / باغات مذکور را حسب الضمن بتصرف مشار الیہ وا گذارند و بوجہی / مزاحم و متعرض نشدہ در ہر امور مرجوعہ مشار الیہ مراتب امداد و اعانت بعمل آردہ باشند در این باب قاید اید / و قدغن مزید انگاشتنہ حسب المسطور بعمل آرند *

مرقوم بتاریخ یازدہم ۱۱ شہر ربیع الاول سنہ ۱۶ جلوس والا

Translation.

GOD.

The comptrollers of the important affairs of the present and future of the village Lashkarpūr, Ta'alluqa Mandoi Āhān, suburb of the permanent capital Akbarābād, should know that two pieces of land for garden and cemetery for the Europeans, have been for long in the name of Father Wendell¹ and he has always been in possession and enjoyment of the same. At this time they are granted to him also by Government. It behoves that the above mentioned gardens according to the entry in the register should be left in his possession and in no way should they [comptrollers] molest or trouble him, and in all these matters should be rendering assistance and help. In this matter great stress and care should be given according to the prescribed order. Written on the 11th day of the month of Rabbi-ul-awwal, 16th year of the Emperor's accession.

On the Reverse (Transcript). (Plate XII, Fig. 15b).

۱ مقررًا ضمن بموجب عرض پادری و نکل مرتین بدستخط خاص آنکه / موازی در قطعه باغ قبرستان اهل فرنگ
که آن واقعه است در موضع لشکر پور / مضاف صوبه مستقر الخلافه اکبر آباد تعلقه مندوئی آهن - شرح دستخط
خاص آنکه / پروانه معافی بغویسند - باغیچه قبرستان معه چهار دیواری پخته / و زمین درون و بیرون / قطعه دو نیم
بیگه - باغ قبرستان چهار دیواری و چاه و زمین / درون و بیرون / قطعه هشت بیگه *

- ۲ بتاریخ دوازدهم ۱۲ شهر جمادی الاول سنه ۱۶ جلوس والا نقل، بدفتر دیوان رسید *
- ۳ بتاریخ ۱۳ ربیع الاول سنه ۱۶ جلوس والا داخل سیاهه حضور نموده شد - ح *
- ۴ بتاریخ سیزدهم ۱۳ شهر جمادی الاول سنه ۱۶ جلوس والا نقل بدفتر امانت رسید *
- ۵ بتاریخ سیزدهم ۱۳ جمادی الاول سنه ۱۶ جلوس والا نقل بدفتر داروغه رسید *
- ۶ بتاریخ چهاردهم ۱۴ جمادی الاول سنه ۱۶ جلوس والا داخل سیاهه خاص شد *
- ۷ بتاریخ سیزدهم ۱۳ شهر جمادی الاول سنه ۱۶ جلوس والا نقل بدفتر استیفا رسید *
- ۸ بتاریخ هشت دهم ۱۸ شهر جمادی الاول سنه ۱۶ جلوس والا نقل بدفتر وقائع رسید *

¹ He came out to India in 1751, and was at the College of Din in 1756. We meet him again in 1764, when he drew up a map representing the strategical position of the English and Mughal armies. (See Fr. S. Noti's *Das Fürstenthum Sardhana*, Freiburg. Herder, 1906, p. 25). He was at Agra in 1769 and restored the old church with the assistance of Sombre, as an inscription shows. Major James Rennell had been presented with a map and a MS. memoir on the land of the Rajputs and other Provinces to the S.W. of Agra, both drawn up in 1779 by P. Wendle (*sic*). "They have been very useful to me," he says "in the geographical description of the great map" (James Rennell, *Description historique et géographique de l'Indostan*. Paris, Poignée, 1800, Vol. 1, pp. xxi-xxii). He died at Lucknow on the 29th of March, 1803, and was buried at Agra in the graveyard at the back of the old Roman Catholic Cathedral. He was the last representative in North India of the suppressed Society of Jesus. *Cfr.* H. Hosten, *Jesuit Missionaries in Northern India*, pp. 41-42; E. A. H. Blunt, *Christian Tombs*, etc., p. 53.

Translation.

1. The grant according to the petition of Father Wendell, adorned with the imperial signature, is allotted in the detailed list as follows: Two pieces of garden and cemetery, the property of the Farang (Europeans), is their property, and is situated in the village of Lashkarpur in the suburb of the district of the permanent capital Akbarābād, Ta'alluqa Mandoi Āhan. The purport of the imperial signature is: that the parwānah of free grant should be written. The garden of the cemetery with four stone built walls, and land in and outside a piece of land $2\frac{1}{2}$ bighas.

The cemetery, four walls, and well with land in and outside. The plot measuring 8 bighas.

2. On the 12th day of the month Jamādi-ul-awwal in the 16th year of the august accession, a copy was received in the office of the Dīwān.

3. On the 13th Rabi'-ul-awwal, 16th year of the august accession, it was entered in the Government Account Register.

4. On the 13th of the month Jamādi-ul-awwal, 16th year of the august accession, a copy was received in the Trust Office.

5. On the 13th Jamādi-ul-awwal, 16th year of the august accession, a copy was received in the office of the daroghah.

6. On the 14th Jamādi-ul-awwal, in the 16th year of the august accession, it was entered in the special account register.

7. On the 13th of the month Jamādi-ul-awwal in the 16th year of the august accession a copy was received in the Head (Revenue) office.

8. On the 18th of the month Jamādi-ul-awwal in the 16th year of the august accession, a copy reached the Intelligence office.

THE RESULTS OF THE JESUIT MISSION IN THE MUGHAL EMPIRE.

The results achieved by the Jesuit Mission in the Mughal Empire have been variously estimated, belittled by many, overrated by others. Be that as it may, the fact is, that the Jesuit Missions prospered and increased in popularity during the benign reigns of Akbar and Jahāngir and that a considerable congregation gathered around the churches at Agra and Lahore.¹ In due course of time they extended their activity far beyond Lahore and Agra, which latter station always remained the central point of the Mission, establishing missions at Surat, Aḥmadābād, Patna, Ladak, Chaprang, Manor, Nepal, Srinagar, Delhi, Marwar, Quetta and Kābul.² With Shāh Jahān, however, who was a strict Muḥammadan, a new era arose; the principal support was entirely withdrawn; the Lahore and Agra churches were either destroyed or greatly impaired³; the making of converts from Muḥammadanism was strictly prohibited,⁴

¹ E. D. MacLagan, *op. cit.*, J.A.S.B. 1896, p. 65.

² L. Carrez, *Atlas Geograph. Soc. Ies.*, Paris, 1900. S. Noti, S.J., *Joseph Tieffentaller, S.J., A forgotten geographer of India*, 1906, p. 8. Reprinted from 'East and West.'

³ Bernier, *Travels in the Mugul Empire*. Arch. Constable, Westminster, 1891, pp. 177-287.

⁴ Jos. de Castro's letter to the General of the Order, Agra, 6th February, 1633.

and Mr. Maclagan says¹ 'that by the time of Aurangzeb² there was little left of the Christianity introduced by the Jesuits in Northern India.' This, however, is not correct. Two new churches were built at Delhi, not in Jahāngīr's time, as Maclagan³ (p. 108) states, but during Aurangzeb's or Bahādur Shāh's reign, and the Christian community at Delhi at that time exceeded four hundred persons. In 1739 the churches at Delhi were destroyed by the soldiery of Nādir Shāh in the great massacre of that year. "Our Society", writes Fr. J. Saignes, "had two churches at Dely, which have been burnt in that conflagration. They had been built by the liberality of Emperor Gehanguir . . . Two Portuguese Jesuits, who were always stationed at Dely, were happy enough to escape from the massacre. They were ministering to some remnants of a Christian community, 700 strong. The men able to bear arms were all in the Emperor's service; the greater part were killed. The palace of a Christian lady,⁴ celebrated for her piety and much esteemed by the Emperor and the court, had the same fate as our churches."

The Jesuit Missions to the court of Akbar are perhaps unique in the history of missionary enterprise as an attempt on the part of a large and erudite Society in Christendom to convert a single individual and, in so far as they represented an attempt of this nature, they were undoubtedly failures.⁵

It has been said that the Jesuits at the Mughal court were supporters of the Portuguese claims and Prince Frederick of Schleswig Holstein (Count von Noer)⁶ says: that the third mission to Akbar was undertaken mainly on political grounds, and that the Jesuit Superiors had from the beginning little belief in the conversion of the Emperor. Sir Thomas Roe, writing in 1616, talks of Father Corsi as having been the 'Resident of the King of Spain,'⁷ and Terry describes him as 'Agent for the Portugals.'⁸

There is not the slightest doubt that the Jesuits from the outset had no belief in the conversion of the Emperor Akbar,⁹ but nothing tends to prove that the third mission to Akbar was undertaken mainly on political grounds. We must admit,

¹ J.A.S.B., 1896, p. 108.

² Gemelli Careri, an Italian physician, saw Aurangzeb's camp at Galgala in March, 1699, "and was hospitably received by the leading Christians serving in the army . . . They were also not deprived of the consolations of religion by their bigoted employer. The Roman Catholics had a convenient chapel with mud walls in which two Canarese priests officiated." M. Macmillan, *The Globe-trotter in India 200 years ago*, London. Swan Sonnenschein, 1895, pp. 35-6, and in Churchill's *Collection*, Vol. IV. In 1700, Father Anthony de Magalhaens was chaplain to the numerous Christians serving in the army of Prince Chalem [Shāh 'Ālam] at Kabul. See *Lettres Édif*, Paris. MDCCLXXX I, Vol. X, pp. 234-5. See also H. Beveridge, *The Story of Doma Juliana*, in 'East and West,' Bombay, June 1903, p. 4.

³ Mr. Maclagan on the authority of Father J. Saignes, but the first Jesuit to make his residence at Delhi was Fr. Ceschi in 1654. See his letter dated Delhi, August 24th, 1654.

⁴ Most probably Lady Juliana Dias da Costa, but as she died in 1734, the lady referred to may also be Isabella Velho, niece to the famous Lady Juliana.

⁵ E. D. Maclagan, J.A.S.B. 1896, pp. 106-7.

⁶ *Kaiser Akbar*, I, 489.

⁷ Meleh. Thevenot *Relations*, p. 78.

⁸ Purchas, II, 1482.

⁹ See E. D. Maclagan, J.A.S.B. 1896, pp. 52-55-56-7. F. Goldie, *op. cit.*, pp. 74-75; 91: 'Intoxicated with success, and full of his new scheme of a composite religion, Akbar showed now little sign of becoming a Christian,' pp. 96-97. 'Rudolf inquired one day of Abul Fazl why Akbar, who evidently was not prepared to become a Christian, wished him to stay any longer at court. The Emperor told his counsellor frankly that he loved to see around him the learned of every race, and especially one whose teaching he so much admired.'

however, that at times the Jesuits at the Mughal court supplied the authorities at Goa with political information and even pushed the interests of the Portuguese at the Mughal court; but we can hardly blame them for having done that.

Being Portuguese they naturally supported the claims of the Portuguese who had until then enjoyed undisputed monopoly in the East. Did not the English Jesuit Thomas Stephens¹ do likewise? and yet he is not blamed for it. "His letters to his father are said to have raised great enthusiasm in England to trade directly with India"² to the prejudice of Portugal; and it is most unlikely that Father Corsi, who was an Italian, and who had no dealings with the court, was the 'Resident of the King of Spain' or the 'Agent for the Portugals.'

The very free comments made on the Jesuits' tactics in the promotion of Portuguese interests by the English travellers³ in India during Jahāngīr's reign, must be largely discounted. We readily grant that the Portuguese artfully fomented a certain degree of contempt against the English traders, which partly tended to Hawkins' discomfiture; but whether the Jesuits were the chief and only fomentors is still a question open to dispute.

Other reasons too are given which frustrated Captain Hawkins' effort to obtain a farmān from the Padishāh Jahāngīr to establish factories in his kingdom. "In the first instance the head of Hawkins was turned by the favour shown to him by the great Mughal; but his very success created numerous enemies. The Portuguese had friends in the Mughal court, and managed to excite the suspicions of Jahāngīr against the Englishman. The Mughal governor of Surat raised an outcry against Hawkins; he had bought many things of Hawkins and had refused to pay for them. One Amīr portentously declared in the Darbār hall, that if once the English got a footing in India they would soon become masters. Hawkins found that he could get no redress and no favours, and soon made his escape from Agra."⁴ With regard to

¹ "Padre Thomas Stevens was borne in Wiltshire in England." (Richard Hakluyt, *Navigations* etc., Vol. III, p. 278.) "He was educated at New College, Oxford, and became Rector of the Jesuit College in Salsette" (Hunter, *Ind. Emp.*, p. 364). "He is the first modern Englishman known to have visited the Indian Peninsula, in 1579 (*ibid.*, p. 363). He and Padre Marke, who was born in Bruges in Flanders, assisted Newberie, Fitch, and other English merchants at Goa." R. Hakluyt, *ibid.*, Vols. III, pp. 278, 280, 287; IV, pp. 233-247. Fr. Thomas Stevens died in 1619. "He was 70 years old and had lived 54 years in the Society, 40 of which had been devoted without a break to cultivating the mission of Salsette, with as much willingness on his part as satisfaction on the part of his Superiors. He made himself thoroughly master of the Canarina [Konkani] tongue, and reduced it to grammatical method, with such profit to ours that, whereas at first no one was able to hear the confessions of those people, he saw his grammar produce in his lifetime, like some printing press, not confessors only, but a host of preachers and writers of books. Not satisfied with this, he applied himself also most diligently to the study of the Industana language, that used by the nobility. And he succeeded so well that, at the instigation of the superiors, he began printing in that dialect a volume of verse on the chief mysteries of our faith, the creation of the World, the fall of our first parents, and some of the chief prophecies concerning the advent of Christ. This work is so agreeable and useful that not only do the Christians derive much profit from it, but even the Gentoos pride on speaking of it. On Sundays and feast days this book—*Purana*, as it is called—is read in church, after mass, with equal fruit and applause. He composed also in that language a Christian doctrine [Catechism]. It was being printed when the Father was called to a better life; but the fruit which is bound to result from such a doctrine will not be posthumous to him there." Jes. Annual Letters from Goa (1619) translated by Revd. Fr. H. Hosten, S.J., *Bombay Catholic Examiner*, February 10th, 1912.

² Hunter, *Indian Empire*, p. 364.

³ See e.g. Terry's *Voyage* Ed. 1777, p. 422; and Hawkins, on p. 34, Wheeler's *Early Travellers in India*.

⁴ J. Tailboys Wheeler, *Short Hist. of India*, p. 143.

Roe's negotiations, Wheeler¹ remarks that "they proved a failure throughout. He wanted too much from the Padishāh He wanted a treaty signed and sealed, which would bind the Padishāh and his successors for ever, whilst he had nothing to give in return but a few paltry presents. As it was he wasted two years in negotiations, and never got anything beyond farmāns."

The Jesuit missions are blamed for devoting their attention too much to the court, and it is said that "the evangelization of the common people appears to have been held throughout as of secondary importance."² The very fact that Father Pinheiro "was for many years pastor of a considerable congregation in Lahor"³ dispels this insinuation. Terry writes that their conversions were mock-conversions; they worked "upon the necessity of some poor men who for want of means are content to wear crucifixes." Withington says much the same, adding that the converts "brought them their beads again saying they had been so long without their pay and would be Christians no longer." Terry again said that "there are many Armenians . . . amongst them . . . the greatest part of whose Christianity lies in their name. They made and sold wine, tasted too much . . . by those too that made it." But these criticisms must be largely discounted. Terry and Withington wrote as men born under Elizabeth naturally would write; they are biassed critics. The Armenian community at Agra was undoubtedly numerous and wealthy as several epitaphs in the Agra cemetery show clearly. "Jesuits, always and everywhere," notes Mr. Blunt, "have made the best of Missionaries. Picked men of more than ordinary ability, education and self-devotion as they were, they could not have preached the gospel for two hundred years without achieving better results than a little mock Christianity induced by gain, and if they devoted themselves rather to the upper than the lower classes, they had no small measure of success, though they never realized their dream—a Mughul Emperor who should be a Christian."⁴

The very many imperial deeds and grants to them, the presence of numerous and influential Christians in the court and seraglio, the very number of Jesuits themselves

¹ *Ibid.*, p. 146. The English had several times endeavoured to rouse the pride of the Mogul by pointing to the indignity put upon him by the claim of the Portuguese to control the navigation of his seas, "as yf both yourselfe and your countreys were subjected to the Crown of Spaygne" (Letter from James I, in *First Letter Book*, p. 349); but their efforts were in vain. "He is not sencible of the dishonor, giving reason: he conquered Guzurratt and keepes it in the condition he found yt, and vpon the same articles and contracts made by Bahud [Bahādur Shāh] kyng of Guzurratt, who made them with the Portugalls before this Monarchy was vnited" (notes by Roe in *O.C.*, No. 611). W. Forster, *Embassy of Sir Thomas Roe*, Vol. II, p. 472: What tended to Roe's failure was the several quarrels between the English and the Natives. One of these was caused by a sailor "who (out of ignorance, not knowing the costom) stopped and opened a *devoled* in the street to see what it contained, but, seing therin a woman, desisted from further wronge and lett it passe." Another, which led to a riot, personal violence to Kerridge, and a strict boycott of the factory, was due to a bell-turret which had been erected on the English house; the matter was settled by its dismantlement; yet a third was brought about by the action of the English admiral. Some Portuguese frigates hovering at the mouth of the river seized a native vessel laden with water-casks belonging to the English, whereupon Pepwell seized a vessel leaving Surat, which he believed to be Portuguese property. This was much resented by the natives, and the English factory was again boycotted until the prize was surrendered. Cf. I. O. Records, under date November 18th and 20th, 1616. W. Forster, *ibid.*, p. 365.

² E. D. MacLagan, *J.A.S.B.* 1896, p. 108.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 65.

⁴ E. A. H. Blunt, *List of Inscriptions*, etc. Allahabad, 1911, p. 27, etc.

show that the Jesuits were regarded without disapproval, if not with actual favour. Moreover the vicissitudes they had to undergo, the persecutions on the part of the Muhammadans they had to endure, the hindrances of several domestic wars and broils will always be an object of admiration of the moral courage, the zeal and perseverance of the Jesuit Fathers at the Mughal court. The Jesuit influence lasted till 1759 when King Joseph of Portugal expelled them all from his dominions, and those that were caught were taken to Lisbon and thrown into prison. Of the five non-Portuguese Jesuits, Boudier, Gabelsperger and Strobl having died, with Tieffentaller and Wendell the Jesuit order died out in the Mughal empire. So after two hundred years of vigorous and fruitful life passed away the old Agra Jesuit Mission founded by a Muhammadan or perhaps a heathen Emperor, and exterminated by a Christian king, Joseph of Portugal.¹

¹ E. A. H. Blunt, *op. cit.*, p. 29.

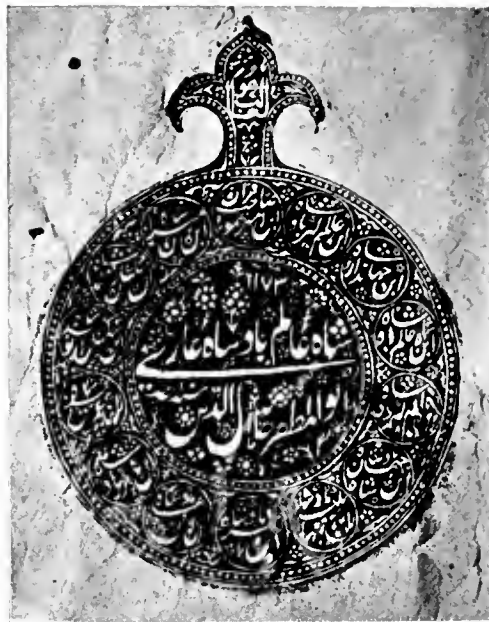


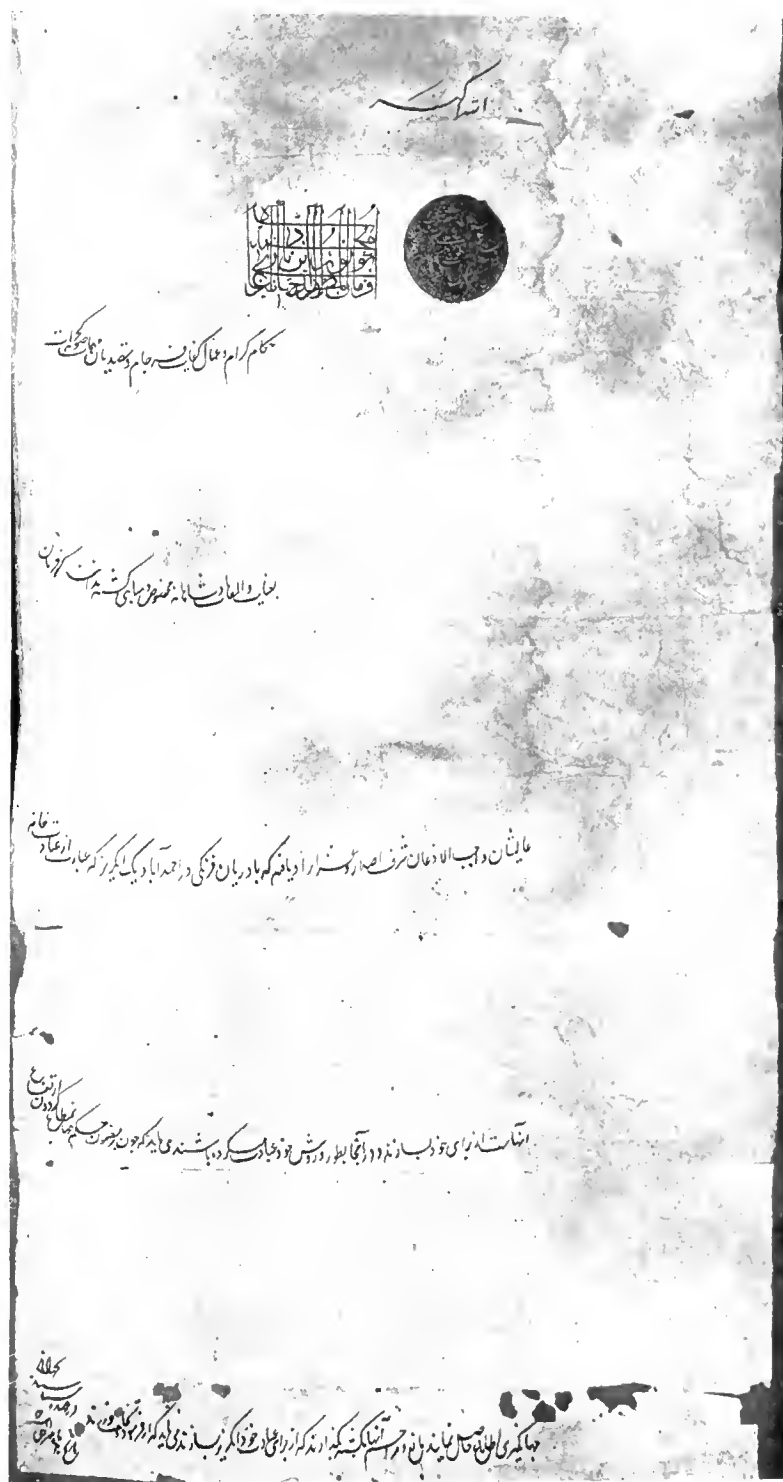
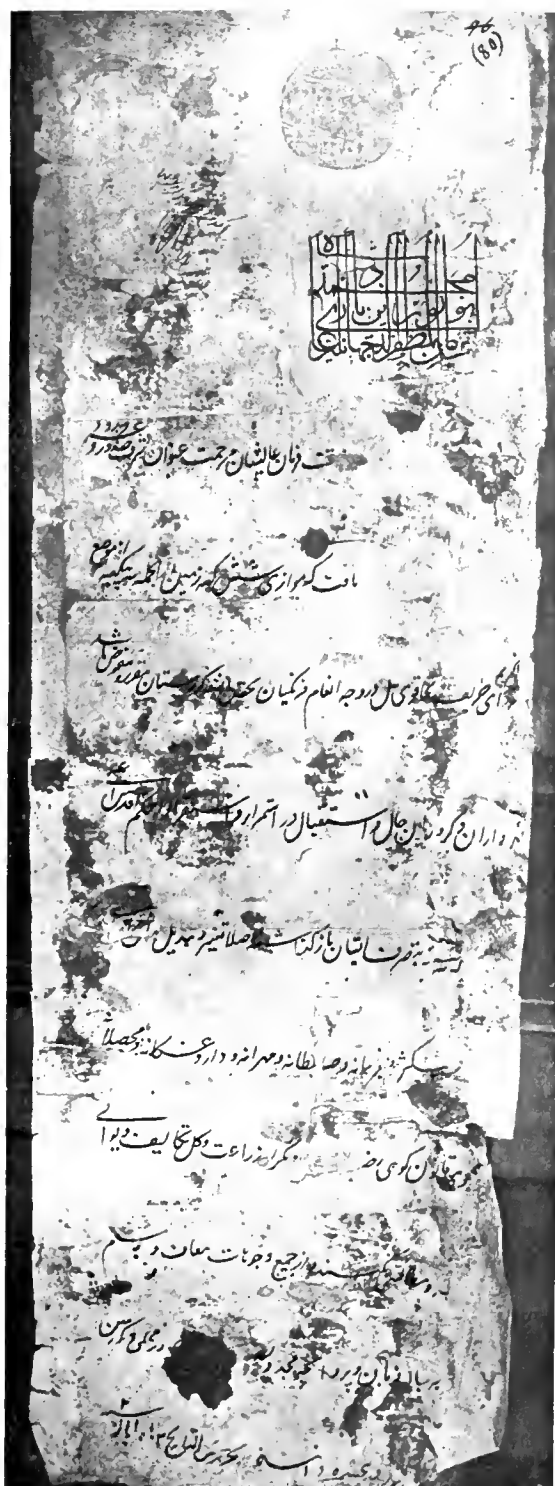
Fig. 1. Seal of Shāh 'Ālam.



Fig. 2. Farman of Akbar (I).

رسالة الكثرين من مريدان باران
اعظم في الدنيا ولونه اعمى درگاه
محمد حسن سكره

Fig. 4 b. Endorsement on III.



[illegible][illegible]

Fig. 6 a. Farman of Jahangir (V) [Obverse.]

Fig. 6 b. Farman of Jahangir (V) [Reverse].

[illegible]

Fig. 8. Farman of Shah Jahan (VII).

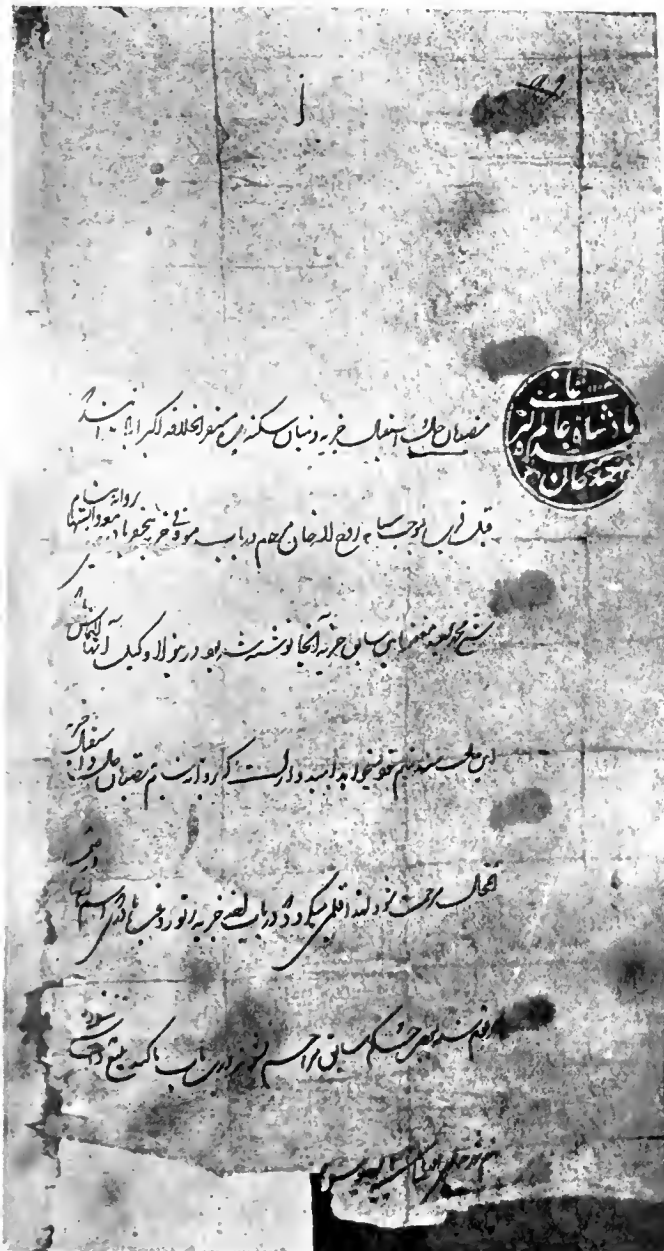


Fig. 9 a. Parwanah from Aurangzeb or Alamgir, with the seal of Asad Khan (VIII).



Fig. 9 b. Endorsements on VIII.

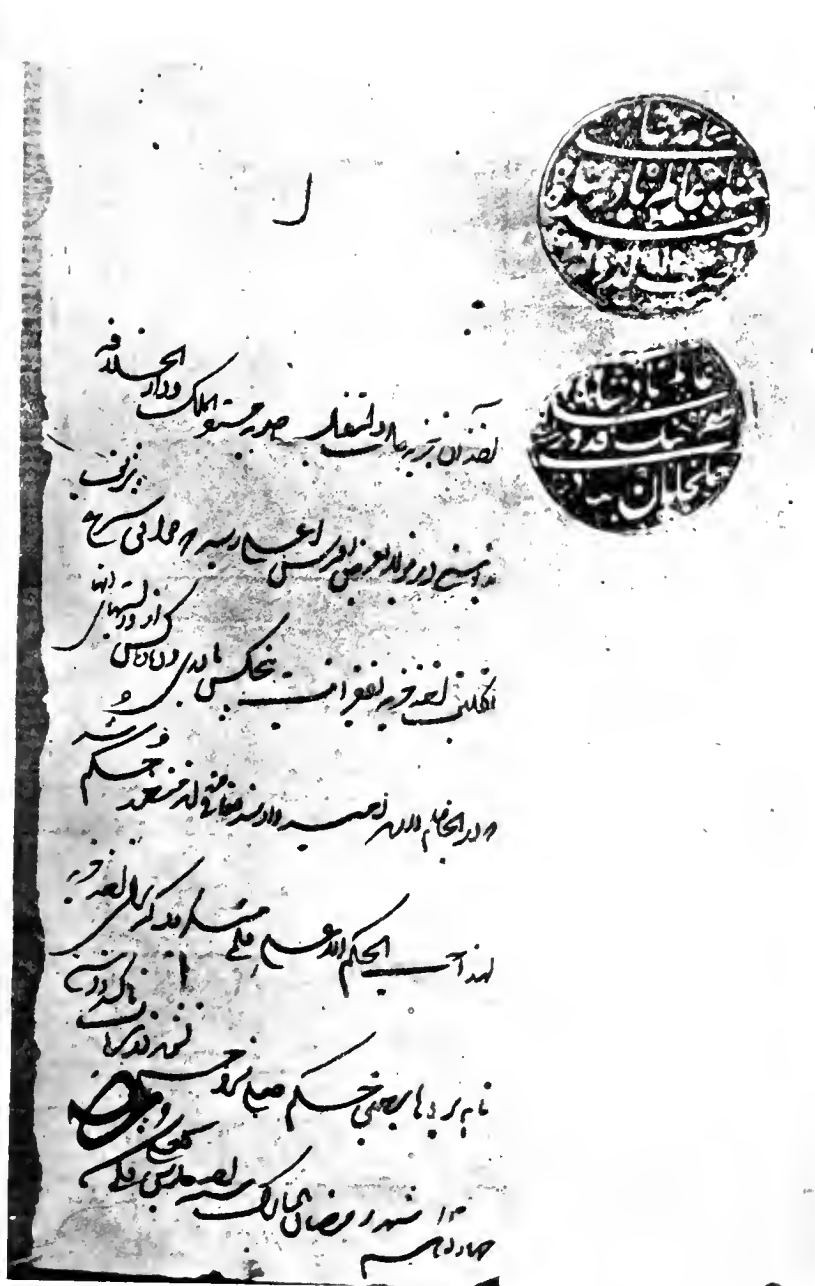


Fig. 10 a. Parwanah from Shah Alam I, with the seals of Asaf ud-Daulah and Zafar Jang (IX).

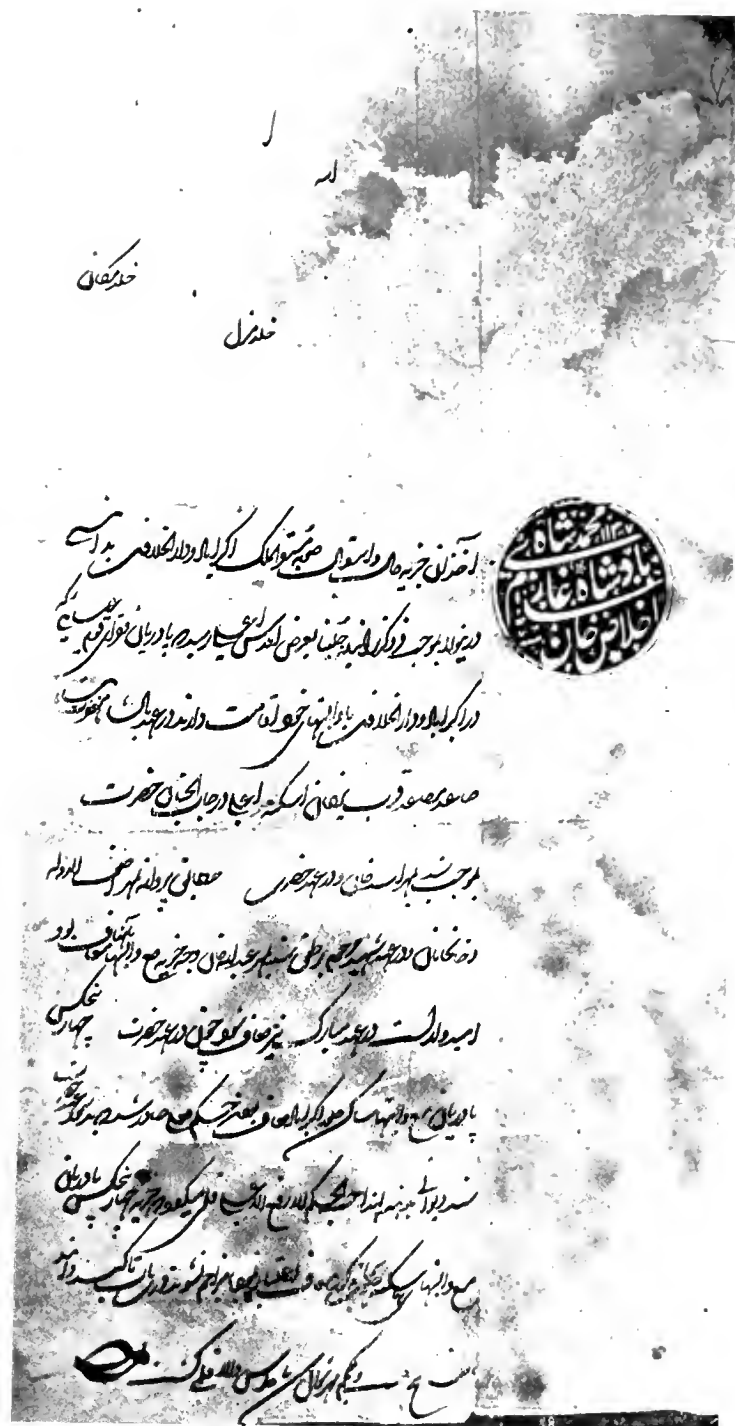


Fig. 11 a. Parwanah from Muhammad Shah, with the seal of Ikhlās Khan (X).

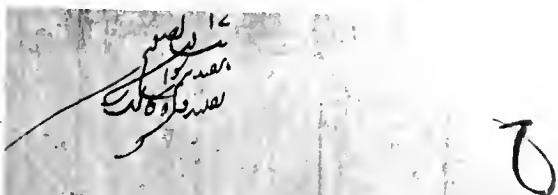


Fig. 10 b. Endorsement on IX.

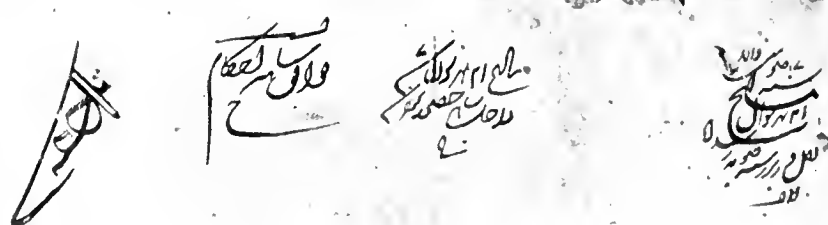


Fig. 11 b. Endorsements on X.

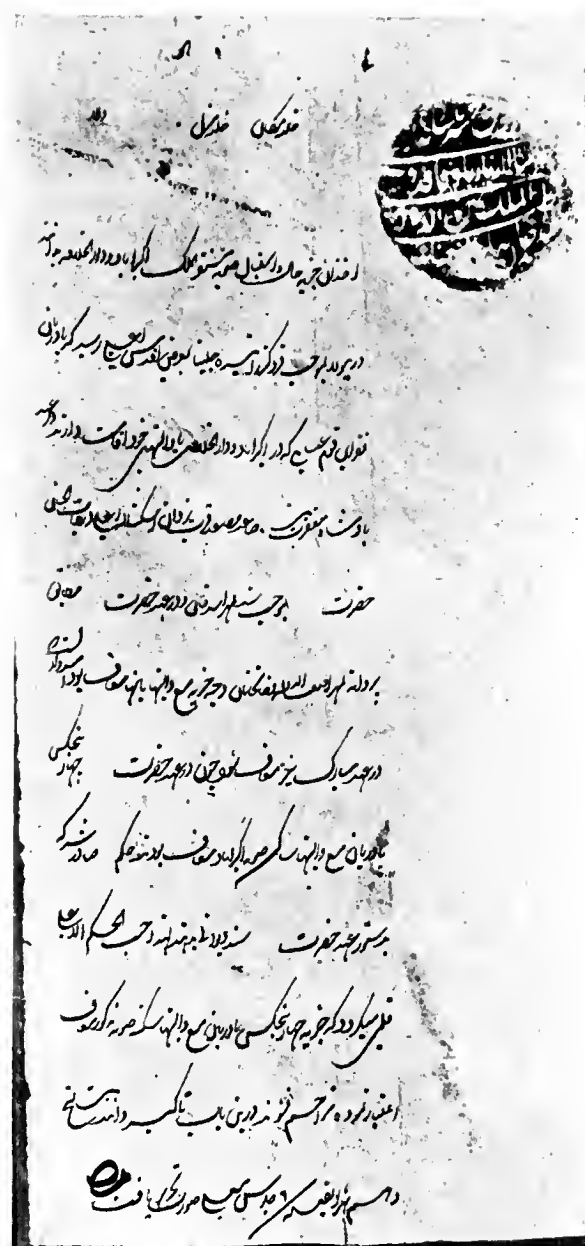


Fig. 12 a. Parwanah from Muhammad Farrukhsiyar,
with the seal of Sa'id Asad Khan (XI).

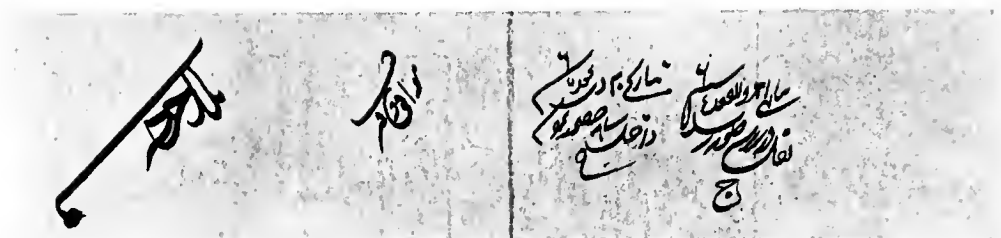


Fig. 12 b. Endorsement on XI.

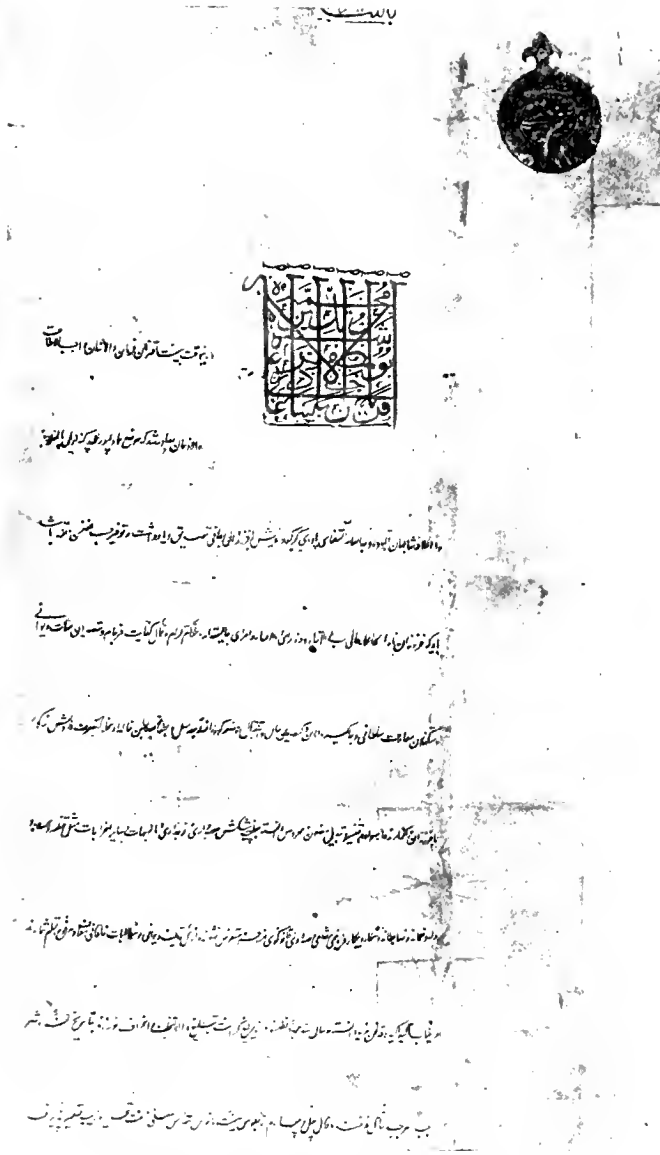


Fig. 13 a. Farman of Shah 'Alam (XII).

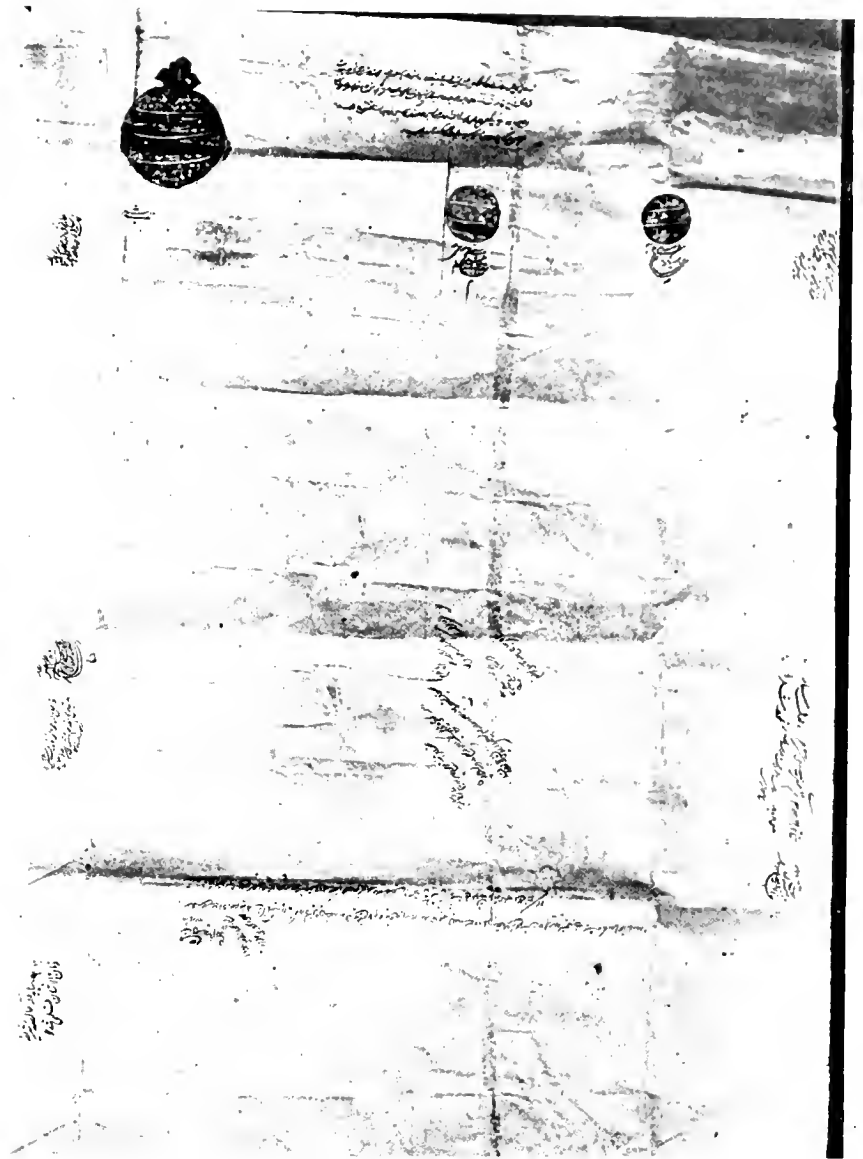


Fig. 13 b. Endorsements on XII.



Fig. 13 c. Endorsement on XII.

[Portion of Fig. 13 b, enlarged.]

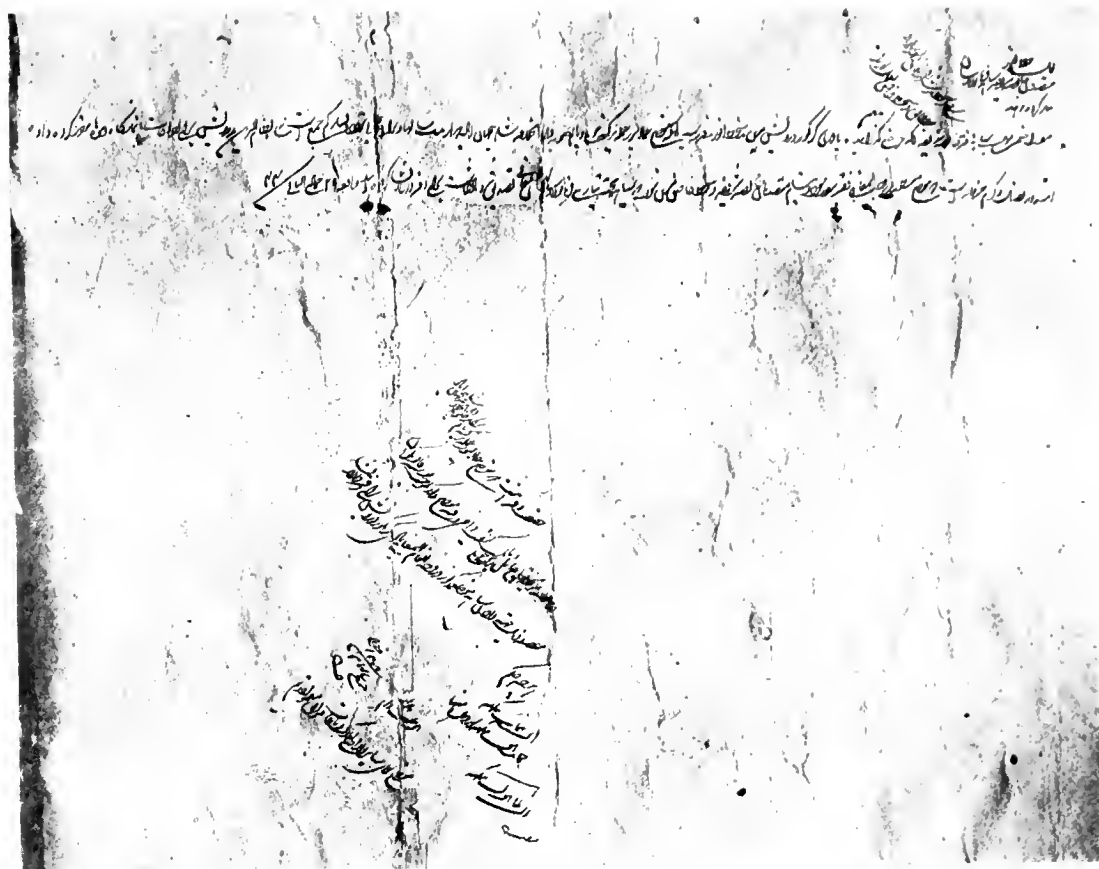


Fig. 13 d. Endorsement on XII.
[Portion of Fig. 13 b, enlarged.]



Fig. 13 e. Endorsement on XII.
[Portion of Fig. 13 b, enlarged.]

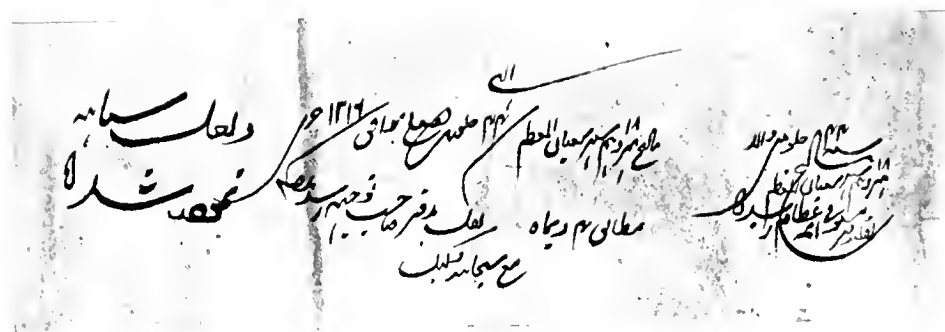


Fig. 13 f. Endorsement on XII.
[Portion of Fig. 13 b, enlarged.]

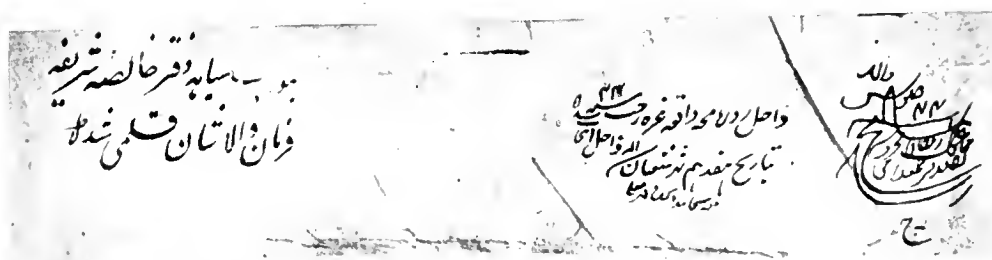


Fig. 13 g. Endorsement on XII.
[Portion of Fig. 13 b, enlarged.]



Fig. 14 a. Parwanah of Shah 'Alam, with the seal of Najaf Khan, Zulfikar-ud-daulah (XIII).



Fig. 14 b. Endorsements on XIII.



Fig. 15 a. Parwanah of Shah 'Alam, with the seal of Najaf Khan, Zulfikar-ud-daulah (XIV).



Fig. 15 b. Endorsements on XIV.

Jesuit Missions in Lahore.

By THE REV. FATHER FELIX (O.C.).

I.

FIRST CHRISTIAN MISSION TO THE GREAT MUGHAL AT FATEHPŪR SIKRI, 1580-1583.

Of the first Mission, the best and shortest account is that of John Baptist Peruschi, who in 1597 published at Brescia a little book called 'Informatione del Regno e stato del gran Ré di Mogor'; but further details are supplied in 1601 by Father Luis de Guzman, S.J., in his Spanish Work 'Historia de las Misiones que han hecho los religiosos de la compañía de Jesus para predicar el sancto Evangelio en la India Oriental, y en los Regnos de la China y Japon.' Reference may also be made to Francis Goldie, S.J., 'First Christian Mission to the Great Mogul,' 1897; and E. D. MacLagan, 'Jesuit Missions to the Emperor Akbar,' J.A.S.B. 1896, Vol. LXV, pp. 58-113. According to these authorities, and Father Anthony Monserrate's narrative,¹ it appears that "the occasion of Akbar's conceiving a liking for our faith was the courteous and civil behaviour, as also the valour of some Portuguese, who accompanied Antonio Cabral, when by order of the Viceroy Don Antonio, he went to see him at Currate.² These favourable dispositions were increased some years later, when he heard what was being done in Bengala by two Fathers of the Society, who had gone thither in the year [15] 76.

After this he had Pero Tavares³ (the captain of Porto Pequeno) at his court, and what he heard him say made him desire to be informed about our affairs. He ordered him to bring to his court Father Julianes Pereira,⁴ now governing the

¹ See Father A. Monserrate's Account of Akbar (26th November, 1582) translated and edited by Rev. H. Hosten, S.J., p. 12. J.A.S.B., 1912.

² Don Antonio de Noronha was the Portuguese Viceroy who governed at Goa between 1571 and 1573; hence Cabral's embassy must have taken place within this interval. Abul Fazl dates Akbar's first introduction to the Portuguese in the 17th year of his reign (1573), when Akbar was besieging Surat; cf. J.A.S.B., 1904, pp. 52-53. Peruschi, Du Jarric and Bartoli must be wrong when speaking of an embassy of Cabral's in March, 1578.

³ Beveridge (J.A.S.B., 1888, p. 34) suggests that Tavares may be the same as Partāb Bār of the *Akbar Nāma* (Elliot, *Hist. Ind.* VI 59). The Partāb Bār mentioned by Abul Fazl as having come from Bengal in the 23rd year of Akbar's reign (1579) is evidently Pero Tavares, since the author of the *Darbār-i-Akbari*, as pointed by Mr. H. Beveridge, gives Tab-Barsū (cf. J.A.S.B., 1904, pp. 53-54, and 1896, pp. 47-48). Blochmann (*Ain*, I, p. 440, No. 1) identifies Bartāb Bār Firingī or Partab Firingī with the Portuguese Governor of Hūgli, who gave protection to Mirza Husain Khān. We learn also that Akbar's letters received at Goa in September, 1579, were accompanied by others from Father Pereira and Tavares. Monserrate calls the latter, perhaps by anticipation, "*portus praetor*," i.e. Captain of the port of Hūgli. (Cf. *Mong. Leg. Comm.*, fol. 6b, 3.) Maurique (*Itinerario*, pp. 13, 14) gives an account of Tavares. There is a tomb in the Roman Catholic Cemetery, Lashkarpur, Agra, with the following inscription: *Aqui Jas Monica TAVARES, faleceo aos 20 de Jaueiro, Morreo em 1679*, E. A. H. Blunt, *List of Inscriptions on Christian Tombs*, etc., 1911, p. 42.

⁴ Pero Tavares must have arrived at Fatehpūr Sikri in 1577, since Fr. Julianus Pereira who was called from Satgāon in consequence of Tavares' discussions with Akbar, arrived at Fatehpūr in March 1578 (cf. Du Jarric, II, liv iv. ch. ix,

Bishopric of Cochin. This Father zealously expounded to him the law of the Gospel, and his good example disposed him favourably towards it. He gave so many indications of his willingness to embrace it that it was the reason why in Bengala the rebels were up in arms, because the king wanted to abandon their sect, and why they called the Prince of Qhabul to join forces with him. In fact, he advanced a hundred leagues into Equebar's territory, and did not leave it until [Equebar] marched against him with the powerful army of which I spoke above. A year before this war with Qhabul broke out, he summoned the Fathers of the Society, who were sent to him. He treated them always with much affection, bestowed many favours on them, and listened many times to the things of our holy Faith. He showed much inclination for them, but what he has in his heart God our Lord alone knows."

Father Pereira, the Portuguese Vicar-General of Satgāon, arrived at Fatehpur Sikri in March, 1578, and received a most cordial reception. This priest devoted himself to confuting Muhammadanism, and the Emperor was greatly interested and satisfied with what he taught him. Father Pereira, moreover, informed Akbar of the Jesuit Missionaries in the College of St Paul at Goa and said that His Majesty would gain much by hearing what they could tell him of the Christian religion, for they were men of more learning than himself. On this Akbar despatched an embassy to the Fathers at Goa, and an account of its honourable reception will be found in Bartoli's '*Missione al gran Mogor*'. This embassy of the Mughal Emperor arrived at Goa in September 1579, bearing letters to the Viceroy, Don Lewis d'Athaide, to the Archbishop, and to the Provincial Roderick Vicente, to the following effect:—

" TO THE CHIEF PADRE, IN THE NAME OF THE LORD.

Letter of Jalālu-d-Din Muḥammad Akbar,¹ the king, the hero!

Head Fathers of the College of St. Paul,² know that I am very well disposed towards you. I am sending Abdullah, my ambassador, and Dominic Perez (an Armenian Christian, the interpreter), with the request that you will send me learned Fathers, and the books of the Law, especially the Gospel, that I may know the Law and its excellence. For I desire to know it. I beg therefore earnestly that they may come with these envoys and bring the books of the Law. And the Fathers may be sure that I shall receive them most courteously, and entertain them most handsomely. When I have learnt the Law sufficiently to appreciate its excellence, then may they depart at their pleasure, with an escort, and honoured with abundant rewards. Let them come in perfect security. I take their defence on myself."³

and L. De Guzman, I, 243). Pereira's name is variously given as Gileanes Pereyra by de Sousa (*Or. cong.*, II. cong. I, D. II, § 44), as Giuliano Perreira by Perusehi (p. 29), as Egidio Anes Perreira by Bartoli (*Missione al Gran Mogor*, Roma, 1714, p. 9). Monserrate calls him also "Aegidius Joannides, Gangaridis Archimystes" or simply "Aegidius." Cfr. *Mong. Leg. Comm.*, Index and fol. 21a, 3.

¹ The original stands thus: 'Forman Zelabdin Mahemet Echebar.' Throughout Du Jarric, the oriental names are distorted in a manner almost inconceivable.

² 'Head Fathers of the College of St. Paul,' i.e., this is the name, as well as that of 'Paulists,' by which the Jesuits were at that time better known in India than by their own. See *Calcutta Review*, No. CLXIII, January, 1886, p. 13.

³ Alegambe, p. 34, gives this letter of Akbar, and Fr. De Souza adds the date 'December 1578.' The first *daftar* of Abu'l Fazl's correspondence lithographed at Kānpur (Cawnpore) in 1849-50 gives the Imperial letter addressed to the European Scholars, dated in the month of Rabi' ul-awal in the year 990. It was published and accompanied by an English translation by E. Rehatsek in the '*Indian Antiquary*,' Vol. XVI, 1887, p. 135. From its contents we may conjecture that it was sent either to the Viceroy or the Archbishop of Portuguese India. Akbar wrote to other

The Viceroy, we are told, was averse to sending a Mission, but he referred the matter for decision to a committee of Bishops, and this committee decided on the 10th of November, 1579, in favour of the despatch of a Mission.¹ The Father Provincial of the Paulists was delighted at this decision, and Fathers Rudolf Acquaviva and Anthony Monserrate were selected to accompany the embassy. To these it was thought well to add Father Francis Henriques, a Muhammadan convert from Ormuz, a man of great piety, but of slight learning, whose knowledge of Persian, however, would be of great use, as it was the language of Akbar's court. Father Rudolf was appointed Superior.

[Father Rudolf Acquaviva was the fifth child of the Duke of Atri and Margaret Pio di Carpi, and was born on October 2, 1550 (not 1551, as Alegambe and other writers, who follow him, assert. See *Summ.*, p. 12, and Bartoli, *Missione*, p. 3) at Atri, a little town in the Abruzzi, near the line from Ancona to Brindisi, in the kingdom of Naples. He was nephew of Claudius Acquaviva, the fifth General of the Society of Jesus, while on his mother's side he was a cousin of St. Aloysius Gonzaga. Admitted into the Society 2nd April, 1568, he arrived at Goa in the same month as Akbar's embassy (13th September, 1578) and at once applied to be sent to the Mughal court. Though only 30 years of age he was given charge of the Mission; he conducted it with great zeal, and endeared himself to the Emperor by his pure and austere life. After spending three years at the Mughal court, he returned to Goa in 1583, much to the regret of the whole court, and specially of the Emperor. On his return to Goa, he was appointed Superior of the Salsette Mission, which post he held until his martyrdom, 25th July, 1583.²

Monserrate had been in the Monastery of St. Martha in Lisbon in 1569 when the great plague devastated that city, and had displayed great zeal and courage in collecting and housing the waifs and orphans left destitute in the streets. After his arrival at Goa he was elected Blessed Rudolf Acquaviva's companion during the first Jesuit Mission to Akbar's court. After his return from the Mughal's court he was ordered to Abyssinia, and while coasting round Arabia was seized by the Arabs and imprisoned by them for six years till he was ransomed in 1596. He then returned to Goa in December of the same year. Monserrate had kept a diary during his stay of two years and a half in Mogor, which he between 1582 and 1588 cast into a connected narrative, entitled *Mongolicæ Legationis Commentarius*. This MS. was discovered in 1908 by the Rev. W. K. Firminger in St. Paul's Cathedral Library, Calcutta.]

The caravan left Goa on the 17th of November, 1579, halted at Damāun, which place they left for Sūrāt on 13th December, 1579, accompanied by Akbar's ambassador and the Christian interpreter Dominic Perez.³

From Sūrāt, then one of the most important towns in India, they went forward on their long inland journey on Friday, the 15th of January, 1580, under a Mughal escort. The Missionaries first crossed the Tapti; then the Narbadda to the ancient city of Mandu, whose walls were sixteen leagues in circuit, but most of which were

Viceroy, such as Quarte de Menezes, Manoel de Souza Coutinho, and Matthias d'Albuquerque, but neither the originals nor the translations of any of these letters appear to have been preserved, and although allusions to their contents occur, nothing positive can be said about them. Cfr. *Arquivo Portuguez Oriental* Fascicolo 3 Letterae, Nos. 23, 206, 239, etc.

¹ Francisco De Souza, *Oriente Conquistado a Jesu Christo pelos padres da companhia de Jesus da Provincia de Goa*. This work, printed in 1710 and published in Portuguese at Lisbon, gives an account of the Missions which were carried on in the Province of Goa between 1564 and 1585. Vol. II, p. 150.

² *References*. De Souza. *Oriente Conquistado*; Francis Goldie, S.J. *First Christian Mission to the great Mogul*.

³ Perez or Pires, said by Bartoli (p. 9, *Missione*) to have been an Armenian Christian. He married a native wife in 1582, and accompanied the third Mission. See below, pp. 68 and 75.

even then in ruins. On the 5th of February they reached Ujjain, then a town no larger than Damāun. From here they entered a mountain range where they were in peril of robbers. Thence they emerged into vast plains covered with fields of poppy and flax. Passing by Sarangpore, where they said Mass, they turned eastward and went on through rich plains of sugarcane plantations reaching Sirong on the 15th of February. They passed Narwār, where Monserrate fell ill, and at last, on the 28th of February 1580, after a journey of over three months, Father Rudolf and his companions arrived at Fatehpūr Sikri, where the Emperor had made his residence.¹ That place was then rising, like an enchanted city, in all its splendour, with its mosques and palaces, glorious even to-day in their ruins.²

A courtier was awaiting their arrival, with orders to lead them at once into the royal presence, as Akbar did not wish that they should speak to any of the Portuguese in the city, before they had been presented to him.

The splendour of the court was unsurpassed even in Europe. No less than twenty vassal kings waited on their Suzerain. The Fathers found the great conqueror seated cross-legged, on a throne covered with a velvet cushion fringed with gold, upon a raised platform.³ He was almost as fair as a Southern European, and was then about thirty-seven.⁴ Upon his head he wore a turban of Hindu form, adorned with a fortune of rare gems. His dress consisted of a robe of cloth of gold, embroidered with leaves and flowers, a great brooch was on his breast. Instead of Moslem trousers, he wore the Hindu *dhoti*, of the finest and most delicate silk, falling to his heels, and there gathered in by bangles covered with pearls. His shoes, of strange fashion, were an invention of his own. At his side was a scimitar. Around him were pages with bows and quivers of arrows, and other arms, ready to offer him if he desired them; while reporters were close at hand to take down whatever he said. The meeting was as cordial as possible, and the Emperor kept the Fathers in conversation till two o'clock on the following morning. When he had dismissed them to their lodgings, he sent after them a large sum of money. Blessed Father Rudolf explained to the bearer that he and his companions were poor by profession and by choice, and that he could accept nothing but mere support from day to day. By Akbar's orders, they were left in charge of Dominic Perez, from whom they took only just the bare necessities of life.⁵

¹ " Illi Damano Idibus Decembris profecti; Surratum primum venere, quae Regis Mogoris est arx in Regno Cambiae. Inde iter prosequuti in Mediterranea pridie Kalendas Martii anni octogesimi Urbem Fatehpūr pervenerunt." Sacchini, *Hist. Soc. Jesu.* Part IV. Lib. VII, n. 316.—A detailed account of the journey is given on pp. 150-166 of De Sousa's *Or. Cong.*, Vol. II.—See also Murray's *Discoveries in Asia*, II, 83, and J.A.S.B. 1904, p. 51, n. 2.

² The promise of *Shāikh* Selim of Sikri, that he should have a son and heir, made Akbar begin the new city. The prophecy was realized there, and on the conquest of Gujārāt, he added the prefix of Fatehpūr *Victory city*, and, for a time, he made the city his residence.

³ A platform used by Akbar is still to be seen in the centre of the Diwānī Khāṣ, at Fatehpūr Sikri, of which there is a model in the South Kensington Museum. See Bernier's *Travels*, p. 362. London, 1891.

⁴ Akbar was born on the fifth of Rajab A.H. 949, a Sunday. This corresponds to the 15th October, 1542. Blochmann's *Ann.* Vol. I, p. 62, n. 1, and Malletson's *Akbar*, p. 52.

⁵ Abul Fazl gives the following record of the first arrival of Christian Missionaries: " 1580. At this time Padre Farmatium (*sic*) arrived at the Imperial Court from Goa, and was received with great distinction. He was a man of much learning and eloquence. A few intelligent young men were placed under him for instruction, so that provision

The following day, the Fathers were again admitted to audience in the magnificent audience chamber, the Diwānī *Khāṣ*, and they brought as a present to Akbar the new Royal Polyglot Bible of Plantyn,¹ in seven volumes magnificently bound. On these being presented to him, he took off his turban, placed each volume on his head, and then kissed it respectfully. He asked, as he received each volume in succession, which were the four Gospels, and as soon as these were put into his hands, he pressed them to his breast with special reverence. The Emperor then ordered the sacred books to be taken to his private rooms, and leading Blessed Father Rudolf by the hand from the hall of audience, he brought him into his own apartments, and there showed him a magnificent casket, which he had caused to be made to contain this much valued present.

That evening Father Rudolf had to take his place in the solemn discussions which went on every Thursday night² in the presence of the Emperor, on moral and religious subjects. The building in which they were conducted was near the tank, called Anūptalāo.³

The Sa'id's (descendants of the prophet), the *Shaikhs* (the instructors of a new departure in religion), the 'Ulamās (the doctors of Muḥammadan law), and the grandees, sat around, while the Emperor passed from one side of the hall to another, asking questions. The subject of debate on the first night was the authenticity and authority of the Bible. Another discussion followed three or four days later, on the character of the Paradise promised to Moslem believers.

might be made for procuring translations of Greek authors, and of extending knowledge. With him came a number of Europeans and Armenians, who brought silks of China, and goods of other countries, which were deemed worthy of his Majesty's inspection." Abul Fazl, *Akbar Nama*; Elliot, *History of India*, Vol. VI, p. 85.

Badāuni (see Blochmann's *Ain*, I, p. 182) also refers to this first organized Mission of the European Pādres at the court of Akbar, in the following words:—"Learned monks also came from Europe, who go by the name of Pādres. They have an infallible head, called Pāpā. He may change any religious ordinances as he may think advisable, and kings have to submit to his authority. These monks brought the Gospel and mentioned to the Emperor their proofs for the Trinity. His Majesty firmly believed in the truth of the Christian religion, and wishing to spread the doctrines of Jesus, ordered Prince Murād to take a few lessons in Christianity by way of auspiciousness, and charged Abul Fazl to translate the Gospel. Instead of the usual *Bismillāhi-r-raḥmāni-r-raḥīm* the following lines were used: *Ai nām-i-tu Jesus o Kiristo* [O Thou, whose names are Jesus and Christ], and Shaikh Faizi added another half, in order to complete the verse—*Subhānaka lā siwāka Yāhū* [We praise Thee; there is no one besides Thee, O God].

These accursed monks applied the description of cursed Satan, and of his qualities, to Muḥammad, the best of all prophets—God's blessings rest on him and his whole house—a thing which even devils would not do."

¹ Printed for Philip II, 1569-1572, at Antwerp in eight volumes, or it may have been the complutensian Polyglot published at Alcalá in 1514-7 in six volumes. Both these were in four languages: Hebrew, Chaldean, Latin and Greek. From enquiries made by Mgr. Emmānuel Van Den Bosch, late Archbishop of Agra, who had been Civil Chaplain at Lucknow for some years, it appears that this Polyglot Bible was kept in the family of Mr. A. Manuel, Pleader at Lucknow, who assured him on the 8th of October 1894, that he had himself more than once seen it, and that this book had always been kept as a unique relic by his grandmother, who was a direct descendant of Lady Juliana, sister of Mariyam Begam, the (supposed) Christian wife of Akbar. His father one day showed this precious relic to Father Adeodatus who was a Missionary at Lucknow since 1832. Father Adeodatus asked and obtained this valuable Book and kept it in his room on a marble table locked up in a nice and precious box. All the Mission buildings with perhaps Fathers Tieffentaller and Wendell's valuable MSS. were destroyed during the Mutiny of 1857, when Father Adeodatus on his way to Allahabad died, the 9th of December of that year, from old age and hardship undergone during the siege of Lucknow.

² See Badāuni II, p. 202. Blochmann's *Ain*, vol. I, p. 171. The text has *Shab i Jum'ah*, the night of Friday; but as Muḥammadans commence the day at sunset it is our *Thursday* night.

³ Badāuni (see Blochmann's *Ain*, vol. I, p. 171) refers to this religious building in the following terms; "Among the religious buildings was a meeting place near a tank called *Anūptalāo*, where Akbar, accompanied by a few courtiers,

On the fourth of March, Father Monserrate rejoined his companions.¹ He hastened on Thursday, the 10th of that month, to take part in the third discussion. This debate was on the life and teaching of Muḥammad, compared with the life and teaching of Jesus Christ. The Padris' teaching was couched in cautious terms to the Mullahs' great disappointment, as they found little to take hold of. When the Mullahs saw that Akbar's faith in the religion of his forefathers was flagging, they made a sally on the Padres, and started the old argument that the Bible had been tampered with, but instead of gaining the vantage ground, they were cornered by Abūl Faẓl on that point. Monserrate seized this opportunity to declare that it was not the Christians, but Muḥammadans, who had tried to corrupt the sacred Scriptures, and that his Qur'ān teemed with moral enormities and with blunders, plain for all to see.

Akbar was angry, and sent a message after the debate was over to the two other Fathers, begging them to restrain the ardour of the new comer. They replied that, as the Emperor wished to know the truth, it was their duty to declare it; nor could they for fear of anything whatever, leave him under a false impression. They added that it was not fair that, while the Mullahs could denounce the Son of God and the Scriptures, they should not be permitted to say what they knew about the Qur'ān.

One day, through Abūl Faẓl, Rudolf asked the Emperor, who now showed little sign of becoming a Christian, whether or no he wished to hear any more instructions in the faith, as otherwise it was mere loss of time for the Fathers to remain in his dominions.

In answer to this, Acquaviva was summoned to the royal presence; but the conversation turned merely on general topics. However, Father Rudolf urged the question which was uppermost in his mind. To turn off the unwelcome inquiry, Akbar urged the Father to put his belief to the test, and to accept the challenge of one of his bitterest opponents.

Driven into a corner by the force of Rudolf's arguments, one of the most famous of the Muḥammadans, Shaiḫ Qutbuddīn, had dared to propose that a great fire should be kindled in the presence of Akbar, and that he and Father Rudolf should enter together, Rudolf with the Bible, and the Muḥammadan with his Qur'ān "and if one of us gets through it safely," he argued, "this will prove the truth of his creed."

The fire was lit, and the Shaiḫ pulled Acquaviva by his cassock, saying, "Come,

met the 'Ulamās and lawyers of the realm. The pride of the 'Ulamās, and the heretical (Shi'itic) subjects discussed in this building, caused Mulla Sheri, a poet of Akbar's reign, to compose a poem in which the place was called a temple of Pharaoh and a building of Shadād. G. Keene, *Sketch of the History of Hindustan*, 1885, p. 107, describes it thus:—"It is a square building, in a vast court, and abutting on a library or record chamber. It has four galleries, with a seat in the centre, elevated on a massive pillar, and approached by four raised pathways. There every Friday [Thursday] night the Emperor assembled the members of his academy or debating Society, so that the orthodox sat on one side, the philosophers on the other, the Sayids or perhaps Persian visitors on a third, the courtiers and men of the world on the fourth, while the Emperor occupied the central seat and acted as moderator of the controversies that took place."

¹ Monserrate being ill remained for a time at Narwar.

in the name of God!''¹ Rudolf's first idea was to accept the challenge; but on second thoughts, he saw that he had no right to tempt God, and that the truth had no need of such a proof, as it had been already demonstrated to the full. But for fear lest his refusal should seem a victory for the adversaries of the faith (not however until he had sought counsel in prayer) he determined to show clearly that fear had no part in declining the ordeal. In the midst of an audience with Akbar, in presence of his whole court and of the learned litigants, he explained the motives of his refusal. It was death to speak against Muḥammad, and even though the Emperor might wish to protect him, Rudolf knew that every true Musalman would glory in taking the life of a blasphemer. Accordingly, he openly declared that the Prophet was an impostor and a liar, while Jesus Christ was the true son of God, nor *was there any other name given under Heaven in which hope could be placed.* This protest fully satisfied the sovereign as to the courage of Acquaviva.

It was then that Akbar sent, a few days after, to beg Rudolf to accept the challenge. He added that he would take care that the Mullah, whom he hated for his wicked life, should enter first, as he had been the one to make the proposal; but that on his death he would prevent Acquaviva from following him.² The Father very plainly told Akbar he could have no hand in such a plot. The Emperor, however, banished the Shaikh with a number of other fakirs.³

Some specimens of the discussions at these meetings (probably imaginary ones) are given in the *Dābistān*, a learned Persian work on the various religions of Asia.

¹ Badāuni's (vide Blochmann's *Ain*, I, p. 191) version of the story is as follows: "At this time (end of 989 A.H. or A.D. 1581), His Majesty sent Shaikh Jamāl Bakhtyār to bring Shaikh Qutbuddin of Jalesar who, though a wicked man, pretended to be 'attracted by God.' When Qutbuddin came, the Emperor brought him to a conference with some Christian priests, and rationalists, and some other great authorities of the age. After a discussion, the Shaikh exclaimed, 'Let us make a great fire, and in the presence of His Majesty I shall pass through it. And if any one else gets safely through, he proves by it the truth of his religion.' The fire was made. The Shaikh pulled one of the Christian priests by the coat, and said to him, 'Come on, in the name of God!' But none of the priests had the courage to go.

Soon after the Shaikh was sent into exile to Bhakkar, together with other Faqirs, as His Majesty was jealous of his triumph."

Abūl Fazl describes thus this episode:—

"One night the Ibādat-Khana was brightened by the presence of Pādre Rudolf who for intelligence and wisdom was unrivalled among Christian doctors. Several carping and bigoted men attacked him and thus afforded an opportunity for the display of the calm judgment and justice of the assembly. These men brought forward the old received assertions and did not attempt to arrive at truth by reasoning. Their statements were torn to pieces and they were nearly put to shame; and then they began to attack the contradictions in the Gospel, but they could not prove their assertions. With perfect calmness and earnest conviction of the truth, the Pādre replied to their arguments, and then went on to say: 'If these men have such an opinion of our Book and if they believe the Qurān to be the true word of God, then let a furnace be lighted, and let me with the Gospel in my hand, and the 'Ulamā with their holy book in their hands, walk into that testing place of truth, and the right will be manifest'. The black-hearted and mean-spirited disputants shrank from the proposal, and answered only with angry words." *Akbarnāma* (*Bib. Ind.*, III, p. 254. Elliot, *Hist. Ind.*, Vol. VI, p. 60.

² Alegambe, cited in the *Summarium* p. 25 of the process of canonization, and the recent biographies of the five Martyrs by Père Suau and by Padre Angelini. *Positiō super dubio an constet de Martyrio et causa Martyrii Veni Rodulphi Acquaviva*, etc. Roma, 1720.—*Rodolphe d'Acquaviva et ses compagnons*, par P. Pierre Suau, S.J. Lille, 1893. *Istoria della Vita e del Martirio dei Beati Rodolfo e compagni*, dal P. Nicola Angelini, S.J., Roma, 1893.

³ See Murray's *Asiatic Discoveries*, Vol. II, p. 91. Cornelius Hazart, S.J., *Kerckelyke Historie van gheheel Wereldt* 1667, tom. I, p. 258. Bernier, *Lettre a M. de la Motte*, English edit., London 1891, p. 288, however, tells a second-hand story, that he had from a Muḥammadan, how Akbar's son and heir, Jahāngir, in a drunken fit proposed to a Florentine Jesuit Father to finish the controversy between the Jesuits and the Mullahs by the ordeal of fire, and how the Fathers

The fullest is a dialogue between a Brahman, a Musalman, a worshipper of fire, a Jew, a Christian and a Philosopher, translated by Colonel Kennedy.¹

Akbar's kindness to the Fathers was wonderful, and when Father Monserrate had a serious relapse, he not only bade his physicians prescribe for him, but even came himself now and again and sat by his bedside. He sent him during his convalescence to Agra, hoping that its climate might prove helpful to him.

Akbar bade the Fathers leave the noisy house in the city and take up their abode within the vast enclosure of his palace, where they built a small chapel as handsomely as they could and placed over the altar a copy of the Madonna of St. Luke, at St. Mary Major's, which had been brought from Europe by Father Martin de Sylva, and which St. Pius V had allowed St. Francis Borgia to have made.² The Christians resident in the city used to come to daily Mass in this chapel.³ Akbar, after three or four days, paid a visit to it. On entering, he was struck by the venerable picture. He first in Muḥammadan fashion, made a profound reverence before it; then, like a Christian, he removed his turban, and, with clasped hands, bent his knee; and lastly, paid his homage as a Hindu by prostrating himself on the ground. He said that God deserved the homage of all peoples, and therefore he paid this triple tribute. He then sat down on cushions upon the floor and talked to the Fathers. He said that the Christian religion was without doubt the best of all, and the life and miracles of Christ perfectly supernatural. But how God could have a son passed his comprehension. He added that, of all religions, Muḥammadanism was the worst.

A week later, the Emperor came again to visit the chapel with his three sons—known to the Jesuits as *Shaikhji*, *Pahāri* and *Dān*.⁴ *Shaikhji* or Prince *Sālīm*, the eldest, was then a boy of ten,⁵ and succeeded to his father's throne as the Emperor *Jahāngir*. With them came a splendid staff, *Mirza Abūl Qāsim*, Akbar's cousin and one of the administrators of the Empire, two Commanders-in-chief of his armies, and the leading Mullahs. Akbar bade his sons take off their shoes at the door, and he set them the example of paying due reverence to the holy picture. All expressed their admiration of it. When the Emperor turned to go, Blessed Father Rudolf

accepted, but the adversaries were so alarmed that the Emperor did not insist. Catrou, *Historie de la Dynastie Mogoul* Paris, 1715, wrongly says it was Father Joseph D'Acosta who proposed this test to *Jahāngir*—See also Peruschi, p. 14; Bartoli, p. 65.

¹ Transactions of the Bombay Literary Society, Vol. II, p. 217.

² The black Byzantine Virgin in the Borghese chapel of the Church of St. Maria Maggiore said to have been painted by St. Luke.

³ Colonel Cole marks in his plan of *Fatehpur-Sikri* the house of *Mariyam*, which tradition assigns to a Portuguese wife of Akbar. No such person is mentioned by contemporary European historians. Blochmann in *Ain*, Vol. I, p. 518, quoting *Tuzuk-i-Jahāngiri*, p. 324, says that "among other women in Akbar's harem, there was an Armenian lady." Vide also Keene's *Agra Guide*, p. 38. This *Mariyam's Kothi* or *Sonahra Makān* has certainly a European and Christian air about it. It has drawing-rooms and retiring rooms, and open verandahs with a garden in front, and on one of its walls a faded painting of the Annunciation of the Blessed Virgin Mary. "The zeal of modern Moslems," says Keene's *Guide to Agra*, "has destroyed the Virgin and a great part of the Angel, so that the figure of the former can be only partially traced, and the latter exists only by his wings."

⁴ *Shaikhji* or *Shaikhū* was Prince *Salim*, the future Emperor *Jahāngir*, then aged 11. *Pahāri* was Prince *Murād*, aged 10, so called from his being born among the low hills of *Fatehpur*. *Dān* was *Dānyal*, then aged 9.

⁵ Born at *Fatehpur-Sikri*, on Wednesday, 17th Rabi' I, 977, or 18th *Shahriwar* of the 14th year of Akbar's Era

offered him another Madonna, a work of art which Akbar had especially admired and evidently wished to possess. He received it as a very precious gift and had it hung in a place of honour in his rooms.

Akbar confided his second son Murad (Pahāri) to Father Monserrate, that he might be instructed in the Portuguese language and good morals; and it was during one of these lessons that the incident related by Badāuni¹ is said by the Fathers to have taken place. The Jesuit version is that the Prince in writing Portuguese was taught to begin with the words 'In the name of God' and that when the Emperor heard this he at once ordered him to add the words 'and of Jesus Christ, the true Prophet and son of God.'

The Emperor volunteered to build as many churches in his kingdom, to the glory of Christ and His Blessed Mother, as the Fathers should desire, and he declared that they should be as splendid as possible. He gave as his reason that, while there were so many mosques for Muḥammad, and so many pagodas for the Hindu gods, the God of the Christians ought at least to have the same honour. Akbar promised also to erect a hospital for the sick and poor, a thing hitherto unknown in Hindu and Muḥammadan India. The Emperor engaged to build and to endow the hospital at the cost of the State. He fulfilled his promise in 1583 in so far that he erected two places outside the city wherein to feed the poor, and entrusted them to the followers of Abūl Fazl, his philosopher and friend.² Abūl Fazl begged the Fathers to explain to him their doctrines, so that he might be able to answer the questions and the difficulties put to him by his master and by the learned of the court. The royal physician also sought for instructions. Akbar sent word by Abūl Fazl to Father Rudolf that he and his companions were quite at liberty to convert and baptize as many of his subjects as they chose, and that he would punish any one who dared to hinder them.

The Emperor, moreover, disapproved of any Christian abandoning his faith, and when some prisoners, to regain their liberty, had become Muḥammadans, and had repented of their crime, he ordered that they should be allowed to return to Christian countries, where they could practise their faith without hindrance. To one of these who wished to remain, he not only permitted the use of European dress and liberty of religion, but he admitted him to his household. And when a Portuguese who was in his service died, he allowed the Fathers to bury him with all publicity and with the full Catholic rite, and to bear him with cross and lighted candles through the streets of the city. The Emperor went so far as to declare to Father Acquaviva, that if God called him to the Catholic faith, neither his sceptre, nor his sons, nor his immense harem,³ would prevent him from leaving all and fleeing to Goa, under the

¹ See above p. 58, note 5.

² Badāun (from Blochmann's *Ain*, vol. I, p. 200-1). Guzman says that a hospital was set up at the cost of the Portuguese.

³ Bartoli speaks of his hundred wives. Abūl Fazl in Blochmann's *Ain*, 15, p. 44, tells of more than five thousand women in the Emperor's harem. But this probably includes the female servants and slaves. They were divided into sections, and kept attentive to their duties. Several chaste women were appointed as *dāroghas*, and superintendents over each section. Their salaries were sufficiently liberal. Not counting the presents, which His Majesty most

pretext of going on pilgrimage to the Ganges. Nor, so he pretended, was he as far as he might seem from doing this. But a step so grave, he urged, was not to be taken precipitately and without much reflection.

Meantime there were constant disputes with the Muhammadans. But whether it was the murmurs of the Mullahs, the outspoken complaints of the Queen Mother, Hamida Begam, and of the ladies of the harem, or the mutterings of rebellion in the West, which were the echoes of Moslem discontent, the Emperor began to weary of the Fathers' teachings. Though sometimes he was all attention and approved of everything that they said, at other times he would yawn or doze, not heeding, not even hearing what they said. As part of the audience, there were ever at hand skilled wrestlers and gladiators, tumblers and jugglers, and sweet singers ready at his beck to amuse His Majesty.¹ These and the ceaseless round of pleasures of the table, of the harem, of the field, of the ring, cock-fighting, and combats between wild beasts and trained elephants,² so occupied Akbar's mind that, if any impression had ever been made, it was as quickly forgotten.

It was about this time that Akbar took strong measures in abrogating the obligations of the Musulman religion, which, till now, had been enforced by law.³ Prayers, fasts, alms, pilgrimages, and public worship were left optional⁴: the prohibition of unclean animals,⁵ that of moderate use of wine, and that of gaming dice, were taken off; and circumcision was not permitted until the age of twelve, when the person to undergo it could judge of the propriety of the rite.⁶

Some of the other measures adopted seemed to go beyond indifference, and to show a wish to discountenance the Muhammadan religion. The use of the era of the Hijrah⁷ and the Arabic language was discouraged⁸: Arabian names were disused. The ordinary salutation of *Salām aleikum!* (Peace be unto you!) was changed into *Allahu Akbaru!* (God is most great!) to which the answer was *Jalla Jalāluhu!* (May his brightness shine forth!).⁹ Even wearing the beard,¹⁰ a practice enjoined

generously bestowed, the women of the highest rank received from Rs. 1,616 to 1,028 *per mensem*; some of the servants from Rs. 51 to 20, others from Rs. 40 to 2.

¹ "Whenever His Majesty holds court, they beat a large drum, the sounds of which are accompanied by Divine praise.... During the whole time, skilful gladiators and wrestlers from all countries hold themselves in readiness, and singers, male and female, are waiting. Clever jugglers and funny tumblers also are anxious to exhibit their dexterity and agility." Blochmann's *Ain*, Vol. I, p. 157.

² See Blochmann's *Ain*, Vol. I, pp. 282-308.

³ Cfr. Badāuni, II, p. 256. Blochmann's *Ain*, Vol. I, p. 179.

⁴ Bad. II, p. 301. Blochmann's *Ain*, Vol. I, p. 195. "The prayers of the Islām, the fast, nay even the pilgrimage, were henceforth forbidden."

⁵ Bad. II, p. 301. Blochm., p. 194. "In opposition to the Islām, pigs and dogs were no longer looked upon as unclean.... The flesh of the wild bear and the tiger was also permitted."

⁶ Bad. II, p. 356. Blochm. I, p. 205. "No one was to marry more than one wife, except in cases of barrenness; but in all other cases the rule was, 'One God, and one wife'." P. 203. "Girls before the age of fourteen and boys before sixteen were not to marry."

⁷ Bad. II, p. 301. Bloch. I, p. 195. "The era of the Hijrah was now abolished and a new era was introduced, of which the first year was the year of the Emperor's accession (963)."

⁸ Bad. II, p. 301. Blochm. I, pp. 195 and 205. "Reading and learning Arabic was looked upon as a crime."

⁹ Bad. II, p. 356. Blochmann's *Ain*, Vol. I, p. 205.

¹⁰ Bad. II, p. 301. Blochm. I, p. 193. Akbar "looked upon shaving the beard as the highest sign of friendship and affection for him."

by the Qur'ān, was so offensive, that he would scarcely admit a bearded man to his presence.

In 1582 a formidable insurrection had broken out in Kābul and Muḥammad Hākim Mirza, the Governor, a brother of Akbar, marched into India to wrest his crown from him. Hākim Mirza was already at Lahore, half way to the capital before Akbar had reached Panipat, some two hundred miles north of Fatehpūr Sikri. Akbar's army was however three times as strong as that of the enemy. The rebel brother saw that all hope was gone, and began his retreat. A division of the imperial army under Prince Murād rushed forward rapidly in pursuit, and won a complete victory. Akbar followed his son with an army as far as Kābul and there pardoned and reinstated his brother. On his return he stayed for some months in the Panjāb.¹

Rudolf had been anxious to accompany the Emperor. But Akbar thought it well not to irritate the Muḥammadans in a moment of danger, and would only allow Father Monserrate to accompany him, as the tutor of his son Murād. Acquaviva remained alone at Fatehpūr-Sikri. The departure of Akbar for the seat of war caused Blessed Father Rudolf to lead a hermit's life in the almost deserted Court of Fatehpur-Sikri. Father Acquaviva's only recreation was to walk about the house humming some passage of Holy Scripture or some verse of the Psalms. His chief employment was the careful study of Persian and of the Qur'ān, both of which he mastered so well that he could quote with wonderful readiness. If he had followed his own impulse, he would have gone out into the square and openly preached the faith of Christ, but every reason was against this. However, when perchance he did go out into the city, all, high and low, even the very street-boys, would follow him and shout after him. "We are hated and despised by every one," wrote Rudolf to his uncle. "They threaten us with their swords. We are the reproach and the scorn of the mob. They gather round about us and look at us as if we were monsters. They call us black devils and Kāfirs, that is, men without God or religion. Then they pelt us with filth. But all this seems as nothing, for *we have* not as yet resisted unto blood."²

In another letter to the General, in April of 1582, Blessed Father Rudolf gives fresh reasons why he should stay on :

"First, because the King gives us greater hopes than ever for the future, is anxious to learn the law of God, and treats us more kindly than before, and though there are difficulties, still he proves his affection to us. It is impossible to express how great are his love and familiarity towards us.

"Secondly, we hope that the King's second son, called Pahāri, who is learning Portuguese and our holy faith, and who shows great affection towards us, will really profit by it, because he is naturally of a good disposition, and has great talent.

"Thirdly, because we have found a new race of Pagans, called Bottan,³ who live beyond Lahore,

¹ Malleon. *Akbar*, p. 127—Angelini, *op. cit.*, p. 86.

² Bartoli X, p. 52. Alegambe says that they were called devils because of the colour of their dress, and "tamaxa." But this last meant merely *anglice*, "What a sight!" *Summ.*, p. 34, §48.—See also the extracts from his letters from Fatehpur to Everard Mercurianus (then General of the Society) and to his uncle Claude; Bartoli, *Missione*, pp. 87-88.

³ Mr. E. D. MacLagan was led, by de Souza's inaccurate description of the Boutthant mentioned by Monserrate (*Or. Cong.* II, *Conq.* I, D. II, § 63) to identify them with the Pathāns or perhaps the Bhutānis (*J.A.S.B.* 1896, p. 55 and n.

across the Indus and they are very well inclined and devoted to good works. They are white men, and there are no Muhammadans amongst them. We hope, then, that if two fervent and apostolic Fathers were sent there, a great harvest would be gathered in among the other Gentiles.

"Fourthly, because there is here an old man, the father of the King's secretary, in whom he confides in matters of the law. He has left the world, and gives signs of great virtue. He is very devoted to the contemplation of divine things, and so seems disposed to receive the light of faith. He is extremely friendly to us, and anxious to hear of our religion, and we have been already several times at his house for this reason.

"Fifthly, because where we are is the true and real India. And this kingdom is like the stair whence you can go to every other portion of it, and to many parts of Asia, and now that the Society has got a footing here, and is regarded with such kindness by so great a king, and by his sons, it does not seem right to leave it without trying every means in our power to begin the conversion of the mainland of India, for hitherto we have done nothing except on the coast."¹

In the beginning of August, 1582,² the victorious Emperor reached the Indus on his return homewards. He had sent message after message to Rudolf, begging him not to think it too great a burthen to give him the pleasure of his society, and the benefit of his conversation. The Father started on the long and tedious journey. He wrote, however, before setting out, a letter to his old friend, Father Michael di Loreto:

"I am pretty well. There are plenty of chances of advancing in virtue, because here we are hated by every one, they all load me with contumely, and make a mock of me. They threaten me with their swords, and, in a word, 'we are made as the off-scouring of all even until now.' Beg our Lord that I may make good use of this for my progress in virtue.

The King is engaged in a war with his brother on the banks of the Indus. He has just summoned me to him, and very likely I shall leave on the day after to-morrow."³ The Father started on the long and tedious voyage. He fell, however, dangerously ill during the journey. The fever brought him to death's door, but he rallied, and was able to continue his journey. He reached Lahore a few days before the arrival of Akbar, who entered that city on the last day of Ramazān, October 29th, and received Rudolf with all possible esteem and affection.

On the 3rd of November the Emperor reached Delhi, and nine days later the triumphant Sovereign arrived at Fatehpūr-Sikri: The defeat of his rivals enabled Akbar at length to put into execution his scheme of the new religion, of which he was to be the Supreme Head, Infallible Teacher, and, to the common herd at least, Supreme God. This religion was as short-lived as the State religion of Henry VIII, and died out with the death of its founder.⁴

Soon after other events occupied the active mind of the Great Emperor. It seemed he had enough of disputations on religious topics, and Father Acquaviva did not shut his eyes to the fact, which was becoming every day more clear, that the

Mr. H. Beveridge pointed out (J.A.S.B., 1906, p. 331) that the Bhattanese of Acquaviva were the Bhotias of Almora and Garhwal, or the Tibetans.

¹ Bartoli, *Missione al Gran Mogor*, p. 42.

² *Tahakati Akbari*, Elliot, Vol. v, quoting Badauni, Vol. II, p. 295.

³ Angelini, *op. cit.*, p. 94.

⁴ Blochmann's *Ain*, p. 212.

Emperor had, in spite of all his fair promises, no intention of becoming a Christian. From this point the Mission began to break up. The native Henriquez had already withdrawn to Goa, either secretly as one authority states or with permission as stated by another. Then Monserrate had left Fatehpūr for Agra so as to be rather with Prince Murād than with the Emperor. Subsequently in April 1582, the Emperor determined to send a solemn embassy to Goa and Europe. The embassy was to arrange among other things for a fresh Mission of Christian priests to Akbar's Court, and the letter which accompanied it is to be found in the daftar of the *Inshā-i-Abūl Fazl*. In the Calcutta edition of 1810 and in the Cawnpore lithographed edition of 1849-50 the letter is addressed to 'European scholars' [*Dānāyān-i-Farang*],¹ but there are other versions which read 'Ruler of the Europeans' [*Farmān riwā-i-Farang*] and the later European authorities,² quoting Bartoli,³ represent the embassy as an embassy of congratulation to Philip II, who had in 1581 become King of Portugal as well as of Spain.⁴ Akbar's representative was also to wait on the Sovereign Pontiff, and on the General of the Society of Jesus, the uncle of the Emperor's friend, Rudolf. The project seemed, like so many others, a mere dream of the conqueror. But very soon it was evident that his hopes were to be realized. Akbar would not part with Blessed Father Rudolf, but sent Father Monserrate, with secret instructions, to accompany the embassy to Europe. These instructions were to furnish the Holy Father with such information as would further the introduction of Christianity into the states of the Mughal.⁵ The embassy took its departure in the beginning of August, 1581, and reached Goa in the spring of 1582.⁶ However it got no further than Goa. The Viceroy did not wish that it should sail that year, and the rumour of the death of the king made the Mughal's Ambassador return in haste to Fatehpūr, leaving Monserrate behind. Father Acquaviva was thus again without the solace of a companion. The young prince, Murād, was transferred to his care.

It appears that the Provincial at Goa obtained verbally from Monserrate a less hopeful report, and again recalled Acquaviva, but again without success. The account of Rudolf's inner life at this time is fortunately preserved for us, as on his return to Goa he unveiled his past to one whom he trusted as his spiritual guide, Father Nuñez Rodriguez. This "manifestation of conscience" his director, after his martyrdom, consigned to writing. "Father Rudolf," says Nuñez, "for the three years he spent at the court of the Mughal, and especially for the last, when he was alone, led the life of a hermit. His food was very scanty and badly cooked, and he fasted some days every week. The hair-shirt, disciplines, and every sort of unusual method of penance and self-inflicted suffering were ever employed by him. His study was chiefly the Holy Scriptures. The rest of his time, for he never left

¹ Fraser, *Nādir Shāh* (1742), p. 12, and appx. 40.—Hough. *Christianity in India*, II, p. 262.

² Catrou, English Edition, 1826, p. 124.

³ Bartoli, *Missione*, p. 43.

⁴ E. D. MacLagan, *Jesuit Missions to the Emperor Akbar*, J.A.S.B. 1896, p. 54. See above, p. 56, note 3.

⁵ Bartoli, *Missione*, p. 43. But Alegambe says the Ambassador's instructions were merely to pay Akbar's respects to the Pope, to King Philip, and the Father General.

⁶ Angelini, *Istoria etc.*, *op. cit.*, p. 93.

his house save when summoned to court, he devoted partly to perfecting himself in Persian, and partly to prayer. On most nights he devoted the hours from sunset to sunrise to prayer, so that when he returned to Goa, he did not seem to have come back from a heathen and Muhammadan land, but from the Noviceship or from a retreat." A letter of Rudolf,¹ written on the 27th September, 1582, throws interesting light on his thoughts and surroundings. It is addressed to Father Ruy Vincente, the Provincial at Goa, and runs as follows:—

"Very Reverend Father in Christ,—From my other letters your Reverence will have learnt how an educated man called M. X., whom Father Monserrate calls by another name, Doctor Imperbicado (?), had told me that he wished to become a Christian, how the affair became known, and how when the King knew of it, he gave him permission to do so. But from what I understand from him, he never intended to become a Christian here, but if he ever does become one, he intends to do so in Christian territory. And it happened that the King, during those intrigues about Dominic Pires, most imprudently told every one that he (M. X?) wished to become a Christian, for by nature, Dominic can keep nothing to himself, although, when excusing himself to me, he said he did it for the edification there would be when it was known that a man so hono [ured in the] sect—casta—of Muhammad wished to be a Christian. I think that he (M. X?) was very much annoyed at the publication, although he dissembled, and has not ceased to be friendly with me as before. I did not write more about this man to your Reverence, because I doubt very much if he has a true call or not and there are some things about him which do not please me. Time will show us what hope we may entertain in his regard.

"A few days after we had those troubles with the King on account of Dominic Pires, there arrived a captain of eminence from Bengal, a man very learned in the sect of the Sufis, who knows also something about philosophy. The King called me and told me privately to converse with that learned man, for perhaps it might happen that he would become a Christian. And he afterwards summoned him and said to him: 'This is the *padre* of whom I spoke. Converse with him.' And he did converse with me very frequently, and showed himself very ready to agree on points of doctrine, as all the Sufis do, but as for the rest—*non credo Christum illis*—I do not trust Christ to them, for most of them are deceivers. May our Lord convert them!

"The King keeps this Court in a great state of embarrassment with the novelties he introduces every day in it. For, among other things, he seems to pay much reverence to God's creatures, such as the sun and the moon. And from Saturday evening to the end of Sunday he does not eat flesh-meat, and I am credibly informed that many heathens here do this, on account of a superstition that it is a day of Not only does he not eat flesh-meat, but on most occasions he does not allow [beasts] to be slaughtered in the bazaar, so that consequently we are generally not able to get meat on Sunday. Besides this, three days after having begun his Lent, he instituted a New Easter, which they call Merjan [Mibrjān]² and he ordered that on that day all the captains should dress in festal attire, and there was native music (*iangeres*) and dancing (*bailares*). I asked the King's astrologers, and they told me that it was a feast which the ancient Kings of Persia, who worshipped fire, used to celebrate. The Muhammadans were much scandalized, although no one dared not to imitate him, because they do not yet understand, whether he does these and similar things because he likes them or merely to try how far

¹ The letter, which is in the British Museum, Add. MSS. 9854, p. 1-4, is endorsed: "To the Very Reverend Father in Christ. . . . [MS damaged here], Father Ruy. Vicente, Provincial of the Society of Jesus in this part. . . . [MS. damaged here] India." English translation by E. Goldie, *op. cit.*, pp. 97-103. See also E. D. MacLagan, J.A.S.B. 1896, p. 56.

² Mibrjān مهر جان = the autumnal equinox—a festival celebrated in Persia in the month of September. Many traditional motives are assigned for the origin of this solemnity, which was held for six days; but the most rational conjecture leaves us to conclude that it was instituted at this season of the autumnal equinox, in honour of their great ostensible deity, the sun, as the other high festival *now rōz* was, on the same principles, intended to celebrate the sun's entering the constellation Aries.

he can go with his [subjects]. I really cannot quite understand him, for he treats us with great familiarity, and does not (cease) inquiring about things regarding the faith, as he has done all this winter, most minutely, etc. And on the other hand, it seems that he is embarrassed by other things, although he confessed to me one day that he was so bewildered as not to know how to determine what is the truth.

"Another heathen festival took place the day before yesterday, at which the King assisted with more solemnity than in other years.....

"On Tuesday, the 24th of September, the King came towards evening to be present at the marriage of Dominic Pires in our chapel. He invited himself. We adorned the chapel very nicely for him, and I had three devices (*enigmas*) of his honours painted for him, and Dominic Pires ordered a banquet to be prepared for him in the Portuguese style here in our house. The King was pleased with everything, and showed me great affection for having given him the best reception possible. In the discourse at the wedding to the married couple, as the woman did not understand Persian, the King was pleased to be interpreter, and explained to her in the Vernacular what I said in Persian. The King stayed at our house till nearly eight o' clock at night. He was delighted to bring with him his principal captains, both Muḥammadans and heathens; and one of the heathens, who is Governor of these realms, was much astonished, and made a profound reverence in the chapel. The three sons of the King were also present, and dined in the house, as well as some of the chief Muḥammadan captains, whom the King ordered [to come].

"I have no more news to write at present, except to propose to your Reverence and to ask you the following things: first, that if it seems good to your Reverence that I should not be here at all, your Reverence would seek some way out of the difficulty, for the King takes no notice of my asking leave of him [to depart] and it only serves to exasperate him the more. Your Reverence well knows about me that I am indifferent; and my indifference only grows more complete, as I am in suspense, and do not know what God wishes for [?] my mission.

"The second thing is to ask your Reverence to write to me your opinion about erecting a church, which the King said he wished built here, if you have not yet signified to me your wishes by another letter.

"The third is that your Reverence will have the charity to write to me how I ought to deal with the King, for I fear that he and some of his people would like to make use of me to approve the Law of Muḥammad, and (at the same time) take such things as please them from the sacred Scriptures for some end which is in no way in favour of our faith; for persons are not wanting who believe that one day (or other) the King will come out with some novelty.

"The fourth is to beg your Reverence to give me a general permission, whenever convenient and when I may have opportunity and permission from the King, to go to see your Reverence at Damāun, or at any other place you order; for I have many things to communicate to you about this mission, which I have discovered since I learnt the language, and I am discovering more every day. Much prudence, counsel, and consideration therefore are needed if we are to treat the affairs of this mission as they should be treated. And it may be that I shall not want for something to put my hand to, if after having laid all before your Reverence and taken your counsel and orders, we begin this mission with new strength in the Lord (*spiritu*), even though this wicked sect should not cease to raise as great difficulties as ever.

"And now I will propose a plan which occurs to me, namely, to have at Goa a Seminary of the Persian language for the Muḥammadans, and of Hindustani for the heathens, for boys, both sons of heathens and of Muḥammadans, who are there, and also for those who could be sent to it from here. This seems to me the only plan, as the King publicly states that he wishes that in his territories every person may follow the religion which he prefers. And so I will conclude, begging your Reverence's blessing and the Holy Sacrifices and prayers of yourself and of all.

"At Futeṭpūr (*sic*) to-day, the 27th September, 1582.

"Since the King in his firmān wrote to your Reverence that you would learn from me the reason why he did not remove from their posts the neighbouring captains who are hostile, I write to you what

the King himself said to me, namely lest they should think they have been deprived of their positions on religious grounds, but that he will discover some other fault for which he will remove them, and he is already preparing the way to remove Calich, as I myself have seen. As yet I do not know what he will do.

“The day before yesterday news arrived of the capture of the men of war of the [MS. damaged here] up to now spoken of it, but at this very hour, while I write, the Queen, the mother of the King, sends to call me.

Your Reverence's servant in Christ,
RODOLFO.”

The Provincial was becoming anxious to recall Rudolf, partly on account of his failing health, and partly because he himself felt his stay was of no avail, and he ordered him to avail himself of the Emperor's promise that he would not detain him by force. At a fresh audience, the Father laid his superior's commands before Akbar. As Acquaviva was determined to leave, he gave his consent on the condition that he would return as soon as his Superiors allowed him to do so, or, if unable, would despatch other Fathers in his place. The Emperor sent to his lodgings a magnificent present of gold and jewels, to the value of several thousands of pounds. Acquaviva accepted what was barely enough to pay his travelling expenses, and sent back the remainder, with the message that he wished to return to Goa as soon as he came. One favour, however, he ventured to ask. The Begam, Hanūdah Banū, the mother of Akbar, had in her household, among her other slaves, a Russian from Moscow, with his Polish wife and their two children, whose faith and morals alike were in the gravest peril. These four he begged to be allowed to take with him to Goa. The Begam, who was no friend of the *Farangis* and infidel *Padres*, was most unwilling to give up these slaves, specially prized, no doubt, because brought from afar. But Akbar would refuse nothing to Rudolf. And so, upon his departure, the Father carried them off in triumph. Rudolf left Fatehpūr in February 1583, and the party arrived at Goa in May of 1583. The following is a translation of a Portuguese version of the *farmān* addressed by Akbar to the Father Provincial on this occasion¹:—

“God is Great!

“*Farmān* of Jalālu-d-Din Muḥammad Akbar, Pādshāh Ghāzī. By the books of the faith and their interpretation I know that there is nothing pertaining to the Christian faith which remains obscure, but that it is a manifestation of divine secrets. The Father Provincial, whom I greatly love, must know that I have received the petition sent to me and look well upon it, and by it our friendship is increased. And concerning the leave which you ask for Father Rudolf, I am delighted with the book of the faith of the Heavenly Jesus, and desire to possess the truth, and as the said Father is very learned and versed in the wisdom of the ancients, and as I love him much and see that he is wise and learned in the faith, I wish to devote every hour to conversation with him. For these reasons I have sometimes refused the leave which he asked for and which your Reverence also in your letter desired. But now I give him leave to go; and as my intention is that our friendship should increase from day to day it is meet that your Reverence should do your part towards preserving it by sending Father Rudolf back to me, with several other Fathers, as soon as possible, for I wish the Fathers of your Society to be with me and I take great delight in them. I have told the Father many things by word of mouth that he might repeat them to your Reverence, the which you will consider well.

Done in the moon of the month of February, 1583.”

¹ See Brit. Mus. Marsden MSS. 9854, fol. 5, translated into English by E. D. MacLagan, J.A.S.B., 1896, p. 59.

Father Acquaviva soon after his arrival at Goa was sent to Salsette where he was martyred on the 15th of July (old reckoning)¹ and was beatified at Rome by Pope Leo XIII on the 16th April, 1893.

¹ In the previous year, 1582, the new or Gregorian calendar had been adopted by the Catholic states of Europe. But this change had not reached India, and so this day was continued in those parts as the 15th of July, while in other parts of Christendom, it was the 25th of July.

II.

SECOND MISSION OF THE JESUIT FATHERS TO THE GREAT MUGHAL.
AT LAHORE, 1591.

The chief authorities for this second Mission are the Provincial's letters of November, 1590, and November, 1591, published by Spitelli, with their enclosures. E. D. Maclagan (J.A.S.B. 1896) gives an English translation of them. The accounts by Guzman and Du Jarric; Franc. Sacchini and Peter Possinus, Jos. Juvencius and Cornelius Hazart, S.J. (*Kerkelyke Historie van de gheheele Wereldt*, Antwerpen. M. Cnobbaert, MDCCLXVII) are mere copies.

Some eight years had now elapsed since the departure of Father Acquaviva from the court of Akbar at Fatehpūr without any news having been received from the Mughal Emperor.

In 1590 the Christians at the court were celebrating the fast of the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin Mary, and the Emperor hearing of it wished to join in the ceremony. To this end, he had a most magnificent throne made, whereupon he placed the beautiful picture of the Blessed Virgin he had received from Acquaviva, venerated it himself, and had it kissed by his courtiers and grandees, bestowing special privileges upon those who had shown the greatest respect to the venerable picture. About this time there passed through the capital of Lahore on his way to Goa an Armenian sub-deacon, named Grimonus,¹ to whom Akbar entrusted letters to the head of the Jesuit Father of that place and provided him with a warrant of safe conduct which runs as follows²:—

'Parwānah of Akbar granted to Leo Grimonus. 'Order of His Highness Muḥammad, the great King and Lord of the Fosliera³ (*sic*) to all the Captains, Viceroys, Governors, Rulers and other officers of my realm.

'I would have you know that I have shown much honour and favour to Dom Leo Grimonus, willing thereby that you should do likewise, inasmuch as I hope to obtain by his means certain other learned Fathers from Goa, by whom I trust to be restored from death unto life through their holy doctrine even as their Master Jesus Christ, coming from Heaven to Earth, raised many from dead and gave them life. On this occasion I am summoning the most learned and virtuous of the Fathers, by whom I would be taught many things concerning the faith of the Christians and of the royal highway whereon they travel to God's presence. Wherefore I order my officers aforesaid to bestow great honour and favour both on Dom Leo Grimonus and on the Fathers for whom I am sending, in all the towns of my realm through which they shall pass, granting them an escort to conduct them safely from

¹ Leo Grimonus may probably be the same Leo Grimonus, who having become a priest, accompanied Benedict Goes as far as Kabul, turning back there because unable to stand the fatigues of the journey. Yule's *Cathay and the Way Thither*, vol. II, pp. 553-7. Maclagan, *op. cit.*, p. 60, says that Leo Grimon was a Greek. See below, p. 73, note 3.

² Translated from Du Jarric's French version by E. D. Maclagan, J.A.S.B. 1896, pp. 60-61.

³ The Latin has *Postiera*.

town to town, providing them with all that is necessary for themselves and their beasts, and all else they need, at my charges; and you shall be responsible for their safe arrival and shall take heed that they lose nothing which they have with them. I also order my Captain *Khān Khānān* (mon Capitaine Canchena) to forward them safely to my Captain Raizza (?), who with the other Captains shall do likewise until they reach my court. I enjoin also Giabiblica (?) the Captain of Cambay, to furnish whatsoever they need in going or coming. I also forbid my Customs officers to take anything from the said Fathers, whose baggages they shall let pass without toll; and the aforesaid shall pay heed to my commandment, troubling the said Fathers neither in their persons nor in their property. If they make any complaint you shall be severely punished, even to the danger of your heads. Moreover I desire that this my order be carried out in respect both of their persons and of their goods, that they pass freely through my towns without paying tax or toll and be well guarded on the road. They shall be conducted from Cambay to Aḥmadabad, and thence to Paian [Pattan] and thence to Gelu [? Jalor], from Gelu to Guipar [?] and from Guipar to Bikānīr, whence they shall go to Bitasser [? Jalasīr], from Bitasser to Multān, and from Multān to Lahore where we reside.¹ For this is the route by which I would have the Fathers come, whom I hope by God's aid to see shortly at this court when they shall be received by me and mine as their worth deserveth.'

LETTER FROM AKBAR TO THE FATHERS OF THE SOCIETY OF JESUS AT GOA.²

'In the name of the Lord.

The mighty and invincible Akbar, greetings to the Fathers of St. Paul, who have been received in the grace of God, and enjoy the gifts of the Holy Ghost, and obey the Voice of the Messiah and conduct men to God. I address myself to you, most reverend and learned Fathers, whose word the people hear and follow, because they come from men retired from the world and its glory. I apply to you, who walk the right path and inform you, that I have a knowledge of all the religions of the world, of the pagans, and of the Muḥammadans, and even of the Christian faith, the latter alone being the Law of God, and therefore, embraced and followed by many. But as I have a preference to the friendship of the Fathers of the Society, and for their manners and intercourse, I wish to be taught by them. Not long ago came to our court one Leo Grimonus,³ a person of great merit and good discourse, whom I have questioned on sundry matters and who has answered well to the satisfaction of myself and my doctors. He assured me that there were many Pādris in India, men most eminent by their judgment and their science. This being so, your Reverences, as soon as you receive this news, can come without apprehension to discuss with my priests, and enable me to compare your religion with theirs and know through you the truth. If you come to this city I will prepare a lodging where you can live in quietness, and you will be honoured more than any priest who ever came here. And when you wish to leave, you can do so at pleasure, and I shall let you depart with honour. Written in the new moon of June.⁴

To this second petition of Akbar, the Superior of the Jesuits at Goa selected for the purpose two Fathers, Edward Leiton,⁵ and Christopher de Vega, and a companion

¹ According to J. Rennell's Map, published in 'Dritter Baud' of Pater Joseph Tiefeuthaler's *Beschreibung Von Hindustan*, Bernoulli 1787, the road indicated by Akbar would run as follows: Cambay, Amedabad, Pattan, Chitpour, Bargaut, Jalour, Nagore, Touerī, Jeselnere, Buker, Morgar [these three latter places are situated in Puccanere (Bikanir), Moultan].

² Jos. Juvencius, *Hist. Soc. Jesu.*, Lib. XVIII, Pars V, p. 449 et seq., says that this letter was also addressed to the Governor of Goa 'Sofa Cotinius.' This agrees with the Provincial's report of November, 1590, for which see J.A.S.B., E.D. MacLagan's *Jesuit Missions to the Emperor Akbar*, pp. 62-63.

³ Thus C. Hazart. Juvencius adds Armenian, 'audivi ex armenio Grimone'; but the Provincial in his report of November 1590, published by Spitilli, *Brevis et compendiosa narratio* and translated in English by E. D. MacLagan, *op. cit.*, p. 62, calls him a Greek.

⁴ From Corn. Hazart, *op. cit.*, p. 256, Jos. Juvencius, Lib. XVIII, Pars V, p. 449, says this letter was written at Lahore 'Datum Lahore nova luna mensis Junii.' Akbar returned from Kashmīr to Lahore in October 1590, and remained there till he started for Kashmīr again in the spring of 1592.

⁵ Juvencius calls him 'Leitanus' in Latin. MacLagan (*op. cit.*) remarks that Hough calls him Leighton, and that he

'who was not yet in priest's orders.' They left Goa in 1591 and arrived the same year at Lahore where the Emperor kept his court. The Fathers were received by the Emperor with great kindness, respect and honour. Every kind of favour was shown to them, a lodging was given to them in the palace itself, necessities were supplied, and a school was started in which the sons of the Nobles and the Emperor's own son and grandson were taught to read and write Portuguese. But the Jesuit Fathers who held for their special Mission the conversion of the Emperor, seeing that he had not decided as they expected, to embrace the Christian faith, proposed to return to Goa, which they eventually did; but we have no further details regarding the time of this abrupt conclusion, or the reason for the sudden termination of this Mission.

may have been an Englishman. We may observe here that 'Leitam or Leitao' is distinctly a Portuguese name, though his name is not in Franco's list in the Appendix to his *Synopsis annal. Soc. Jesu in Lusitania* (1540-1725).

III.

THIRD MISSION OF THE JESUIT FATHERS TO THE COURT OF THE GREAT MUGHAL
AT LAHORE, 1595—1757.

The Emperor wanted at any cost to have Christian Missionaries at his court where learned men of all nations and creeds had gathered together to increase his might and glory. For this reason Akbar sent a third embassy to the Portuguese Government at Goa earnestly requesting to send him Fathers of the Society. This embassy reached Goa in 1594, bearing letters to the Viceroy, which requested the despatch of a further Mission. The Provincial had by this time certainly seen the impossibility of converting Akbar, but he was urged to comply by the order of the Viceroy at Goa, and in obedience to the General of the Order, who wished that "at the court of a ruler such as Akbar, there should be a resident Father as well for the assistance of Christian residents as for several other reasons." The selection of a priest to conduct the Mission was determined by lot and the lot fell on the worthy Padre Jerome Xavier, a Navarrese, a nephew of the great St. Francis, and at that time head of the Professorial House at Goa. With him as coadjutors went two Portuguese, Emmanuel Pinheiro and Brother Benedict Goës; their guide was an Armenian¹ who had before accompanied Acquaviva. They left Goa on the 3rd December, 1594.

[Jerome Xavier, Native of Navarre in Spain, was born at Buro, in the Diocese of Pampeluna in 1549, and was a nephew of the great Apostle of the Indies, St. Francis. He had entered the Society at Alcalá in 1568, came out to India in 1571 where he spent most of his service, first as Rector of the colleges at Bassein and Cochin, during 8 years, then as Superior of the professed house (*Goanæ domus præpositus*) at Goa, for two years; was during a whole year Master of Novices; made his profession January 15, 1584; left for the Mughal Court in 1594, where he remained for twenty-three years; sometimes in favour, sometimes in prison, working sometimes for the spiritual conversion of Emperors, at other times for the material advancement of his compatriots; maintaining on the whole a prominent and honoured position, but like most of those who have striven with Native courts, finding himself little more advanced at the end than at the beginning. At last in 1617, he returned to Goa, and died there on the 27th of June² of that year, being at that time Archbishop elect of Cranganore.³

¹ Probably Dominic Percz. See above, pp. 57 and 68.

² Sic H. Hosten., S.J., *List of Jesuit Missionaries in Mogor* (1580-1803), in J.A.S.B. (*new series*), vol. VI, No. 10, 1910. E. D. Maclagan, *op. cit.*, p. 64, puts the date of his death on 17th June, 1617.

³ Xavier's nomination to the Archbishopal See of Angemale is contradicted by Paolino a S. Bartholomæo, in his *India Orientalis Christiana*, Romæ, 1794, p. 65.

References. Maclagan, *op. cit.*, p. 110, where he gives a list of Xavier's Persian works. See also H. Beveridge's Notice on Father Jerome Xavier in J.A.S.B., vol. LVII, No. I, 1888, and Rev. H. Hosten's '*List*,' etc.; and *Inscriptions on their Tombs*, Agra.

Father Emmanuel Pinheiro or Pignero, or Piniero, was born in 1544 at Pontadelgrado, in the island of St. Michael; entered the Society March 6th, 1573; took the simple vows June 1598; was in the Mughal Mission from 1594. We know little more of him beyond what is shown in the account below. He seems to have been the first of the Jesuits on these missions to turn his attention seriously to the people rather than to the Court, and he was for many years pastor of a considerable congregation in Lahore; but he also exercised a certain amount of influence with the Emperor and the Mughal grandees. In 1615 Father E. Pinheiro, broken down with age, went to Goa, where he became confessor in the Professed House. His death occurred at Goa about 1619, when he was aged 65 years, 46 of which had been spent in the Society, and 20 near the King of Mogor, to whom and to whose subjects he had endeared himself.¹

Benedict of Goës was perhaps the most remarkable, as he is certainly the best known of the three. Benedict Goës was born at Villa Franca, in the island of St. Michael (Azores) about 1561. We have no particulars of his rank in life or early history, nor any statement of the circumstances under which he originally went to India, but in his twenty-sixth year we first meet him as a soldier on board the Portuguese fleet on the coast of Travancore, a high-spirited and pleasure-loving man. Happening, we are told, to enter a church near Colechca, and kneeling before the Madonna and child, he began to reflect seriously on his past life, repented of his sins, and eventually entered the Society in India in 1593. He accompanied the third mission to the Mughal Court in 1594, took his last vows June 13th, 1598; and undertook his adventurous journey on January 6th, 1603. He started from Agra disguised as an Armenian and travelled by way of Kābul and Yārkand, through the heart of Tibet to Sao-chen in Kansou, where he succumbed to the fatigues of the journey on April 11th, 1607. Sommervogel is wrong in assigning the year 1606 as that of his death.²

Our chief authorities for the account of the third mission and its subsequent labours in the Mughal Empire are the '*Annuae Litterae Soc. Jesu*'; the Provincial letters '*Goana Historia*'³; Du Jarric⁴; Guerreiro⁵; Juvencius Corn. Hazart.

The party left Goa on December 3rd, 1594, proceeding to Damāun, and thence to Cambay, where the mission met the Emperor's second son, Sultān Murād, formerly Monserrate's pupil, who accorded to the Fathers a brief but favourable audience in the citadel on the evening before the Nativity. Here they converted to Christianity a Portuguese who had become a jogi (religious mendicant). Thence the party proceeded to Ahmadābād, which city they left on the 19th of March 1595, reaching Pattan on the 24th, which was Easter Eve according to the Gregorian calendar. The Fathers had great difficulty in persuading the Armenians in the caravan to celebrate Easter on the following day, but ultimately they all agreed, except one old man who celebrated his own Easter by himself later on. The cities

¹ References. Maclagan, *op. cit.*, p. 65; H. Hosten, *op. cit.*, p. 528, and J.A.S.B., vol. VI, No. 10, 1910, pp. 529-530; *Bombay Examiner*, February 10, Annual Letter, Goa, 1619.

² Yule's *Cathay and the Way Thither*, ii, p. 531 and *folg.*

³ Some of these letters up to 1606 were translated into English by E. D. Maclagan and published in the J.A.S.B. No. 1, 1896, pp. 64-113. Photographic copies of these and other letters referring to the latter period are in the possession of Father Hosten, S.J. They are either copies from the Marsden MSS. in the British Museum, or from the General Archives of the Society.

⁴ '*Histoire des choses plus mémorables advenues tant ès Indes Orientales que autres pays de la découverte des Portugais*, etc. par le P. Pierre Du Jarric, Tolosain, de la même compagnie. A Bordeaux, 1608, in 4°—Denxieme partie, portant le même titre que le premier, Bordeaux, 1610.—3me partie, etc. depuis l'an 1600 jusqu'à 1610, Bordeaux, 1614.

⁵ *Relaçam annal de Las Cosas que han hecho los Padres de la Compania de Jesus en la India Oriental*, etc. por el Padre Peruán Guerreiro, S.J. traduzida de Portugues en Castellano por el Padre António Calaço, S.J. Ano. 1604, pp. 33-62, and '*Relaçam annal das causas que pzeram os Padres da Compunhia de Jesus*' pello Padre Farnão Guerreiro, S.J. Lisboa, MDCXI.

they passed through were utterly ruined, and the people were heathen, though the chief buildings were mosques; food ran short, the heat was intense, the mirages were very irritating, and they were all glad when on May 5th, 1595, they entered Lahore, which is described as being a delightful city.¹ Gracious was their reception from Akbar, who "ordered," writes Pinheiro,² "that we should lodge in a part of the spacious palace which he himself inhabits, near to the river, which passes at a distance of fifteen spans. In size the river equals a lake. No one may enter except Christians coming to Mass and such heathen and Muḥammadans as we may permit, for the guards bar the way to all others. On the evening following our arrival the Emperor called us and showed us pictures of our Saviour and the Blessed Virgin, and held them in his arms with as much reverence as though he were one of our priests. When we saw the holy pictures we knelt down, and seeing this the Emperor's ten-year-old grandson³ also clasped his hands and bent his knees: whereon the Emperor was delighted and said to the prince 'Look at your son.' These same pictures the Emperor delivered to us at the festival of the Blessed Virgin to be deposited in our chapel." Pinheiro goes on to describe the great gifts brought to Akbar, and more particularly the manner in which he received, on the 28th August 1595, the penitent Viceroy of Kandahār, and the gifts he received from him and from the Prince Sultān Murād, the Viceroy of Bengal, and others. He then continues: "The Emperor and the Prince have oftentimes given us leave to build a church; but when we for certain reasons pretended we had forgotten about it, lo! at the festival of St. Mary at Nives (August 5th), the Emperor again said: 'Fathers, build a church and make Christians as many as of their own free will desire to be Christians.' But when we asked him for a written expression of his will under his own hand, he replied that he himself was a living document. The Prince⁴ also often promised that he would supply all that was necessary for the building: a site has been fixed which is extremely convenient and near the palace, and we trust in God that the harvest will be plentiful."

Having described Akbar's religious tenets the same Father relates: "We have opened a school of letters which is attended by some sons of hereditary princes, and by three sons of the King of Badakhshān, who serves Akbar himself.⁵ Two of these pupils wish to embrace Christianity, and have recently asked to be allowed to do so. Another is so affected that he seems to be one of our most pious pupils, and asks to be admitted into orders. There are some catechumens and some already had

¹ For a description of Lahore about this time, see Journey of William Finch, 1611, in *Purchas, His Pilgrimes*, vol. IV, pages 47-60, and *Journ. Panj. Hist. Soc.*, vol. I, No. 2, p. 125 and ff.

² Father Pinheiro's letter dated 'the Court of the great Mughal, 3rd September, 1595; addressed 'ad P. Joannem Alvarez, assistentem.'

³ Probably Sultān Khusrou, eldest son of Jahāngir, born on the 24th Amurdād, 995 (*Tuzuk-i-Jahāngiri*, Preface); but Khāfi Khān says 997 (A.D. 1589). Blochm., *Ain*, I, p. 310.

⁴ Sultān Salim.

⁵ See Jos. Juvencius, *op. cit.*, Liber XVIII, p. 452, No. 3. Xavier in his letter of 1598-9 adds: "that a young son [Mirzā Sultān. See Blochm., *Ain*, I, 313] of the King of Badakhshān [Mirzā Shāhrukh, *ibid.*, p. 312], who was eighteen years of age and was to marry the Prince's daughter, had informed him that if the Prince embraced Christianity he would do the same." Mirza Sultān was a favourite of Jahāngir.

become Christians, who though not in the first rank are yet souls redeemed by the blood of Christ."

Luis de Guzman¹ relates that in 1597 Father Xavier and Brother Goës accompanied the Emperor and his son Prince Sālim to Kashmir to spend the summer months. Their journey back across the mountains is described as slow and full of difficulty, but at last on November 13th, 1597, they reached Lahore exactly six months after they had left it. Meanwhile Pinheiro had been left at Lahore to see to the building of the new house and church, towards the building of which the Emperor had given rupees 4,000.² The church was opened for divine service on 7th September of that year when the first Mass was said with great ceremony, at which all the Christians of the town assisted. It is said that the Governor of the city³ attended in person. The Governor stayed for two hours conversing with Pinheiro in the house, and to show his favour to the new religion released a 'Chaldaean Christian' who had been condemned to death for killing a cow. About this time there was also a great pestilence in the city and many children abandoned by their parents were baptized. Among those seized by the plague was a Milanese gunner (*faber aenorum tormentorum*) who had travelled almost all over Europe and had contracted many vices; before he died, however, he repented of his sins, leaving his books and his money to the Church.⁴

"At Christmas 1597 Brother Benedict Goës prepared a manger and cradle as exquisite as those of Goa itself, which heathens and Muhammadans, as well as Christians, thronged to see. In the night Mass was said with great ceremony, and a pastoral dialogue on the subject of the Nativity was enacted by some youths in the Persian tongue. This gave such satisfaction that one Muhammadan in the audience said to another: 'We call the Christians *Kāfirs*—that is, a people who know not God or his Prophet—but verily we are *Kāfirs* ourselves, when, though students of seers and prophets, we lack, as you hear, the knowledge of God and of things divine which the Christians possess.' Wherefore they were much refreshed and pleased at these pious exercises and gladly described to their own people the things which they had seen. So did also some of the heathen. At the conclusion of the sacred office the gates were opened to all: and such was the piety of the throngs of heathen and Muhammadans, that on seeing the child Jesus lying in the cradle they bowed themselves to the ground in worship. The exhibition of some mysteries of the sacred Scripture gave us an opportunity of preaching

¹ *Historia de las Misiones que han hecho los religiosos de la Compañia de Jesus*, etc. año 1601, Tom. I, Lib. III, pp. 265-7.—See also the annual report of the Jesuit Missions for 1597; *Annuæ Litteræ Soc. Jesu anni 1597* (Neapoli 1607), p. 570.

² "Entre tanto que al Padre Geronymo Xavier estava en Coximir con el Emperador, Acabo la casa y Iglesia el Padre Manuel Pineyro en la ciudad de Laor donde avia quedado, porque en todo aquel verano no schizieron otras obras en la ciudad, masque los palacios del Emperador, y la casa è Iglesia de los Padres, para lo qual ayudò mucho el governador, que se mostrò siempre muy asieionado a le ley de Dios. Acabose la Iglesia demanera que a los siete de setiembre de mi. y quinientos y noventa y siete, se dixo en illa la primera Missa; a la qual assistieron todos Christianos con mucho consuelo y devocion." Guzman, *op. cit.*, t. I, p. 268.

³ "Temos Pës duas Igrejas may fermosas noi duos sidadeis principaes do emperio do magor nos quaes reside o ordinario a corte, se. Lahor en Agra. Pera a fabrica da Igreja de Laor dev o Rei quatro mil Rupias e juntamente os apegos es citro pero a Igreja e casa dos Pës. Equi fosse dentro na Fortaleza onde se fes." Lett. da Mogol a R. P. Claudio Acquaviva, etc. Roma.

⁴ This friendly Viceroy appears from Pinheiro's letter of 1605 [see E. D. Maclagan, *op. cit.*, p. 100] to have been Xumaradin [Qamaru-d-Din].

⁵ These were apparently written by himself. They included some, '*artis fusoriae praecepta artemque diversorum operum ad bellicos usus continentes: in quibus erat et illud quibus artibus Mogori Diensem Armuzinamque arcem tenderet.*' (Maclagan, p. 71.)

on matters concerning our faith. Such was the crowd of spectators in those days that the cradle was kept open till the eighth day after Epiphany—the fame of the spectacle spread through the town and brought even outsiders to see the sight. And to crown all it pleased certain Captains and military leaders to inform the Emperor, thinking that the sight should be seen, even by the Emperor himself.”¹

Jerome Xavier² in a letter addressed to his Father General dated 1598 informs us that “after much vacillation and much obstruction from our opponents, he (the Emperor) gave us leave to build a church at Cambay³; the same favour could not be obtained in the case of Sindh⁴ on account of the vehement opposition encountered.” In the Agra Catholic Mission Archives may be seen the mandate or *farmān* of Akbar, dated 42nd year of his reign, to this effect that the Jesuit Missionaries of the Kambāyet town are allowed to erect a church for their worship and that the administrative authorities of the place should not stand in their way.

When Akbar left Lahore for Agra, which he appears to have done towards the end of 1598,⁵ he wished Xavier and Benedict Goës to accompany him; Pinheiro being left again in charge of the Church and Mission at Lahore. Pinheiro in a letter from Lahore, 1593,⁶ states that since Xavier left for Agra, there had been 38 persons baptized by the Mission in Lahore; and he proceeds to describe two recent cases. One is of three Hindus converted against the will of their relations, who were conducted through the city with palms in their hands, and then having passed through a large and somewhat noisy multitude to the church, were therein baptized. The other case relates to a Muhammadan girl of sixteen years of age, who on seeing the others baptized insisted on being baptized herself, and convinced the priest that she was well instructed in the faith. She was accordingly baptized under the name of ‘Grace,’ but her parents at once turned her out of their house. She was then addressed by a Muhammadan who wished to marry her, but from him she fled and was put by Pinheiro in charge of a married Christian. The Muhammadans complained loudly to the Governor of the city, who summoned Pinheiro and then called for the girl; at this the Muhammadan rejoiced as he would now be able to kidnap her, but Pinheiro circumvented him, and brought the girl safely before the Governor, who finding her most

¹ Jerome Xavier's letter dated Lahore 1598 and addressed to the General of the Society; in E. D. Maclagan, *op. cit.*, p. 72. See also Oranus' collection of papers entitled: “*Japonica, Sinensia, mogorana.*” Copies of this letter are also to be found in John Hay of Dalgetty “*De Rebus Japonicis, Indicis et Peruanis, Epistolae recentiores,*” etc. See also Jos. Juvencius, *op. cit.*, p. 864.

² E. D. Maclagan, *op. cit.*, pp. 77 and 80.

³ See *Farmān* I, p. 10, J. P. H. S., Vol. v, No. 1, 1916.

⁴ Mr. Beveridge (J.A.S.B., vol. LVII, 1888, p. 38) thinks this probably means ‘India proper.’ The original in Oranus is ‘*idem pro Sindo tentatum,*’ and in the Maintz version ‘*idem tentatum erat per Sindum.*’ See E. D. Maclagan, *op. cit.*, p. 77, n. 5.—The Carmelite Mission in Sindh was founded in 1615 by Father Joliannas a Jesu Maria, who sent there Father Ludovicus a Matre Dei, who built a church at Tatta (Paolino a S. Bartholomaeo, *Ind. Orient. Christ.*, pp. 46-47). The Mission was abandoned at some date previous to 1712, when the Portuguese were ejected and trade decayed.—Müllbauer, ‘*Geschichte,*’ p. 344. Manucci, *Storia do Mogor* or *Mogul India*, 1653-1708, by William Irvine, 1907, vol. I, p. 59, found in the port of Sindy in 1655 a barefooted Carmelite Father who dwelt there in a little hermitage. See also *Hist. gen. fratrum Discalc.* Ord. B. V. M. de Monte Carmelo, tom. I, pp. 361 *et seq.* Romae typis mancini 1668. Item ‘*Etat présent,*’ etc., p. 177.

⁵ Elphinstone, *History of India*, Edit. 1866, p. 525. Fred. Aug. Count of Noer, *op. cit.*, p. 341 of Vol. II, says: “On the 8th of November, 1598, Akbar quitted Lahore where the court had been located for 14 years.”

⁶ Pinheiro's letter dated Lahore, some time after Whitsuntide 1593. See E. D. Maclagan, *op. cit.*, p. 79. Juvencius, *Hist. Soc. Jesu*, Pars, V, p. 452 *et seq.*

zealous in her profession of Christianity declined to interfere. Pinheiro was greatly pleased at this triumph, and the girl was shortly afterwards married to a Christian." Akbar had now resolved to conquer the kingdom of Deccan, and whilst at Agra, sent his son Sultān Murād¹ with 50,000 men against the Deccan and the country of Meliquius [Malik Ambar]. The ill-success of the campaign, the disagreement between Prince Murād and the Khān-Khānān, required the Emperor's own presence, and he reached the seat of war in 1599, bringing Goës and Xavier South with him. At that very time Father Nicholas Pimenta, Visitor of the Society in the East Indies, was on his tour in the northern parts,² and on his arrival at Chaul on the second of January he met five young men whom Pinheiro had sent thither from Lahore by the Sindh route. Four of these were left at Bandora, 'to learn from the best masters to play on all kinds of instruments for the new church at Lahore,' and the fifth was sent to St. Paul's College at Goa to become a priest. In order, therefore, to help poor Pinheiro at Lahore, Pimenta sent one Father Corsi,³ with instructions to see Father Xavier on the way and obtain from him the necessary information and guidance. Corsi left Damāun for Cambay, which latter city he reached at the beginning of March (1600), where he attended to the spiritual wants of the Christians, who were without a priest: there he was shown the order issued by Akbar, and which Father Xavier had sent him. Having paid his respects to the Governor who treated him with great kindness and courtesy, Corsi proceeded on his way to the royal camp which he reached on June 4th, after a month's tiresome journey. Here he was welcomed by Xavier and Benedict of Goës, and all the Christians who were employed in the army. The same day he went to see the King, and after having obtained from the Emperor the necessary passport he continued his march towards Lahore to join Father Pinheiro.⁴ We are told by Du Jarrie,⁵ that when the Emperor moved from Burhānpūr and laid siege to Asirgarh, His Majesty ordered Xavier to write to the Portuguese for guns and ammunition, and that the Father refused on the plea that such action would be contrary to the Christian faith. When the fort was taken, Xavier was instrumental in saving the lives of some half-caste renegades among the prisoners, and re-converting them to Christianity. It is said, moreover, that during the Deccan campaign some seventy persons were baptized, including some who 'departed incontinently to enjoy the glory of heaven.'⁶

¹ Sultān Murād, Akbar's fourth son, died of *delirium tremens*, 22nd Urdibihisht 1006 (1599) at Jalnāpūr in Barār. Elliot, VI, 97. Blochmann's *Ain*, p. 309.

² The Father Visitor, after having made his visitation at Chaul, left for Bandora, Tana and Bassein, visited Damāun, Diu, returned to Chaul and left it again for Goa on the 8th of April 1600, and arrived at Goa on the 15th of the same month. Du Jarrie, *op. cit.*, p. 3 *et seq.*

³ Father Francis Corsi, an Italian, came to Goa in 1599; and was sent the same year in the Mission [of Mogor], professed in 1612; died at Agra, August 1st, 1635. When Terry (*A Voyage to East India*, p. 422) was in India, in 1616, Corsi was about 50 years old. He is described as a Florentine, and "if he were indeed what he seemed to be, a man of a severe life, and yet of a fair and affable disposition," he is the Padre Ātash, the Florentine, mentioned by Bernier. See also W. Irvine, *Storia do Mogor*, I, 16; IV, 421, and J.A.S.B., 1910, pp. 453, 458.

⁴ Annual report written by Father Pimenta to the General of the Society on December 1st, 1600. Cfr. Du Jarrie, *op. cit.*, Vol. III, pp. 3, 27.

⁵ *Ibid.*, Vol. III, pp. 30-85, and Gnerreiro, *op. cit.*

⁶ Jos. Juvenç, *Hist. Soc. Jes.*, Lib. XVIII, p. 455, n. 7. "Neque nihil in exercitu factum est emolumenti ad salu-

While in the Deccan the Emperor despatched in March 1601 an embassy to Goa on some purely political object and allowed Benedict Goës to accompany the ambassador Coget-qui-Soldan Hama.¹ They arrived at Goa in the month of May of that year, bringing many costly presents, but the most precious says Du Jarric was a band of half-caste children who had been taken prisoners at Burhānpur, and who now, after some instruction, were baptized at Goa, into the faith of their fathers.

While at Goa, Benedict Goës received orders from the Provincial to start upon his Tibetan journey. At the same time, a Jesuit Father, Anthony Machado,² was selected to take his place with Xavier, and the two set forth, arriving at Agra in the spring of 1602. In the beginning of 1601, the Emperor returned to Agra and with him Xavier, and from this time dates the Catholic Mission at Agra, which will be described in another chapter.

During these years the personnel of the Mission altered somewhat. In the spring of 1601 Benedict Goës proceeded on a Mission of the Emperor to Goa, Xavier returned to Agra with Akbar, Pinheiro, after Corsi's arrival at Lahore, took the opportunity of travelling to the Emperor's headquarters at Syr³ to confer with Xavier, and returned with him to Agra, and was still there in the beginning of the summer of 1602 when Goës came back from Goa to that city bringing with him the new Missionary, Father Anthony Machado. Not long after this, Pinheiro departed for Lahore and Goës seems to have followed in October, 1602, and for the rest of that year and the following ones the Mission was carried on in Agra by Xavier and Machado, and in Lahore by Pinheiro and Corsi.

Meanwhile the Lahore Mission had since 1598 experienced some vicissitudes.

At first everything went on well. The Viceroy Xumaradin,⁴ the Governors, and Magistrates of the city held Pinheiro in great honour and respect, but particularly the Viceroy who on every occasion praised the Father in most extravagant terms. Many

tem animarum. Splendoris plurimum et pompae habuit septem regni Decani procerum accessus ad Christianam Fidem Septem duces Imperator, quia pertinacius restiterant, multari verberibus et ignominia jusserat affici. Precibus tamen Patrum placatus se remisit. P. Pinierus domum nostram ductos erudit accurate: omnesque; aspiraute aura luminis divini, per Baptismum auctoritati sunt Christo. Ex eadem arce hunc in modum capta plerique Lusitanorum liber venerunt in Patrum manus! et postea sunt Goam, annuente Imperatore, delati."

¹ Du Jarric, *op. cit.*, p. 38, where he also says that the *farmān* or order of this embassy was issued 'on the 9th day of Faurardi (Farwardin) in the 46th year of the Divine era' (20th of March).

² Father Anthony Machado was born at Serpa, in the Diocese of Evora; made his profession in January 17th, 1595, was Professor of Philosophy for three years; came out to India where he was Superior at Chaul, Bassein. Arrived at Agra in 1602, and died there on the 4th of April, 1636. The inscription on his tomb in the Santos Chapel reads:—Aqui jazo Pe Antonio Machado faleceo aos 4 de Abril de 1636.

³ Āsirgarh, the fort of Asir, commands one of the main roads of Hindustān from an outlying spur of the Satpura range. It stands north-east of Burhānpūr on a hill 850 feet above the neighbouring country. The area of the upper fort is some 60 acres. This is skirted by a wall, below which falls a precipice from 80 to 120 feet deep, so well scarped as to leave only two places of ascent. That on the north led up a ravine and was guarded by an outer rampart while the most practicable adit on the south-west face was defended by a strong outwork, called Kamargāh. At the south-eastern extremity of the hill was a sally-port of extraordinary construction, hewn through the living rock and easily blocked from above. It was founded in A.D. 1370 by Āsā Ahir, a charitable Hindu whose ancestors had retained the estates of which the hill formed part for nearly 700 years. Akbar's reduction of the fort 'Āsir' occupied 11 months. In February, 1820, it surrendered to Sir John Malcolm's force after 11 days of bombardment by 22 heavy guns and 26 mortars.

⁴ Qamrū-d-Din.

a time he offered the Father money for his daily expenses, which Pinheiro always declined, saying that if needed, he would have recourse to him as to his own father. The Viceroy also used to assist on festival days at the ceremonies of the Church, which act the Saracens deeply resented. Pinheiro succeeded in obtaining from him the pardon of prisoners condemned to death. Fugitives from justice took refuge in the church, where they were free, a privilege granted by the Emperor. The Father's intercession was constantly sought. Even great feuds, such as broke out between the chief Judge and the Emperor's treasurer, were composed by his arbitration. When this Viceroy, who had been in every way favourable to the Mission, died, he was succeeded by his brother Xencão,¹ whose children had been pupils of Father Pinheiro. When the Father went to pay him his respects the new Viceroy promised that he would continue towards him the same favours which his late brother had shown him, and that he might rest assured of his protection. This he did, because shortly after the death of the former Viceroy, efforts were made to discredit the Mission. The Father was accused by some pagans of eating human flesh, of kidnapping children, and of killing young men to make drugs from: but the only result was that the maligners were imprisoned. About this time, however, a determined effort was made by some bad characters to rob the Father. An outsider, native of Fuximir [Kashmir] implored one day the Father's protection and asked him to intercede with his parents whom he had grievously offended. This man having brought himself into the house of the Father as a possible convert, put a certain poison, called *Dotura* [Dhatūra]² into the food and into the water. At supper time when the Father took his meal, he at once suspected something wrong, left the table, retired to his room and rejected his food. But when he drank some water, into which the poison had also been mixed, he suddenly fell unconscious on the ground. The servants who had eaten the rest of the supper became stupefied. When the household was in this state, the Kashmiri called in his accomplices, locked up the Father's room, broke open the store-room, and took away such money as there was and some relics which the Father prized more than money. The thieves apparently were not discovered, but the Viceroy and the Kotwāl³ came in person to the Father to offer their sympathy and made good the loss.⁴

The Father used to perform the ceremonies of the church with the greatest splendour, for they left a deep impression in the minds of the pagans and produced some conversions from among the most illustrious families of the city, even from amongst the Shiah[s] [Shāhs]⁵ who are the direct descendants of Muḥammad and recognized as saints. Therefore the feasts of Easter and Christmas were celebrated with the greatest solemn-

¹ Zain Khān, son of Khwājāh Maqṣud of Herāt. See Blochm., *Ain*, I, p. 344.

² Dhatūra (*Dhatūra alba*) of which there are two kinds, the white and the purple. This plant is familiar to most people by its beautiful long white flowers, which in Rohtak are used as an offering to the shrines of certain idols. But the Dhatūra is more notorious as the agent used by the "Thugs" to stupefy their victims. See H. Powell, *Handbook of the Economic Products, Punjab*, No. 1028, p. 297.

³ The chief officer of police for a town, and the superintendent of the markets. See Jarrett's *Ain*, vol. II, p. 41. Duties of Kotwāl.

⁴ Jos. Juvenc, *op. cit.*, pp. 456-7, No. 9. Du Jarric, *op. cit.*, chap VII, p. 43.

⁵ Shāh means properly a king, a prince, and it is also a title assumed by *fajirs*.

nity, numerous catechumens with palms in their hands went in procession to the church, and received baptism. At Christmas 1600, Pinheiro¹ again appealed to the eyes of the unbelievers by preparing a representation of the manger and the Magi, with pictures of the prophets and Persian copies of the chief Old Testament prophecies of the birth of Christ. A passion play was also enacted in two scenes. In one appears Adam crushed by sin, whom Simeon consoles with hopes of a Messiah: to them enters a Philosopher with whom Adam discusses the doctrine of the Incarnation. In the other Mercy and Justice dispute regarding Adam's sin; an angel then appears announcing Christ's birth, and a shepherd follows with the same news. Similar scenes were prepared at Easter, and on both occasions the Viceroy attended. We are told that on one occasion Pinheiro baptized 39 persons, on another 20, and on a third 47. This last occasion was on the day of the Octave of the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin.² Details are given us of several individual cases, namely:—

A young man of the holy race of Xaques [Shaikhs],³ who formerly was an implacable enemy of the Christian religion, and had for a long time persecuted one of the new converts. He had made a journey to Mecca to visit the tomb of Muḥammad and had for twelve years studied the Muḥammadan religion. On his return to Lahore, he came to discuss with Father Pinheiro on religious topics. Having been convinced of the falsity of the Muḥammadan religion, he asked for baptism, and became a most faithful and zealous instrument to attract others of his sect and even pagans to the Christian religion. Father Pinheiro sent him to Xavier, to whom he proved a powerful instrument for the conversion of others.⁴ A certain lady who was of the royal blood, and a native of Chacata (Chagatai), following the example of her mother, who was already a Christian, got converted and baptized notwithstanding the great opposition of her relatives.⁵ Several Armenians also were converted, some leaving their Muḥammadan or pagan concubines, while others were duly married in the church. Speaking in general of the Armenians who live in these parts Du Jarric⁶ remarks that they were no longer so proud and arrogant as before, because they knew the great influence the Father enjoyed with the Viceroy, who had ordered his subordinate officers to expel from the town any one who gave trouble to the Father. The Archbishop of these Armenians having been prevented at Ormuz from going to India by sea, had died on the road in trying to reach India by land. His books and all he had, had been stolen, yet Pinheiro got hold of them, much against the wish of the Armenians. It is said that this Armenian Archbishop was sent to India to be the Archbishop of Serre, or of the St. Thomas Christians who lived on the Malabar Coast.⁷

¹ Jos. Juvenç, *op. cit.*, p. 864, No. 19. Du Jarric, *op. cit.*, chap. VIII, p. 46.

² Du Jarric, *ibid.*

³ Shaikh means a man of authority; a superior of the dervishes or Muḥammadan monks; a doctor learned in religion and law.

⁴ Du Jarric, *op. cit.*, chap. VIII, p. 49.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 50.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 50.

⁷ The origin of Christianity in India is somewhat obscure. Early tradition, accepted popularly by Catholics, and more doubtfully by Protestants, connects it with St. Thomas the Apostle, who is said to have preached in Southern India, on the Malabar and Coromandel Coasts; to have founded several churches; and finally, to have

There was at Lahore a young man about 20 years old called Polada, a doctor in medicine, a Pandit of a very respectable family. He and his wife became Christians and showed themselves worthy of the Christian name. Both had to suffer continual vexations from the man's relatives, who had often tried to poison them. One day Polada's parents ran away with his wife, and concealed her in a cavern outside the town; while the husband was attacked and badly beaten in the public street. Notwithstanding all this the neophytes remained firm in their faith and preferred to die rather than apostatise. In the end, the parents brought the case before a court of law. The judge among other things asked Polada if those who were standing there present, were his father and mother. The young man boldly replied: 'They were so as long as I was a pagan, but now that I am a Christian and they pagans, I can no more call them my father and my mother.' The judge dismissed the case.¹

Many influential men shielded the Fathers and their converts against the accusations of those who constantly tried to hinder them, and even to excite the mob against them. But God in this moment of persecution showed His providential interference; and the chief of these persecutors was dispossessed of all his goods, and publicly beaten by the Viceroy himself, whose favour he had vainly endeavoured to gain by the most diabolical means.

Thus passed away this violent storm, and a beautiful calm succeeded for some time, in which the young Christian community of Lahore could again breathe freely and enjoy as before peace and tranquillity.

While Pinheiro stayed with Xavier at the court of Akbar at Agra news came from Corsi at Lahore that the previous Viceroy having died,² his successor,³ a bigoted Muḥammadan, who had, as Governor of Gujrāt, imbibed a hatred of the Portuguese, had commenced ill-using the Christians and endeavouring to make them renounce their faith. The Fathers at Agra, therefore, presented themselves to the Emperor, bringing with them pictures of the great Albuquerque and of the Viceroy of Goa, Ayres de Saldagna, and made two requests: first, that Pinheiro might have leave to go back to Lahore, a request which the Emperor granted much to their surprise, as Pinheiro was a favourite with him; and, secondly, after having recounted the ill treatment of the Christians at Lahore and the painful condition in which Father Corsi laboured, they asked the Emperor for a written order under his imperial seal,

been martyred at the Little Mount, near Madras, in A.D. 68. The Catholic tradition narrates further, that a persecution arose not long after, in which all the priests perished; that many years later, the Patriarch of Babylon, while still in communion with Rome, heard of the desolate state of the Indian Church, and sent forth bishops who revived its faith; that about A.D. 486 Nestorianism spread from Babylon into Malabar. See W. W. Hunter's *The Indian Empire*, 2nd edit., p. 229 *et seq.*; Revd. Dr. Kennet's *St. Thomas the Apostle of India*; Bishop Medleycott's *India and the Apostle Thomas*.

¹ Du Jarric, *op. cit.*, chap. IX, p. 52.—Jos. Juvenç, *op. cit.*, pp. 456-7, No. 9. Corn. Hazart, S.J., I, chap. XII.

² Zain Khān was Viceroy of Lahore in 1600-1601, and died in A.H. 1010 [A.D. 1601] partly from excessive drinking. He was son of Khwajah Majsūd of Herat, the seal-engraver, and Akbar's foster-brother. He is generally called in histories Zain Khān Kokah.

³ Qulij Khān is probably the Viceroy here alluded to. In the 17th year of Akbar's reign he was made Governor of Surat. He served in Gujrāt in 1578 and 1583, was made Governor of Agra in 1599; and two years later was promoted to the Governorship of the Panjāb and Kābul. See Blochinann's *Ain*, I, p. 34, No. 2.

expressly permitting such of his subjects as desired to embrace Christianity to do so without let or hindrance. This also the Emperor agreed to, but then further difficulties began. The eunuch who had charge of the drawing up of the *farmān* hesitated to include so sweeping an order and consulted the ' *Maitre d' hotel* ', but this latter was a son-in-law of the Viceroy of Lahore and interposed every possible delay: so that the Fathers in despair made use of a young courtier, a favourite of the Emperor and a former pupil of Pinheiro's who drew the Emperor's attention to the matter and pushed it through in spite of the further objections of Agiscōa [Aziz Koka],¹ the grand chamberlain, whose duty it was to seal *farmāns* and bring them to the Emperor to sign. The Fathers were delighted at their success, and when Pinheiro ultimately went to take his leave of the Emperor, he was treated with great kindness and presented with a horse for the journey.²

In Lahore, Pinheiro baptized two sons of the King of Persia's ambassador, Manuquer, a Georgian Christian, who had been in the country four years, and was then returning to Persia.³ He also found means to get possession of a young Hungarian slave from Buda-Pesth, who was accompanying a Turkish embassy, and to send him to Goa.⁴ Moreover when a native Christian woman, who had been kidnapped in her youth and sold to a Greek who had afterwards married her, was claimed by her parents, Pinheiro was able by showing the Emperor's *farmān* to obtain for her the right to remain with her husband. Xavier in his letter of September 6th, 1604,⁵ thus describes the progress of the Mission at Lahore:—

"The Governor in those parts was 'a great enemy of our faith', but though he was ready to persecute the Christians he was favourably inclined towards Pinheiro personally. The poorer Arme-

¹ Mirzā 'Aziz Koka is elsewhere described by the Jesuits as the Emperor's foster-brother; and they say that his son and daughter had married the Emperor's daughter and son. Mirzā 'Aziz Koka is undoubtedly the person meant in the text. He was Akbar's foster-brother (Blochin. *Ain*, p. 169). In the 32nd year, Prince Murād married his daughter (*ibid.*, p. 326), and Prince Sultan Khusrō married another of 'Azam Khan Koka's daughters (*ibid.*, p. 310).

² Du Jarric, *op. cit.*, chap. X, p. 62. Corn. Hazart, *op. cit.*, chap. XI.

³ *Ibid.*, chap. XII, p. 77.—Jos. Juvenç, *op. cit.*, p. 459, No. 13.

⁴ Father Jerome in his letter dated Agra, Sept. 6th, 1604, says about this Hungarian that the Fathers at Lahore 'sent him to us at Agra, and we received him and placed him with João Battista Vechiete, who will take him back to his own land. This Hungarian knows the Christian doctrine and prayers in Latin and is going on well.' See E. D. MacLagan, *op. cit.*, p. 98.

⁵ Xavier in his letter of 6th Sept 1604 says that at the beginning of March [1604] there arrived in Agra from Lahore a 'distinguished and learned Florentine, João Battista Vechiete', who had travelled 'in many eastern lands, through Egypt, Mesopotamia and Persia', and who was much favoured by the Emperor. Then follows this interesting account of his books:—"He has much friendship for us, in proof of which he gave us a book of the Holy Gospels in Arabic with the Latin at the foot, printed in the Vatican, which we value very highly. He had also with him the Psalter of David in Persian, which he obtained with great pains and at great cost from a Jew who had it in Persian, but in Hebrew characters. It was translated two hundred years ago by an eminent Jew of Persia. We gave ourselves to the transcribing of these books with much delight. While the Italian was here, he copied in Persian character the Books of Proverbs, Canticles, Ecclesiastes, Judith and Esther, which he had in Persian, but in Hebrew character [the regular custom among Persian Jews. See *Ind. Antiq.* XVII, 155] and gave them to us freshly copied into the Persian tongue and character, but though the characters are new, the translation is more than two hundred years old: he obtained them from some Jews in Persia at a good price. We gave him the book of the four Gospels in Persian, which he greatly desired, for he said that they had the Gospel of St. Matthew in Persian at Rome, but would like very much to have the other three. Last year we sent to Rome another book of the Gospels in Persian, the translation of which is more than 300 years old. God grant that it arrived safely. We are now arranging the same Gospels in Persian with the corresponding Latin at the foot, which God willing will be much esteemed in Europe." E. D. MacLagan, *op. cit.*, pp. 95-96.—

nians in Lahore made their livelihood by selling wine, 'for which they often get into trouble as the Viceroy holds their trade in detestation (though he drinks well himself), and it was only when Pinheiro had persuaded these Armenians to desist from this calling that they were safe from the persecution of the Viceroy. Owing to Akbar's *farmān* the Christians might practise their religion quite openly.

'The feasts of Christmas and Easter are kept at Lahore with great solemnity, and the church being so large and beautiful, everything can be well carried out. João Battista, [Vechiete, a distinguished and learned Florentine] was present at one of these feasts and wept with joy to see these things done openly in a land of Muhammadans. When he was with us in Agra he was overcome with surprise at the sight of the funeral of an honourable Armenian, when the Christians accompanied the funeral carrying lighted candles, the cross uncovered borne before them, the children singing the Creed, and the Fathers reciting prayers bringing up the rear.'

"All the chiefs and principal persons of Lahore, we are told, were on good terms with the Fathers:—'so are the Viceroy and the principal magistrates who set many free at their request even though they be Muhammadans or heathens, and often send them the Christians who are brought before them to be dealt with as the Fathers think fit.' "Troubles however were not wanting. A nephew of Abdulla Khān (who died lately), the king of those parts of Maronhar [Māwaran-Nahr] and Samarkand,¹ which used to be the realm of the Great Tamerlane,' was listening to a sermon in the church, when one of his followers 'rose up and brandished his scimitar above the head of the Father, who being deep in the sermon did not perceive it, but he was prevented by his fellows from cutting the Father's head off.' The Fathers also found themselves in a difficult position before the Viceroy, who 'is very zealous for his faith, looking down even on Aristotle.'² Accordingly when the Fathers supported their creed and 'contradicted the doctrine of Muhammad,' the Viceroy would burst into a frenzy calling them vagabonds, etc. But he knew at the same time that they had Akbar's licence to preach, and when Father Corsi went to Agra he began to fear that an ill report would be made of him and, having called for Pinheiro, said to him: 'Father, I am a friend to you and to the Lord Jesus; no one knows Him better than I do. He had the Spirit of God and neither prophet nor angel could speak as he spoke' He failed however to gain the confidence of the Fathers.

"Some days after the Viceroy's wife came to the church, bringing an offering to Our Lady, and making a vow for the amendment of her son. This son we are told was 'given to evil courses and abandoned *in moribus*. His mother's advice has no effect on him, nor his father's punishments even when heavy and publicly administered.'³"

The Governor's opposition was however mainly instigated by the Hindus, and their enmity is ascribed by Pinheiro⁴ to the pertinacity with which he, Pinheiro, attacked their notorious immorality and to the anxiety with which he attempted to dissuade them from the common crime of infanticide. The heathen accordingly took counsel together and decided to accuse the Father every day of grievous things and throw discredit upon him. "So we shall get the Father driven from Lahore and the church, which we hate, destroyed." For the time being Pinheiro was able to reassure the Governor, but shortly afterwards the Hindus obtained the aid of a young man who was a favourite of the Governor's, to give him a rich present, together

¹ Turkestan.

² Blochmann, *Am*, I, p. 34, No. 3, states that "Qulij Khan was a pious man, and a staunch Sunni. He was much respected for his learning. As a poet he is known under the name of *Ulfati*; some of his verses may be found in the last chapter of the *Mirāt ul 'Alam*. The high rank which he had, was due less to his talents as a statesman, than to his family connexion with the Kings of Turān (Scythia).

³ E. D. MacLagan, *op. cit.*, pp. 97-98. Regarding the evil deeds of Mirzā Lāhauri, son of Qulij Khān, see Blochmann's *Am*, I, pp. 500-501.

⁴ Du Jarric, *op. cit.*, chap. XIII, pp. 89-90.—E. D. MacLagan, *op. cit.*, pp. 99-100.

with a defamatory libel: the least vile of the charges in this were that the Father ate human flesh, fattened up young men and sent them away to be sold in Portuguese lands, murdered people and had killed a tailor's wife not four days ago: that he was a great wizard and by his spells made men renounce their religion and adopt an unknown one, and so he had done to the son of a pandit, etc. The Governor was still afraid to seize any Christians in the city in case the matter should come to Akbar's ears, but he determined to seize any whom he could find in the Fort. A Portuguese was thereupon arrested inside the Fort and after much beating was induced to say the *Kalma* [*Kalima*], after which he was kept under guard but well treated. Pinheiro at once went to confront the Governor, and when he had gained admittance, he protested against the Governor's conduct, but Qulij Khan swore by Martes Alli [*Murtiza 'Ali*], by the prophet's head and his own, that no compulsion had been used to make the Portuguese turn Muḥammadan. Pinheiro had to go away in sorrow, but on his way through the city saw the man being negligently guarded, whereupon, he says, he 'drew near with unutterable joy and taking the lost sheep upon his shoulders bore him out of the city.' The Portuguese was sent off to Agra and his wife and children put in safety.

A greater trouble took place in connection with certain houses which Akbar had granted to the Mission. These houses had belonged to a Hindu called Pan [*? Pannū Rām*] who defaulted to the Emperor to the extent of three lakhs and was dispossessed of his property; and the Fathers used them as a shelter for married Christians. The Hindus offered the Governor '2000 rupees beside other things of price' for these houses, and Pinheiro was forthwith ordered to vacate them within five days, which he did, saying that 'the law of Jesus Christ forbade him to enter into strife for houses or lands.' The Governor at first ordered the Kotwāl to give Pinheiro other houses in exchange for them, but he subsequently revoked the order and the Hindus were triumphant, thinking that the church also would now soon come into their hands. Pinheiro meanwhile had written to Xavier about all the troubles at Lahore; and as soon as Jerome Xavier received this sad news, he informed the Emperor of the matter, who ordered a letter to be written to Calichcāo [*Qulij Khān*] to return the houses to the Fathers. The letter was written by the Emperor's Wazīr, and the following is a brief translation of it¹:—

"Beloved and fortunate chief, live and prosper under the protection of God. [After compliments]. I would have your Excellency know that by order of him whom all the world obeys, the houses of Pan were converted into a church and dwelling houses for the Fathers and their people. A petition reaches us showing that the Nawāb has expelled the Fathers from the houses where their servants were lodged. He whom all the world obeys commands that as these houses were his property and given by him to the Fathers, they and their people be forthwith reinstated in them, and your Excellency shall prevent any one from molesting or hindering them therein. These words are written by order of the Emperor."

This letter of the Emperor was not as authoritative as a *farmān*, but came to much the same thing, and Pinheiro was enabled by its help to regain the houses.

¹ A full translation with all the compliments will also be found in a separate MS. in the Brit. Mus. Marsden MSS. 9854, in Pinheiro's handwriting (E. D. MacLagan).

But scarcely had he done so when the Governor issued orders, depriving him again of their possession and Father Xavier had to be applied to once more. This time a regular *farmān* was obtained and what was more the Prince himself was the 'porvan-azi' of it; the Governor had now no excuse for evasion and ordered the houses to be given up 'within an hour,' thus bringing to an end an episode which had been a cause of great vexation to the Fathers.

Meantime in other respects, things had been going on ill enough. At one time the Governor had threatened to exterminate the Christians in Lahore and the community was in such fear that 'some twenty-three Armenian merchants fled with haste escaping through different gates. When one of the Governor's sons protested with him for not killing the Father, Qulij Khān drew him a little aside and said: 'Leave the forsaken wretch alone, no one who is a Musalmān at heart will ever embrace his religion,' continuing, (says Pinheiro), in a lower voice, 'he has the Emperor's permission who is an unbelieving Cafar [Kāfir] like himself.'

The Hindus, however, still agitated for repressive measures. In order to pursue their claims on the church they invited the Governor to a banquet in an adjoining house and gave him a present of 9,000 rupees, *i.e.* 9 horses,² several other things and 2,000 rupees in money. Pinheiro felt safe enough about the church buildings, but he received warning from the friendly Kotwāl that there were designs on foot for seizing the women and children of the Christian community and he took prompt steps for placing all these in a place of safety. He wished also to conceal the catechumens, but they indignantly refused, and conspicuous among them a certain Xequé³ who had before conversion practised as a sorcerer. At last the Governor actually fixed a day for the arrest and forcible conversion of all the Christians in Lahore. The day fixed was Thursday, the 15th September [1604], but (says Pinheiro):

'On the eve of the appointed day, the Governor's son returned a fugitive from the seat of war, having left his army defeated with the loss of 400 cavalry and a large number of infantry. On his arrival, his father set out to his assistance and the Christian army which was scattered and hidden again gathered together, the sheep and lambs no longer fearing the wolf.' This was the end of the troubles caused by Qulij Khān at Lahore. While Qulij Khān was away on an expedition in Bānā, the government was carried on by his son Chin Qulij,⁴ who although he had

¹ Parwānchi. The parvanazi according to Pinheiro is he who gives the order for a farmān. E. D. MacLagan, *op. cit.*, p. 102. The Parwānchi is an officer of the government who signs a sanad or farmān and submits it to the Mir 'Arz for signature, who lays it before his Majesty. See Blochm., *Āin*, I, p. 259. I think the porvanazi is meant here for parwānagī, which signifies 'a command, an order.'

² Qulij Khān, says Blochm., *Āin*, I, p. 345, 'was famous for his horses.'

³ It is not quite clear what Pinheiro means by a Xequé. He himself says: "a Xequé must be one of three things: *i.e.*, a man mortified in all his passions, a teacher such as the founder of a religion, or he must have written five books bearing on history." "The definition," says MacLagan, *op. cit.*, p. 103, n. 1, "seems to have a Hindu air about it and he moreover implies in his letter that the Xequé above mentioned was brother to the paṇḍit convert who had fled to Agra: if so, Xequé can scarcely be *Shaikh*. The definitions, however, quite agree with the meaning of *Shaikh*, who is either 'a man of authority, a superior of the dervishes or Muḥammadan monks; or a doctor learned in religion and law. See Richardson's *Persian, Arabic, English Dictionary* under word '*shaikh*.'

⁴ Regarding Mirza Chin Qulij, son of Qulij, the *Maāsir* says that he was an educated liberal man, well versed in government matters. See Blochm., *Āin*, I, p. 500.

formerly incited his father to oppress the Christians now showed himself in a very friendly light. He went so far as to visit the church and presbytery where he spent an hour and a half or two hours, and treated the Father with great respect and affection. Even the old Qulij Khān after his return from Bānā proved more tractable, and when a *farmān* came from the Emperor ordering that 1,000 rupees should be given to the Fathers, he went so far as to write on the *farmān* 'Belal carcar' ['bilae sarkār']: if this had not been done, says Pinheiro, the Fathers would according to the usual custom have received only 333 rupees out of the 1,000.¹

As regards the results of the Mission during the year, Pinheiro has to confess that 'the events above related closed the door to conversion, so that we have not any to relate.'

¹ Abul Fazl (Blochmann's *Āin*, Vol. I, p. 262) says that "In all cash payments, one fourth is deducted, as another *sanad* is given for this amount. The Diwān-i-Buyūtāt then gives the order to have it entered. The *mushrif* does so, signs and seals the barāt (cheque) and the receipt. It then passes through the hands of the Military accountant, the Nāzir, the Diwān, Buyūtāt, the Diwān-i-Kul, the Khān Sāmān, the Mushrif of the diwān, and the Vakil, who sign and seal it. In every case the estimate is sent along with it, so that there may be no mistake. . . . The mode of payment also is detailed on the back of it, viz. one-fourth is to be paid in gold (*ashrafīs*), one half in silver (*rūpīs*), and one part in copper (*dāms*), according to the fixed values of coins."

IV.

CATHOLIC MISSION IN LAHORE SUBSEQUENT TO AKBAR'S DEATH.

After the death of the great Emperor Akbar on the 15th October, 1605,¹ his son Prince Sulṭān Sālīm immediately took possession of the government, and assumed the title Nūru-d-Dīn Muḥammad Jahāngīr.² Though Akbar was courteous to the Christians, and not only gave the Jesuit Fathers an annual income for their maintenance, but even allowed them to build churches in the principal cities of his kingdom, such as Lahore, Cambay and Agra, Jahāngīr was still a warmer patron of the Portuguese Jesuits than his father,³ though in the beginning of his reign he did not seem to take much notice of them.⁴ Not long after his accession to the throne of the Empire (October 1605 A.D.),⁵ Khusrau, his eldest son, revolted against him (March 1606).⁶ He was, however, totally defeated near Lahore, and having fled in the direction of Kābul, he was captured through his boat running aground in crossing the Chenab, and was brought in chains before his father.⁷ The Emperor, to quell the troubles, was obliged to send his rebellious son to Agra, and ordered two of the Fathers to accompany him.⁸ When all these intestine revolts had been quelled, the Emperor, who now held his court at Agra, began to put in order the affairs of his vast Empire, and to make some necessary reforms. There existed an old custom in the Mughal Empire by which the Emperor became the sole heir of all the property of deceased princes, and distributed this at his pleasure. Jahāngīr abolished this custom, and returned to the legitimate heirs whatsoever his father had disposed of under this title.⁹ This change was a source of great trouble and annoyance to the Fathers at Lahore, who were thus obliged to return some houses they had received from Akbar which had formerly belonged to a pagan. The heirs of the

¹ *Encycl. Britan.* under word 'Akbar' gives the date of his death 13th October 1605. See Blochmann's remark in *Ain*, p. 454, note 3.

² See *Tūzūk-i-Jahāngīrī*, translated by Alexander Rogers, edited by Henry Beveridge, London, R.A.S. 1909, p. 3.

³ Bernier's *Travels in the Mogul Empire*, A.D. 1656-1668. A. Constable, Westminster, 1891, p. 287.

⁴ Du Jarric, *op. cit.*, chap. XVI, p. 97.

⁵ Beveridge, *Jahāngīr's Memoirs*, p. 1, says that : Jahangir ascended the royal throne at Agra on Thursday, Jumāda ṣ-ṣāni, A.H. 1014 (Oct. 24th, 1605). Elliot and all the MSS. have 8th Jumāda-ṣ-ṣāni as the date of the accession, but this is clearly wrong, as Akbar did not die till 13th Jumāda-ṣ-ṣāni.

⁶ In Price's *Jehāngīr*, p. 15, Jahāngīr states that he had imprisoned Khusrau in the upper part of the royal tower in the castle of Agra. It was from this confinement that Khusrau escaped on "15th April 1606" (new style) according to Du Jarric and Corn. Hazart, I, 265. See also Beveridge, *Jahāngīr's Memoirs*, p. 52.

⁷ Beveridge, *Jahāngīr's Memoirs*, pp. 66-67.

⁸ Corn. Hazart, I, p. 265 ff.

⁹ In the beginning of Jahāngīr's reign he gave twelve orders to be observed as rules of conduct (*dastūru-l-'amal*) of which the 4th was : "In my dominions if any one, whether unbeliever or Musalman, should die, his property and effects should be left for his heirs, and no one should interfere with them..." ; and the 6th : "They should not take possession of any person's house." Beveridge, *op. cit.*, p. 8.

deceased claimed the land upon which the church and college had been built, and to succeed better they calumniated the Fathers before the Emperor. The Emperor who was very friendly to the Fathers, and who knew very well their innocence, decided to leave the land in the possession of the Missionaries. This decision of the Emperor overjoyed the Christians of Lahore, because the church was so beautiful that the 'pagans' and the 'Saracens' from other localities visited it as one of the marvels of the town. "Chose des plus rares, qu'il y ait." The many-storied house with verandahs on all sides presented the aspect of a large college.¹

This was according to Du Jarric a "two-storied house made on the plan of a college, with large commodious rooms below and upstairs, surrounded with verandahs (*galeries*). The upper rooms were used during the winter and those below during the hot season. In short, all the different offices have their separate rooms well disposed and properly arranged, just as those of the colleges in Europe."²

The King moreover gave the Fathers at Lahore a monthly allowance of Rs. 50, and shortly after increased it by Rs. 30 to be used for the upkeep of the church, besides giving Rs. 50 to be distributed among the poorer Christians.³ The Fathers used to frequent the mosques on Fridays, that day corresponding in Muhammadan countries to our Sundays, where they met the Mullahs and freely discussed with them on religious topics. The Mullahs listened most attentively to the disputes, and lost their temper only when the Fathers attacked the character of their prophet Muhammad.⁴

In the spring of 1607 Jahāngir visited Kābul and returned to Lahore at the end of the summer.⁵

From here he despatched an ambassador⁶ to the Viceroy at Goa, to undertake and transact certain business, and Father Pinheiro was ordered by the King to accompany him. They left Lahore on September 13th, 1607, and arrived at Cambay in April, 1608. The Mughal ambassador, finding circumstances changed, and hearing that the new Portuguese Viceroy, Count de Faria, had not yet arrived in India, remained here, and Father Pinheiro busied himself in ministering to the many Portuguese and Armenian Christians who resided at Cambay. After a stay of nine months in Cambay, Father Pinheiro left alone for Goa, to return soon as an ambassador of the Portuguese Viceroy with ample powers to make peace or declare

¹ Du Jarric, *op. cit.*, chap. XVII, p. 105. Corn. Hazart, I, chap. XVIII, p. 1272.

² Du Jarric, *op. cit.*, p. 105. Corn. Hazart, I, p. 273.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 115.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 118.—Edward Terry, *A Voyage to East India*, 1777, p. 418, gives an extract of Fr. Jerome's disputes with the Mullahs (pp. 419-422). These were given to him in Lahore by Fr. Francisco Corsi, another Jesuit resident at that court, while he was there.... "and further," he says, "I have been there told by other people professing Christianity in that empire, that there was such a dispute there held, and for my part I do believe it."... "He (Corsi) lived at that court as an agent for the Portuguese, and had not only free access unto that King, but also encouragement, and help by gifts, which he bestows sometimes on him" (p. 422).

⁵ See Beveridge, *Jahāngir's Memoirs*, p. 90 *et seq.* He returned to Lahore, which city he entered on "Tuesday, the 13th Sha'bān, 1015." *Ibid.*, p. 131.

⁶ Jahāngir in his *Memoirs* does not speak of this embassy; though he relates (Beveridge, p. 144) "that Muqarrab Khān (who was his ambassador) sent [him in 1608] from the port of Cambay a European curtain (tapestry), the like of which in beauty no other work of the Frank painters had ever been seen."

war, because the Mughal Emperor had granted Captain Hawkins certain privileges in trading at Surat. The privileges to the English Captain were cancelled and the matter was settled to the satisfaction of the Portuguese. In 1610 Pinheiro returned to the Mughal Mission with another companion, Fr. Joseph da Castro.¹

At Christmas of this year, 1607, the Nativity of our Lord was celebrated at Lahore with the greatest pomp and ceremony. On Christmas night great illuminations were made and all kinds of fire-works were displayed in the cemetery adjoining the church, which could be seen from afar. The divine service was most impressive and well attended. Shortly after Christmas the King informed the Fathers that he would soon proceed to Agra and ordered that one priest should remain at Lahore to look after the Christians, and that the two others should accompany him. After travelling one month and a half they reached the imperial city of Akbarābād, where the Fathers retired to their house and church, which the same King when still a Prince had built for them.²

At the end of 1613 or the beginning of 1614 Father Joseph da Castro with the legacy of a certain rich Armenian bought at Lahore 12 bighas of land in the village 'Jama'ah Molizang Hari Phulwari,' to be used as a cemetery.³

Meanwhile the Mission at Lahore went on progressing and prospering till the year 1614, when by an order of the Emperor, the church was shut and the Father was expelled from the College.

From Father Joseph da Castro's letter dated Agra 1615, addressed to the Very Rev. Fr. Claudio Acquaviva, it appears that on account of the differences which existed between the Mughals and the Portuguese, the Fathers at Agra and Lahore found themselves in serious troubles which ended the Jesuit Mission in Lahore. Father Joseph da Castro says in this letter that "Father Machado⁴ who was in Lahore in 1614 received orders from the Emperor to quit the church, and the imperial seals were put on the doors of the college; so that Machado was obliged to leave Lahore and return to Agra with his little band of native Christians who were in that place."⁵

Jahāngir, in his 'Memoirs,'⁶ which in this matter agree with Father Machado's letter, dated Agra 9th April, 1615, gives us the reason of the differences between the two powers. Jahāngir (p. 255) says: "In the same month [Āzar, in the 8th

¹ See Du Jarric, 3rd part, 1614, Liv. V, chap. XXIII, pp. 137-144. Corn. Hazart, I, chap. XIX, p. 274.

² Du Jarric, *op. cit.*, chap. XIX, pp. 119-121. Jahāngir left Lahore on the 2nd of Shawwal 1608 on his way to the capital (Beveridge, *ibid.*, p. 135), reached Delhi on the 18th (p. 139) and entered Agra on the 5th of Zi-l-Hijja, 22nd of March, 1608.

³ See *Farmāns of the Mughal Emperors in India issued in favour of the Jesuit Missionaries*, Nos. V and VI (P.H.S.J., Vol. V, I, plate IV).

⁴ Fr. Anthony Machado: born at Serpa, in the Diocese of Evora: professed, Jan. 17, 1595; Professor of Philosophy, 3 years; came to India in 1586; Superior at Chaul, 1 year; at Bassein, 2 years; came to the Mughal in 1602; became Superior of this Mission in 1613; died April 4th, 1636, and is buried in the old cemetery at Agra. J.A.S.B. 1896, p. 83; 1910, pp. 459, 529.

⁵ The Cotton MSS. Brit. Mus. *Vespasianus* F. XII, 141 and 143, and *Titus* B. VII, 118, contain Machado's letter to Fr. Claudius Acquaviva, dated Agra, 7th April, 1615, in Portuguese and English. Cotton MSS. *Vespasianus* F. 7, XII, contains also an English translation of Fr. Joseph da Castro's letter addressed to Claudius Acquaviva and dated Agra, 10th April, 1615. The original is in Codex *Titus*, 8, VII. See J.A.S.B., Vol. VI, No. 8, 1910, p. 460.

⁶ Beveridge, *Jahāngir's Memoirs*, p. 255.

year after my accession] news came that the Franks of Goa had, contrary to treaty, plundered four cargo vessels¹ that frequented the port of Surat in the neighbourhood of that port; and, making prisoners a large number of Musalmans, had taken possession of the goods and chattels that were in those ships. This being very disagreeable to my mind, I despatched Muqarrab Khān, who is in charge of the port, on the 18th Āzar, giving him a horse and elephant and a dress of honour, to obtain compensation for this affair."

From Father Machado's departure from Lahore in 1614 until 1624, the Lahore Mission remained abandoned, and the annual letter of that year gives us this laconic account, "For just reasons a Father has again been stationed in the residence of Laor [Lahore]."² Two plausible reasons may be found for the resumption of the Lahore Mission; first, the number of Christians who were in the service of the Emperor who since 1622 held his court at Lahore, and more particularly in attendance on Mirza Zulqarnain who always had a Father as his chaplain; and secondly, to keep open an intermediary station between Agra, the centre of the Mission, and their contemplated Mission of Chaprang [Tsaparang] in the Gartok district of Western Tibet.³ From Jahāngir's farmān dated 1626, it is obvious that the Fathers of the Society had again settled down in Lahore, because the farmān clearly shows that the 12 bigahs of land which had been previously bought by Father Joseph da Castro for the use of a cemetery should be returned to the Fathers.⁴ But this new settlement was of short duration. Little could have been done for the spreading of the Gospel among the natives, and the only useful work the Father in Lahore did was to assist the Christians who were in the Emperor's service. But with the accession of Shāh Jahān to the throne, the Jesuit Mission in the Mughal sustained a very severe shock, and the Lahore Mission was henceforth abandoned, though as we shall see it was occasionally visited by the Fathers either from Agra or from Delhi. Shāh Jahān who was a stricter Muḥammadan than his two predecessors, withdrew the pension of the priests and demolished the church at Lahore. He moreover strictly forbade the Fathers to make converts from among the Muḥammadans; and this paralyzed all their efforts even to convert the pagans.⁵

Shāh Jahān soon found reasons to quarrel with the Portuguese of Hūgli, whose settlement he captured. He had all the prisoners brought to Agra, where they had

¹ Text *ajnabi*, 'foreign' or 'strange,' and Dowson had the same reading, for at VI, 337, we have the translation 'Ships engaged in the foreign trade of Surat.' But I adopt the reading of I.O. MS. 181, which is *ajnāsī*, as it does not seem likely that Jahāngir would interest himself about 'foreign' ships. Note of Beveridge, *ibid.*, p. 255.

² *Bomb. Cath. Exam.*, April 6th, 1912.

³ On March 30th, 1624, Father Anthony d'Andrada left Agra in the train of the great Mughal, who was going to the North. At Delhi, Fr. d'Andrade, followed by a lay-brother and two Christian servants, joined a caravan of devout pilgrims bound for Balid (*sic*) in the Western Himalayas. His purpose was to reach the mysterious land of Cathay, where, ever since the days of Blessed Rudolph Acquaviva, the Missionaries at Agra had suspected they might find remnants of former Christian communities. He was fortunate enough to reach Chaprang (Tsaparang), in the Gartok district of Western Tibet. On November 8th, 1684, d'Andrade wrote from Agra to his brethren in Europe his account of "*A new discovery of Great Cathay or of the Kingdom of Tibet.*" In 1625, he returned to Chaprang and laid the foundations of the Jesuit Missions in Tibet. About 1650, a political revolution obliged the Missionaries to abandon the field.

⁴ See above Farmān V.

⁵ Fr. Jōs. da Castro's letter to the General, dated Agra, 6th February, 1633.

to undergo unheard-of hardships and sufferings. Two of the priests sank under their sufferings and their tombs are still to be seen at Agra. Bernier¹ relates that "*Chah Jehan*, a more rigid Mahometan than his father, visited the Portuguese at Ogouli [Hūgli] with a terrible punishment. They provoked his displeasure by the encouragement afforded to the depredators of *Rakan*, and by their refusal to release the numerous slaves in their service, who had all of them been subjects of the *Mogol*." Catrou² states that it was Mumtaz Mahal, the wife of *Shāh Jahān*, who was the principal instrument in exasperating the mind of the Emperor against the Christians in general, and the Portuguese in particular, since these had given an asylum to two of her daughters converted to Christianity by the Missionaries. But other reasons than those given by Bernier and Catrou led to the action taken by *Shāh Jahān*; such as the refusal of all aid to him, when in 1621, as Prince Khurram, he had revolted against his father, the Emperor Jahāngir, and applied to the Portuguese at Hūgli for assistance in the shape of soldiers and munitions of war. "Before the catastrophe at *Ogouli*," continues Bernier, "the Missionaries had not escaped the resentment of *Chah-Jehan*, he ordered the large and handsome church at *Agra*, which, together with one at *Lahor*, had been erected during the reign of *Jehan-Guyre*, to be demolished. A high steeple stood upon this church, with a bell whose sound was heard in every part of the city." "That monarch deprived them [the Missionaries] of their pension, and destroyed the church at *Lahor* and the greater part of that of *Agra*, totally demolishing the steeple which contained a clock heard in every part of the city." When *Shāh Jahān*'s anger had cooled down, and his beloved wife had died, the Fathers seem to have returned again to the King's favour. They write: "Notwithstanding all these troubles the Lord does not cease to bestow his grace upon us, and by the kind favour of his father-in-law Asaf *Khān*, who is our chief supporter in these parts, the King ordered the restoration to us of the college of *Agra* and that of *Lahore*. Without him we could not find any human means of relief. Now only remain the Portuguese captured at Hūgli." The next bit of news about *Lahore* is an Italian letter of Father Morandi, dated *Lahore*, 7th October, 1637, of which the following is a translation:—

"In the beginning of this year I arrived at *Agra* with Lord Mirza, his sons and the other Christians who serve the King in his army. Five months later Father Rector [the Superior at *Agra*] sent me to this city of *Lahore* to recover our houses which, after the demolition of the church by order of this King, were in the possession of the Musalmans. At first the Governor, whom the King holds as his chief, would not give them back, and two months were spent in asking, squabbling and fighting, without any result; for, as is usual in matters pertaining to the Christians, everyone obstinately opposes me. In the end Father Rector obtained a written order of the King, through the intervention of the King's father-in-law (*genero*) Asofacan [Asaf *Khān*], on account of which the Governor handed over to me the houses, but he treats me as badly as one can; notwithstanding all this I repaired the houses as well I could, and at present I find myself in a very poor condition. It is now three months since my arrival

¹ Francois Bernier, *Travels in Hindustan*, 1684, pp. 156-159. A. Constable's Edit. 1891, p. 177.

² Francois Catrou, *Hist. of the Mogul Dynasty*, London, 1826, p. 186. See also Manucci, *Storia do Mogor*, Vol. I, p. 183.

³ Bernier, *Travels in the Moghul Empire*, edited by A. Constable, London, 1891, pp. 177-287.

in this city. I hope soon to obtain permission of our Father Rector to return to Agra, or to wait the army of the King which has to come this way after three months; because the Emperor has determined to go to the Kingdom of Cander [Qandahar] and I expect it will be the latter. The Lord Mirza and his sons continue in piety and Christian virtue as ever."

The following year Father Morandi, writing from Agra to his Provincial at Goa, says: "Last year I was at Lahore to gain back the houses of the Mission which were in the hands of the Moors with whom I contested the goods, and it may be that now I may go back there with the King's army and the companionship of Mirza, because the King intends to go there himself to recover the fort of Candar [Qandahar] which the Persians have occupied, and it is said that this will cause the latter's ruin because it is certain they have no means to resist the former."

Some traces of Christian worship still remained when Lahore was visited in 1641 by Fra Sebastian Manrique. This Augustinian friar found there a respectable congregation of Christians with a priest named Joseph da Castro, by whose powerful intercession he obtained an interview with the prime minister, Aṣaf Khān, and the liberation of Father Antonio da Cristo, the prior of Hūgli, who was still in confinement at Agra; and an imperial decree was passed, sanctioning the restoration of some places of worship recently destroyed.

Father Joseph da Castro in his letter of Lahore, dated 25th August 1641, refers to Father Sebastian Manrique's stay in Lahore, and in another letter of his to Father Mutio Vitelleschi, dated Lahore, January 1st, 1642, he gives us the following information:—

"I stayed during this year [1641] in the royal city of Lahore, where the Emperor holds his court. The reason was to sell the old houses, which belong to us, because few Christians remain here, and the College at Agra has no revenues to maintain this one [College of Lahore], and *a fortiori* will have no means to keep up other Fathers in Lahore." He however insists on keeping up the Lahore Mission because there will always be some Christians in the two royal cities of Agra and Lahore. "Moreover we have the Emperor's permission and royal letters patent to reside here, and though I have asked the King's leave to sell the houses bought with our money, I reserved a rather commodious one, which the late King gave us, and which the present King confirmed to us, as a dwelling house for our Fathers, who might in future time come to Lahore." Da Castro also says that the Fathers at Agra are of a different opinion, and he further asks to send us out men learned in astronomy and mentions again the visit to Lahore of Father Manrique, who obtained, through Aṣaf Khān's intercession, the liberation of an Augustinian friar who had been in prison for nine years.

We hear no more of the Lahore Mission till 1646, when Father Joseph died at Lahore on the 15th of December.

The annual letter of 1649¹ tells us what follows:—

"What crowns all is the wonder which happened and what is worthy to be noted down. This year 1648, when Father Christopher da Costa was in Lahore and about returning to Agra in the month of February he determined to carry with him the body of Fr. Joseph da Castro, who had died there, to be buried in the Agra cemetery where all the other Fathers of the Society are interred. When he

¹ *Annuæ literæ Collegii Agrensis et Missionis Mogorensis collectæ ex parte anni 1648 et parte anni 1649, fol. 16. V.*

ordered the coffin to be dug up, he found the wooden box in which he had been laid almost entirely rotten by the moisture; the body however of Fr. Joseph of our Society was quite intact and vested in his robes, just as on the day of his interment, and except for a few small portions which are of no great weight, the remaining flesh was found to be quite fresh, the beard, hair, and even the dress in which he was enveloped being quite intact. This fact seems to be remarkable not only because he had been buried for more than one year but also because Fr. Christopher having put the corpse in a new coffin, took it with him in the carriage in which he travelled, and though it was always at his side during the journey to Agra which lasted about one month, it gave out no unpleasant or disagreeable smell. Finally it was honourably interred in the cemetery at Agra, in the mortuary chapel of our Fathers.¹

What follows are only notes put in chronological order, taken from the Jesuit records and European travellers in India, referring to the Lahore Mission.

1648. In this year Father Ceschi was sent to Lahore as chaplain to Mirza Zulqarnain, the Christian nawab of the city²; but in that same year Zulqarnain was called to Delhi, and fell into disgrace with the Emperor. After a few months, however, he returned into the King's favour, who had assigned to him 100 crowns per diem, and gave him the Governorship of the province of Sambar [Sambhar].³

In 1651 we find Father Buseo in charge of the Lahore Mission. It was about this time, writes Ceschi, "that there arrived at Lahore a certain Georgius, of noble blood, a nephew of our Mirza Zulqarnain. He had come from Aleppo, his native town, to visit his uncle, and remained with us for nearly two years. He is not yet married, and now through devotion, without any pride, but like a poor pilgrim, he is on his way to Rome taking with him a letter of the Mirza for the Pope."⁴

During Father Buzeo's incumbency at Lahore Mateo da Castro Malo,⁵ Bishop of Chrysopolis, *i. p. i.*, arrived in this city on a special mission to the Mughal court; presumably to make his canonical visitation, because according to Fr. Paolino a S. Bartholomaeo he had been appointed by the Propaganda, first Vicar Apostolic of the Kingdoms of the great Mughal, Adelpkhan and Golconda.⁶

Whatever may have been the chief object of Bishop Matthew's mission to the Mughal court, it is certain from the documents⁷ at my disposal, that during his stay

¹ Inscription on his tomb: *Aqui jazo P. Joseph da Castro, faleceo aos 15 de Dezembro d' 1646.* See Blunt, *Christian Tombs*, etc., p. 34, No. 83.

² *Litterae Annuae*, 1649, fol. vii. V.

³ *Ibid.*, fol. ix. and 14.

⁴ Letter of Fr. Ceschi di Santa Croce, Agra, 28th January, 1652, with the letter of the Mirza to the Pope, 1652 ² Lahore. "Interpretatio Epistolae quam Mirzatus Zulkarnensis scripsit Christi Vicario anno 1652, die 28 Januarii ex urbe Lahori in Regno Mogoris sita."

⁵ *The Madras Catholic Directory*, etc. 1905, p. 139. Fr. Matthews de Castro of the Oratory of S. Filippo Neri, Bishop of Chrysopolis in Arabia Petraea, nominated in 1637 as Vicar Ap. of Visapore or Adelpkhan, and consecrated at Rome; he was an Indian priest of the Brahmin caste, and on his return to his native land built two churches at his own expense. Afterwards he went again to Rome, and died in the year 1668, 72 years old, in the college of the Propaganda in which he had been educated. He is considered to have been the first Vicar Apostolic of the Great Mogul. See also *Storia do Mogor or Mogul India*, 1658-1708, by Nicolao Manucci, Venetian. Ed. William Irvine, London. John Murray, 1907, vol. I, p. 311. "I beg to inform the reader that the Lord Dom Mathews of Canarese was Bishop of Bicholim" [Bicholim, eight miles north of Goa]. Mullbauer "Geschichte," p. 368, speaks of a Matthew, a Christian of St. Thomas. Bishop of Chrysopolis. He went to the court of Shāhjahān on a mission.

⁶ *India Orient. Christ.* Romae 1794. p. 49: Primus horum regnorum (Mogolis, Adelpkhan, Golcondæ) Vicarius Apostolicus fuit Episcopus Crispopolitanus qui Romae obiit in collegio S. Cong de Prop. Fide.—Cfr. Urbanus Cerri 'Etat présent' etc., p. 178.

⁷ *Notizie e saggi di opere e documenti inediti riguardanti la storia di Etiopia durante i secoli XVI, XVII, e XVIII.*

at Lahore in 1651, he caused many difficulties and annoyances to the Jesuit Fathers, treated Mirza Zulqarnain, the Christian Governor of Lahore and a great friend of the Jesuits, with impudence and arrogance, and finally succeeded in having Father Buzeo incarcerated by the Emperor. Though we have not found any specific charge of Bishop Matthew which brought about the incarceration of Father Buzeo, yet his accusations laid before the Emperor seem to have been the cause of it. From the Patriarch Alfonsus Mendez's work (p. 169), it appears that Bishop Matthew accused the Jesuit Fathers of being the spies of the King of Portugal and of having maliciously usurped the properties of some Portuguese who had died in the Mughal empire. Father Buzeo in a letter dated Lahore, December 17th, 1651, addressed to the General of the Order, says that he had been released from prison, and that the Superior of the Mission having already written to him all about his imprisonment, he did not think it necessary to enlarge further on the subject. Father Anthony Botelho, who was at that time the Superior of the Mission, in his letter dated Agra, 20th January, 1652, addressed to Fr. Bento Ferreira, Goa, tells us: "that he left Agra for Lahore on the 8th of November, 1651 to obtain the liberation of Father Busi, who was in prison. Much prudence and caution was needed, because Bishop Matthew was still in Lahore, but on the point to depart for Agra, Surat and Mocha." Father Botelho also states that in order to avoid another outbreak of the Bishop against the Fathers he had to conceal himself in one of the suburbs of the city till Matthew had left the place. Prince Dara Shikoh, who was a great friend of the Jesuits and particularly of Father Buzeo¹, suggested to Mirza Zulqarnain to compose a piece of poetry which would soothe Shāh Jahān and thus obtain the Father's release. Mirza Zulqarnain tried this and pleased the Emperor so much that he liberated Buzeo on the feast of St. Francis Xavier, 1651.

The Father Provincial of Goa wrote to the General in his Annual of 1652 (27th October, 1652): "This Mission of Mogor suffered this year a severe persecution, brought down upon it by Bishop Dom Matthew. This appears from three writings of his, or rather three libels which he spread to discredit us, and even expel us from that Mission. He accused us of having usurped much money which by the laws of that kingdom belonged to the King. 2nd, that we had prevented some Dutch gunners, whom the King had caused to be called for his service: through these false incriminations, he actually caused Fr. Henrique Buzeo to be arrested."

Father Ceschi in his letter from Delhi, August 24th, 1654, tells us: "I went to

Roma 1903, and *Expeditionis Æthyopiæ Patriarchæ Alfonsi Mandesii*, Bk. IV, chap. 27-30, pp. 114-115, No. 4: *ibid.*, p. 169, No. 53 "Condotta scandalosa del Crispolitano presso i Mogorini e i Turchi, scandalo de Christiani tanto catholici, quanto inglesi e olaudesi. Sfacciataggione di lui Verso Mirza Zuekarnem cristiano amico dei Gesuiti che chiama in suo ajuto il Padre Buseo. I Padri del Mogor ricorrono a quel Re contre le accuse quelle di esser le spie del Re di Portogallo, e d'aver usurpate malamente le sostanze di Portoghesi Morti nel Mogor."

¹ See Bernier, *Travels in the Mogul Empire*, Constable's edit., p. 289. Catrou in his *History of the Mogul Dynasty in India*, Paris, 1715, says that 'no sooner had Dara begun to possess authority, than he became disdainful and inaccessible. A small number of Europeans alone shared his confidence. The Jesuits, especially, were in the highest consideration with him. These were the Fathers....and Henry Busée, a Fleming. This last had much influence over the mind of the prince, and had his counsels been followed, it is probable that Christianity would have mounted the throne with Dara.'

Lahore, 21 days' journey from Agra, where I administered the Sacraments to the Christians. Soon after I returned to Delhi, now the King's capital, which latter station Father Rector assigned me for my residence."¹

Father Diusse, S.J.,² in a letter dated Surat, January 28th, 1701, writes as follows: "When the vast states of Indoustan will have been divided among the children of Aurangzeb, whose reign has lasted so long, we do not doubt but these Princes will be favourable to the Missionaries, and protect them openly in all the Provinces, all the more so if they should find them established there already at their father's death. Prince Chalen [*Shāh'Ālam I*] the eldest, has always shown much kindness to our Portuguese Fathers at Agra; of late, he has even called to Caboul (*Kābul*) where he is actually with a considerable body of troops, Father Magallens, a former Missionary at Delhi and Agra, and has given orders to the Governors and other officers of the places through which that Father will pass to supply him with whatever will be needed for his journey. It is believed that he calls the Father to his court to take charge of the Christians in his suite."³

Valentyn relates in *Oude en Nieuw Oostindien*⁴ that on December 11th, 1711, when the embassy of the Dutch Company under Ketelaer reached Lahore, an Armenian Bishop and some Jesuit priests came out to greet them.

Father Ippolito Desideri on his way to Tibet passed through Lahore, which place he reached on October 10th, 1714. He says, "We confessed and gave Communion to the Christians who are there without a priest. On this occasion I re-baptized a child which had been baptized by a secular without the proper formula, and baptized also an old woman and two adult ladies who were well disposed and instructed."⁵

The Jesuit Father Emmanuel de Figuieredo writing in 1735 tells us, that "beyond Delhi, where we have two residencies, lies Lahore, one of the greatest cities of this kingdom, 31° 50' N.L. Here is generally stationed the elite of the Mughal army, composed for the greater part of Christian officers, who by their fidelity and

¹ The Jesuit Mission at Delhi dates back to the year 1650, and the first notice we have about it is in a letter of Fr. Ceschi, addressed to Marucci, dated Agra, 1st November, 1650, in which he says, "O.P. Buseo so em sinco (*sic*) [cinco] mezes, que esteve no Delli, donde esta el Reg coma corte, se captivon os animos dos grandes." Jean Marneci, S.J., in 1651 (*Relation* . . . , p. 21) says, Henri Busée appears to have reached Agra along with Antonio Ceschi about the year 1648. He is described as then 'a young man of great ability and with many talents.' He had taught Mathematics for four years at Lisbon. On his arrival in Agra he was sent to live constantly at the Mogul court because the young Prince Dara *Shikoh* was very keen about European sciences, and was very well inclined to them. It was hoped that he would resemble his grandfather, Jahāngir, in favouring the Christians. See Irvine's '*Storia do Mogor*.' Tom. IV, pp. 424-25.

² Weltbott, Bd. III, p. 54ff.; also published in *Lettr. Edif. et Curieuses*, Paris, MDCCLXXXI, Vol. X, pp. 234-5.

³ Fr. Roth, a Jesuit Missionary, wrote about 1662 an account of the Christian community of Kābul, which he must have visited on the overland journey he made in 1662 with Fr. John Grueber, and went to Rome to ask for a new batch of Missionaries. It is entitled "*Inaudita de Regno Caboul Christianorum, Potente Ethnicorum incognito hactenus* In 1664, Roth returned to Agra where he died on June 20th, 1668. See my articles on the Afghan Christians, Ancient Christians in Kābul, and the Armenian Christian community near Peshawar, in *The Calendar and Directory of the Agra Archdiocese*, 1908.

⁴ Vol. IV, p. 283.

⁵ A letter from Father Ippolito Desideri, S.J., to Father Ildebrando Grassi, a Missionary of the same Society in the kingdom of Mysore, dated Lhasa, April 10th, 1716. *Lettres Edifiantes*, vol. XV, p. 184. Father Ippolito Desideri left us a very important Italian MS. on Tibet published by Prof. Carlo Pruni, *Il Tibet. (Geografia, Storia, religione, costumi) secondo la relazione del Viaggio del P. Ippolito Desideri (1715-1721)*. Roma, Societa Geografica Italiana, pp. 402.

courage in all dangerous attacks on the enemy prepare the way for the Emperor's felicitous victories. They carry on their banners the holy cross, fulfil during their military service their Christian duties, and make themselves more redoubtable to the enemy by their piety than by their military tactics. They are more accustomed to conquer than to fight. Since the time of Fr. Jerome Xavier, a Missionary of our Society, who made in Persian a very able refutation of the Qur'ān, no permanent resident priest was stationed here. For the spiritual consolation, however, of these officers and other Christians who are in great numbers, Lahore is visited twice every year by a priest, who extends his apostolic zeal also further northwards, visiting the Provinces of Multan, Backar, Kābul and even Candar or Candahar."¹

In 1752, Ahmad Shah Abdali invaded the Panjab for the second time and subjugated the province of Lahore, which he wished to be administered by the Governor Mir Mannu, on condition he recognized him as his Master and paid him the revenues of the province. "Rebus ita dispositis," continues Tieffentaller, "Kabulem repetūt, omnibus religionis Christianae cultoribus, qui Praetori Lahoreno a servitiis erant, machinas bellicas explodere soliti, vi secum abstractis." Having thus arranged matters, he [Ahmad] returned to Kābul, taking with him by force all the Christian gunners who were in the service of Mir Mannu, the then Governor of Lahore. Father Tieffentaller moreover gives us a hint of the whereabouts of the Christian quarter in Lahore which was situated near the imperial castle, and enclosed with a large wall. "There lived in that quarter," he says in 1757 at the third invasion of Ahmad, "many Armenians, and also a good many native Christians, who having come to an understanding with the Georgian and Armenian soldiers of the Afghan army were left in peace and thus escaped the pillage and devastation which the inhabitants of Lahore witnessed during these days of cruelty and barbarism."²

¹ *Wellbott*, Band 31, p. 1. Brief No. 595 des R.P. Emān. de Figuieredo, Portugies Missionar an Ihre Kgl. Majestät Maria Anna, Kgn. von Portugal und Erzherzogin von Osterreich, geschrieben im Reiche Mogor, 1 Jau. 1735.

² Bernoulli. Tieffenthaler's Beschreibung von Hindostan, Bd. ii, part ii, pp. 174-175. "A direptione mansit immune septum, seu mavis claustrum dicere, muris cinctum, arci regiae contiguum, Christianae fidei cultoribus, partim indigenis, partim externis, uti armenatibus, habitatum, cum enim in exercitu Afganico partim Georgiani, partim Armeni militarent, decuriones ad fores septi constituerunt, qui militum Afganicorum discursantium, domosque expilantium furorem repraeserunt, et aditum ad interiora septi prohibuerunt."

The Mughal Seals.

By THE REV. FATHER FELIX (O.C.).

The use of the seal was very common in the whole East from the most ancient times. Hundreds of them have been found in the ruins of Chaldea, Assyria, Egypt and Babylonia. Sir R. Porter discovered in the ruins of Ur a cylinder bearing in cuneiform characters the legend: "To Lig Bagas, the powerful King of Ur, Hassinir patesi, from Es-ba-ak-gi-sin-ki, his servant."¹ This seal dates back before Abraham's time (c. 2000 B.C.). The seal was also in universal use in Palestine,² and in India³ it is called *chhallā* (چھلا) or *angūḥi* (انگوئی) and in Sanskrit *mudrā*. The Persian names are *chāpah* (چاپه) and *muhr* (مهر) and in Arabic *Khātim* (خاتم).⁴ The Latin *sigillum* was the Greek *sphragis* (σφραγίς).⁵

The Tartars or Mongols, the Chinese and Tibetans had also their peculiar seals. The Chinese imperial seal which was affixed to all public Acts and Decisions of the tribunals was about eight inches square, and of a very fine jasper. This stone was highly esteemed in China; and not every person was allowed to use it in a seal. It was called *Yu-she*, and taken out of the *In-yu-shan*, that is "the mountain of the Agate seal."⁷

After the Mongols settled in China, the characters inscribed on these seals were both Chinese and Tartarian, as the tribunals were composed of both nations. The great seal of the Grand Lama of Tibet and those of the Great *Khāns* of Tartary were

¹ SIR R. PORTER gives a reproduction of King Lig Bagas' seal in his *Travels in Georgia, Persia, etc.*, t. ii, plate LXXIX, fig. 6.—See G. Rawlinson, *The Five Great Monarchies*, tom. i, p. 118; J. Ménant, *Rapport sur les cylindres assyro-chaldéens du musée britannique, dans les Archives des missions scientifiques*, 3e série, t. vi, 1880, p. 112, no. 55. This seal, lost for a long time, has been recovered at Bagdad and is now preserved in the British Museum. Its genuineness has been contested by M. J. Ménant, in the meetings of 2nd August and 20th September 1889, at the 'académie des inscriptions.' See on this subject Th. G. Pinches, *The Genuineness of the Cylinder of Ur-bau*, in the *Babylonian and Oriental Record*, 1889-1890, t. iv, p. 9.

² *Gen.* xxxviii. 18, 25, where we should translate: "Thy signet, and thy cord, and thy staff"; *Deut.* xxxii. 34; *III Reg.*, XXI, 8, etc.

³ Dr. J. H. Marshall in his lecture before the Panjab Historical Society at Simla on August 29, 1914, says that he found in the ruins of Taxila "several finger rings,—one with a lapis-lazuli intaglio representing a Greek warrior and engraved with an early Brahmi legend": and "some chalcedony and copper seals engraved with various devices." *J.P.H.S.*, Vol. iii, No. 2, p. 75.

⁴ *Chhallā* (Hindi) is a small ring of silver or gold worn on the finger.

⁵ *Khātim* (خاتم) a seal. *Khātām* or *Khātim*, a seal ring. *Khātim u'l ambiya* (خاتم الانبیا) the seal of the prophet Muḥammad; *Khātim i jam*, the seal of Solomon to which many wonderful qualities have been attributed by the Muhammadans and Jews. *JOSEPHUS, Antiq.*, Bk. VIII, ch. iii, 5, and Bk. XI, ch. VI, 12.

⁶ The word *σφραγίς* or (*σφραγίς Ionicē*) by which Herodotus, Thucydides, Xenophon, Polyænus, and others describe the royal Persian signet, implies a gem set in metal. Such was the celebrated *σφραγίς χρυσόδερος* of Polycrates, an emerald set in gold, according to Herodotus (iii, 41); or, as Pliny relates, a ring (*annulus*) of which the gem was a sardonyx (*Nat. Hist.* xxxvii, 1).

⁷ THOMAS ASTLEY'S *Voyages and Travels*, Vol. IV, China, p. 241, col. i; and vol. iii, p. 542.

also about eight inches square and always impressed on the paper in red ink or vermillion.¹

The seals originally appear to have been precious stones. Such gems (σφίρα *gemmae*) engraved with designs cut into their surfaces are termed *intaglios*; those with designs carved in relief are known as *cameos*. These gems were employed not only as ornaments or for artistic effect, and to embellish furniture;² but to a great extent for sealing. A very large number of undoubtedly genuine examples of such gems are in existence. They range from the mists of Babylonian antiquity to the decline of Roman Civilization, and received a new but artificial impulse on the revival of art. The earliest records of gems are those of the Babylonian, Assyrian and Egyptian races, each of whom possessed cylindrical stones engraved in intaglio and mounted into ring-shapes of gold, centuries before the Christian era and beginning according to Mr. King as early as 2234 years B.C.³

The favourite shapes in Assyria and Babylonia were the cylinder pierced lengthways, and sometimes fitted with a swivel so as to be used as a seal; and the cone also pierced but not requiring a swivel, since the design was cut on its base. In Egypt the favourite form of gem was a *scarab* (beetle) having a flat surface underneath, on which was engraved a hieroglyphic design.⁴ The common materials were jasper and porcelain; and from the strict adherence to the scarab shape, it may be inferred that they were used much less as seals, than as a sort of badges or ornaments, and this is confirmed by the finding of large numbers of them in foreign countries as at Camirus in Rhodes, and in Etruria, where the hieroglyphics could not have been understood.⁵

¹ Marco Polo (Col. H. Yule's vol. i, p. 410) says: "All these pieces of paper are issued with as much solemnity and authority as if they were of pure gold or silver, and on every piece a variety of officials, whose duty it is, have to write their names, and to put their seals. And when all is prepared duly, the Chief Officer deputed by the Kaan smears the seal entrusted to him with vermillion, and impresses it on the paper, so that the form of the seal remains printed upon it in red; the money is then authentic." See E. H. WALSH, *Examples of Tibetan Seals*, J.R.A.S., Jan. 1915. On the same subject see also J.R.A.S. 1906, p. 476, DR. BUSHELL's Note, Rev. Dr. A. H. FRANCKE *Note on the Dalai Lama's Seal and the Tibeto-Mongolian character*; J.R.A.S. 1910, p. 1205, Col. WADDELL's *Lhasa and its Mysteries*; and J.R.A.S. 1911 and 1912, Abbé GROSIER, *Hist. gén. de la Chine, etc.* Tom. xiii, p. 520.

² Exod. xxviii. 15-21. M. Mariette, *Notice des monuments du Musée de Boulaq*, pp. 263-264. G. PERROT, *Histoire de l'art dans l'antiquité*, tom. ii, pp. 723-727-729. G. SMITH, *Assyrian Discoveries*, p. 432. BATISSIER, *Histoire de l'art monumental*, p. 88.

³ Many of the most ancient writers mention seals belonging to Persian Kings. It does not appear whether the seal of Ahasuerus (Esth. iii. 12; viii. 2, 10) which the Septuagint renders δακτύλιος 'a finger ring,' was wholly of metal or contained a gem. We know that several of the ancients used metal seals without gems (PLIN. *Nat. Hist.* xxxiii. i. "Multi nullas admittunt gemmas, auroque ipso signant." "Imprimebatur autem sculptura materiae annuli, sive ex ferro, sive ex auro foret." MACROB. viii. 13.

⁴ See W. M. FLINDERS PETRIE, *A History of Egypt*.

⁵ The scarabs were not always seals, as is evident from the Cornelian scarab belonging to the collection of Cardinal Zurla. This scarab, like that of Felix Lajard's collection, represents the god Moloch with the head of a bull. F. LAJARD, *Introduction à l'étude du culte de Mithra*, Atlas, pl. LXVIII, Nos. 11 and 25. MELCHIOR DE VOGÜE in the *Revue Archéologique*, juin 1868, t. XVII, pl. XIV, no. 6, reproduces a scarab from the imperial cabinet of Vienna bearing the legend: "To Akhotméleh, wife of Josua." The characters of the legend show, according to M. de Vogüé, that it is not posterior to the VIIth century B.C. F. VIGOUROUX, *La Bible et les Découvertes Modernes en Egypte et en Assyrie*, Vol. iii, pp. 84-85, and 195, note 3. E. A. WALLIS BUDGE, *A Story of Egypt*, Vol. viii, p. 136, says: "Here may be mentioned the curious fact that the scarab was now no longer used as a seal, and its disappearance, as a seal, seems to date from the end of the xxvth Dynasty. Under the restored native kingdom of the Nectanebids it seems not to have been

While the Phoenicians have left actual specimens to show with what skill they could adopt the system of gem engraving prevailing at their time in Egypt and Assyria, the Israelites on the other hand have left records to prove, if not their skill at least the estimation in which they held engraved gems.¹

In Greece and Rome² within historic times gems were worn engraved with designs to show that the bearer was an adherent of a particular worship, the follower of a certain philosopher or the attached subject of an Emperor. It cannot be said that these gems may not have been used systematically as seals, but it is clear that they primarily served a different purpose: for as regards the nations of classical antiquity all seals are classed as gems, though in many cases the material is not such as would strictly come under that heading. On the other hand, gems properly so called were not always seals, many of the Babylonian cylinders could not have been so employed without great difficulty, and when Herodotus (I. 195) says that every Babylonian "has a seal, and a staff curiously wrought,³ and on every staff is carved either an apple, a rose, a lily, an eagle or something of the kind," it may have been in most cases no other than a talisman having an inherent power derived from the subject of its design consisting perhaps mostly of figures of protecting deities.⁴

These gems, therefore, apart from workmanship possess the charms of colour deep, rich, and varied, of material unequalled for its endurance, and of scarcity which in many instances has been enhanced by the strangeness of the lands whence they came, or the fortuity of their occurrence. These qualities united within the small compass of a gem, were precisely such as were required in a seal as a thing in constant use, and so inalienable in its possession as to make it naturally a personal ornament and an attractive medium of artistic skill, no less than a centre of traditions or of religious and legendary associations.

When inscribed a cylinder generally states three things; the name of the owner, his father's name, and the name of his protecting deity. But there are exceptions, as for example a cylinder, in the 'Bibliothèque Nationale de Paris' is inscribed 'Alchahum, Servant of Jehastukar,' which from the Semitic form of the name 'Alchahum' has been thought to have belonged to a Jewish captive in Babylon. An agate seal from Khorsabad reads 'Nipishi, of King Tiglath, Piliser King of Assyria, son of Haou Liklikhus, King of Assyria.' But whereas the pagans had represented on their seals the image of their deities or mythological representations, the Israelites who were faithful to the law of Moses limited themselves to having their name engraved

used in this way, but as a funeral amulet, the large "heart-scarab" inscribed with chapter XXXB of the *Book of the Dead* was used down to and in Ptolemaic times."

¹ Gen. xli. 42; Dan. v. 29; Ezek. xvi. 10-13; Jerem. xvii. 1. G. PERROT, *Histoire de l'art dans l'antiquité*, t. ii, p. 723 et seq. G. SMITH, *Assyrian Discoveries*, p. 432. BATISSIER, *Histoire de l'art monumental*, p. 88. E. DE ROUGÉ, *Notice des Monuments Egyptiens*, Salle historique, vitrine II. 1855, pp. 62-63.

² The Romans had their *Dactylolitheas*, or collections of gems, as Pliny informs us: "gemmas plures, quod peregrino appellat nomine dactylolithecam." *Nat. Hist.* xxxvi. 1.

³ The staff is frequently mentioned in Scripture as the traveller's companion: Gen. xxxii. 10; xxxviii. 18, 25; Exod. xii. 11; 1 Sam. xvii. 40; 2 Kings iv. 29; Zech. viii. 4; Mark vi. 8, etc.

⁴ A cameo of Nebuchadnezzar in the Berlin Museum bears in cuneiform characters: *Ana Marduk bilsu Nabukudurusur sar Babilu ana balatisu ibus*, 'To Merodach his Lord, Nebuchadnezzar, King of Babylon, for his preservation, has made [this].' *Man. Bibl., op. cit.*, ii, p. 758.

upon it. Some examples have been found. The Cornelian sapphire found in Jerusalem by Mr. Clermont Ganneau, contains this legend: 'To Hananyahū, son of Azaryahū,' *i.e.* belonging to Ananiah, son of Azariah.¹

The Egyptians and the Assyrians, the Hebrews and the Persians had long before the Greeks and Romans seals in the shape of rings, of which the bezel contained an engraved gem. They applied these to pieces of wax or asiatic chalk or clay, with which they sealed the knotted strings around missives, and later the linen wrappers enveloping the wooden tablets called by the Romans 'vitilliani.'

A large number of these cachets of clay² were found in Egypt, attached to scrolls of papyrus containing letters written in the times of the Ptolemies and the Romans. Seals of this kind were also used at a much earlier time by the Egyptians³ and attached to public documents; and it was in consequence of this custom common to both monarchies, that the seal of Shābak, King of Egypt and Ethiopia, was found in Assyria, which confirms in a curious manner the political relations which existed between Egypt and Assyria at that early period.³

The practice of authenticating a document by the granter affixing his distinguishing mark or seal was current in the East from the earliest times⁴; and during the mediæval period both in the East and in the West the importance of seals was so great, that they were considered the main proofs of the authenticity of all sorts of documents, both public and private.

In order to make illicit use or imitation of seal difficult, the seal itself was usually locked up, and guarded with special care, and in the case of royal personages or corporate bodies was often made a very complicated work of art, which it would have been almost impossible to copy exactly.

Ecclesiastical seals are first heard of in the 7th century A.D. though some signet rings, belonging apparently to Bishops, were found in the catacombs, and date back to the first centuries of the Christian era.⁵ These ecclesiastical seals attained their

¹ F. VIGOUROUX, *Manuel Biblique*, vol. ii, p. 705. *Journal Asiatique*, février-mars 1883, p. 129. For a description of some of these rings see PIERRET, *salle historique de la galerie égyptienne*, 1877, Bagues, pp. 110-119.

² For an impression of Sennachérīb's seal on a tablet of clay see LAYARD, *Nineveh and Babylon*, p. 154. E. A. WALLIS BUDGE, *Egypt and the Asiatic Empire*, vol. IV, p. 186. PORTER'S *Travels*, etc., ii, p. 425. "The specimens of baked clay, as having been stamped with numerous seals, are sufficient evidence, how common were their use, their import can only be guessed, but it is likely all were connected with mystic incantation."

³ F. VIGOUROUX, *La Bible*, etc., Vol. iii, p. 538. A. LAYARD, *Nineveh and Babylon*, pp. 156-157. The seal of this Pharaoh was discovered by M. Layard, in the ruins of Nineveh. J. OPPERT, *Mémoire sur les rapports de l'Égypte et de l'Assyrie*, p. 561. Cf. E. de ROUGÉ, *Études sur les monuments de Tharaka*, dans les *Mélanges d'archéologie égyptienne et assyrienne*, Novembre 1872, p. 16. G. SMITH, *The Assyrian Eponym Canon*, Extract xxxix, p. 141. II (IV) Kings xvii. 1-6. E. A. WALLIS BUDGE, *Egypt and the Asiatic Empire*, Vol. IV, pp. 279-282.

⁴ Thousands of private contracts, preserved in large earthen vessels, were found by Arabs in one of the *tells* in the neighbourhood of Hillah, where formerly stood ancient Babylon. J. MENANT, *Manuel de langue assyrienne*, Paris, 1880, p. 360.—*Weekly Times*, 7 April 1882. *Journal officiel de France*, 7 Décembre 1881, pp. 6751-6762. These contracts which cover a period of two centuries are most important in fixing the chronology of the Babylonian Kings, and reveal most interesting details in the commerce and private life of the ancient inhabitants of the borders of the Euphrates.

⁵ F. VIGOUROUX, *Manuel Biblique*, t. iv, p. 444. They bear the A and Ω, or the monogram of the apocalypse, the Shepherd standing under a tree with the letters N.M.S. etc. POCOCK, in his *Travels in Egypt* (JOHN PINKERTON *Voyages and Travels*, Vol. XV, p. 342) says: "among the seals I found in Egypt there are four or five of the abraxas kind, used by the Gnostics, being a mixture of Paganism and Christianity: they have generally a legend on the reverse, and are of no great consequence."

highest artistic value about the XIVth century. The early Popes used to append to their edicts and briefs leaden seals, called *bullae*. This latter name was also given to the seals used by the emperors of Constantinople and of the Holy Roman Empire.¹

Until after the Norman conquest the use of seals was not common in England²; the earliest known great seal is that of Edward the Confessor (XIth cent.). The first Scottish great seal is that of Duncan II (c. 1094). Towns and boroughs used corporate seals in the 12th century, while in the 15th and 16th merchants and tradesmen began to adopt specific marks or symbols in connection with their industries. The most complete as well as the oldest collection of seals is that of the French Kings; it is surpassed in beauty, however, by the English royal series, which, especially that pertaining to the reign of Henry V., is distinguished for its fine workmanship. The oldest royal seal extant in Europe is that of Lothaire I (c. 817 A.D.).

Mediaeval seals were applied in the West in two different ways: in the one the stamp was impressed in wax run on to the surface of the document, which in French was called *plaqué* or *en placard*; in the other the wax impression was suspended by cords or strips of parchment (in French *pendant*). The latter method was necessarily used with metal seals or *bullae*. In the East, at least in the Middle Ages, the imperial seals were stamped on the diploma in red ink, that of the ministers and other dignitaries in black. A *pendant* seal in wax was used, according to Abul Fazl,³ to seal the golden covers containing the imperial order.

"The great seal," says Pietro della Valle, "is not that which is in the highest esteem in Persia, although it be affixed to all the patents and emanations from royal authority, but a small seal which is worn in a ring by the King himself, and which he uses in sealing all his letters to the Princes and Governors of Provinces."⁴ Abul Fazl speaks of Akbar's signet ring, or as he calls it the round small seal named *Uzûk*.⁵ When in 1662 Aurangzeb fell ill, and it was thought he would die, Roshanara Begam stole his signet ring, and intrigued with it to supplant Shāh 'Alam, the rightful heir to the throne, and secure the succession of 'Azam Shāh his brother, then

¹ Bull: an instrument, ordinance, decree, or letter of the Pope, written down to 1878 on parchment in antiquated Gothic script in the Latin tongue, and having usually a leaden seal appended. The word is derived from the Latin *bulia*, which was originally an ornament worn by Etruscan and Roman children as an amulet, and laid aside at maturity. The word *bulia* means a bubble or a capsule of wax enveloping a seal; then it was applied to the seal itself, and lastly to the document to which the seal gave authority. A large number of fine Papal Bullae exist from the 7th century onwards. Since the time of Pope Paschal II they have borne heads of St. Peter and St. Paul; previously they had such simple devices as crosses or stars with the name of the Pontiff. See FICORONI, *Piombi Antichi*, Rome, 1745.

² In 1842 Lord Albert Cunningham found in one of the great tumuli of New-Grange and Dowth, a golden ring and a coin of Geta (205-212 A.D.). Another similar ring made of the same metal was found in the *cella* about the same time.—Six rings of bronze, perfectly well preserved, were unearthed from cairn H of Lough-Crew (Ireland), which shows that rings and probably also seals were not totally unknown to the ancient inhabitants of England and Ireland. *Les Monuments Mégalithiques de tous pays* par James Fergusson trad. par FRANC. HAMARD, 1878, pp. 223 and 231.

³ BLOCHMANN'S *Āin*, Vol. i. In YULE'S *Marco Polo*, Vol. i, p. 12, is reproduced the autograph signature of Hayton King of Armenia circa A.D. 1243, and the letter ends with these words: "e por se qui cestees lettres soient fermés e establis ci avuns escriit de notre main vermoil e sayelé de notre ceau pendant."

⁴ JOHN PINKERTON, *Voyages and Travels*, Vol. ix, p. 58. Esther iii. 8-11.—Some royal signet rings have been found. See M. DIEULAFOY, *L'acropole de Suse*, p. 404. J. MÉNANT, *Recherches sur la glyptique orientale*, part ii, fig. 145, p. 166, is reproduced the seal of King Darius with the triple inscription in Persian, Susian and Assyrian: "I. Darius, great King."

⁵ BLOCHMANN'S *Āin*, Vol. i, p. 52. *Vzûk* or *Uzûk* is a Tartar word meaning a ring, i.e. a signet ring.

a boy of six, so that during his long minority she might wield absolute power as regent.¹

The ring was the distinctive mark of free persons and men of rank.² All Egyptians of high rank like every Babylonian referred to by Herodotus (i. 195) had a ring which he used as his seal. Sa'âdi relates that Jamshêd, fourth King of the first dynasty in Persia, whom they confound with Bacchus, Solomon and Alexander the Great, introduced the custom of wearing seals on the fingers, with which to seal letters, and other acts necessary in the commerce of life, and for the good of society.³

The Monarch's seal attached to any ordinance or decree was his signature giving it validity.⁴ Hence the delivery of the King's seal to one of his subjects, as that of Pharaoh to Joseph⁵, that of Ahasuerus to Haman and afterwards to Mordecai⁶, invested them with the right of acting authoritatively in their Monarch's name.

The Arab Alhacen tells us that when Tamerlane dispatched his son to conquer the kingdom of China he "drew off his imperial ring, and gave it unto him," as a sign of his power and the right of succession to the throne.⁷

In the East and particularly in India precious stones have been especially treasured and used for the richest and costliest ornaments. Often invested with symbolic meaning, precious stones have always been regarded with superstitious awe and credited with mysterious qualities by those who possessed them. From the earliest times also great importance and even sanctity has attached to the ring.⁸ We all

¹ The date of this illness of Aurangzeb varies in the various annals of the time. The date 1662 given by Khāfi Khān is generally accepted as correct. See ELPHINSTONE, *History of India*, p. 614. BERNIER'S *Travels in the Mogul Empire*, Westminster, Archibald Constable, 1891, p. 125.

² Jac. ii. 2; Gen. xli. 42; Daniel vi. 17. It was likewise with the shoes and sandals; the slaves always went barefooted. Song of Sol. vii. 1; Ezek. xvi. 10. Compare Judith x. 4; xvi. 9. ROBINSON, *Bib. Res.*, vol. ii, p. 36. Exod. iii. 5; Josh. v. 15.

³ D'HERBELOT, *Biblioth. Orient.*, Tom. ii, p. 134. "Saâdi veut aussi que ce Prince Giam Schid... On lui attribue aussi, d'avoir introduit l'usage de porter des anneaux au doigt, pour cacheter les lettres, et autres actes, nécessaires dans le commerce de la vie et pour l'entretien de la société."

⁴ III Reg. xxi. 8. Esther iii. 10. "Write ye therefore to the Jews as it pleaseth you in the King's name and seal the letters with my ring. For this was the custom that no man durst gainsay the letters which were sent in the King's name and were sealed with his ring." JOSEPHUS, *Antiq.*, Bk. XI, ch. VI, 12. For some of these Persian royal signet rings see M. DIEULAFOY, *L'acropole de Suse*, p. 404; and J. MÉNANT, *Recherches sur la glyptique orientale*, part ii, fig. 145, p. 166.

⁵ Gen. xli. 42.

⁶ Esther iii. 10, 12; viii. 2.—It was the custom also at the same time to clothe the royal favourite with official robes in token of his exaltation (Gen. xli. 42; Esth. viii. 15; Dan. v. 29); and when he was removed from office these were given to his successor (Isa. xxii. 21).

⁷ PURCHAS, *His Pilgrimes*, Vol. xi, p. 409.

⁸ Several primitive races formed cenotaphs or sepulchral monuments, such as those of Stonehenge, Avebury (England), Moytura (Ireland), Amravati (Hindustan), etc., by arranging huge pillar-stones in rings, concentric or single (Les Monuments Mégalithiques &c., *op. cit.*). The ceremonial dances of the Red Indians and of the Australian blacks, of the Pathans and of the Tibetans are circle-wise. The mediaeval necromancer, before beginning his incantations, described a circle, within which he stood, and within which alone was safety. The wearing of a ring has been held to prevent the entrance of evil spirits into the body of the wearer, and from Siam to Scotland it has been the custom to safeguard children from like influences by encircling their wrists with thread or cord. Dr. I. G. Frazer (*Golden Bough*, i, p. 402) sees in this the idea of *constriction* as a hindrance to spiritual action whether baneful or not; and he points out that in the Greek island of Karpethus the peasants remove all rings from the dead bodies of their friends, believing that otherwise the soul could not obtain egress. At the present day the efficacy of the finger-ring is still greatly believed in, and many civilized people would not regard themselves as married if a ring did not figure in the wedding ceremony.

know the superstitious and mysterious qualities credited to the *Khātimu'l-ambiya*, the seal of the prophets, *i.e.* of Muhammad; and the loss of the prophet's signet ring was the cause of Usman's troubles, and indirectly gave rise to the civil war, which for ever destroyed the democratic character of the commonwealth founded by the prophet and his two immediate successors.¹ The *Tārīkh Muntakhib* and many other Oriental Histories relate thousands of fabulous stories about Solomon's ring, the famous *Khātim-i-jam*,² and Flavius Josephus speaks of its magical use in conjurations, incantations, and driving out of evil spirits.³

After this brief prelude on sphragistics in general we must now proceed to the purport of our paper and describe the Mughal seals. No pretence is assumed on my part that this is an exhaustive treatment; on the contrary, it must be understood that the matter given here is only what I chanced to come upon. There are many blanks that have yet to be filled in, and I have no doubt that others will accomplish this, who may take up the subject in future. I, however, hope that what is given here will be found to be at least an interesting chapter in the history and development of the seals of one of the several great dynasties in India.

The Mongols generally known in Europe as Tatars or Tartars, and in India as *Mughals*, also had their peculiar seals.

In the 'Institutes of Ghazan Khān,' we find it established among other formalities for the authentication of the royal orders, that they should be stamped on the back, in black ink, with the seals of the four commanders of the four Kiziks, or corps of the Life Guards.⁴ The Emperor's great seal was on the obverse where the order of the King was written. It was, like that of the Chinese and of the Dalai Lama of Tibet, about 8 inches square and stamped in vermilion.

The Franciscan Friar John of Pian de Carpini in his narrative of his mission to the court of Kuyuk Khān (1245-47 A.D.) says that a certain Ruthenian called Cosmas, a goldsmith and a great favourite of the emperor, showed him before putting it up in its place the throne of the Emperor which he himself had made, and also the seal he had manufactured for the Emperor, which bore the words: "God in heaven, and Kuyuk Khān on earth, might of God, the seal of the Emperor of all men."⁵

The letter of Kuyuk to Pope Innocent IV. begins "Dei fortitudo Cuyuc Can,

¹ *Journ. Panj. Hist. Soc.*, Vol. ii, p. 144.

² D'HERBELOT, *Bibliothèque Orientale*, Vol. iii, 335, says: "Le *Tarikh Montekheb*, et la plupart des autres Historiens Orientaux racontent mille choses fabuleuses de l'anneau de Salomon, par le moyen duquel ce Prince, prenant le bain et ayant quitté cet anneau il luy fut dérobé par une furie infernale, qui le jetta dans la mer. Salomon demeurant ainsi privé de cet anneau, s'abstint pendant quarante jours de monter sur le trône, comme se trouvant dépourvu des lumières, qui lui étaient nécessaires pour bien gouverner. Mais enfin il le recouvra par le moyen d'un poisson qu'on servit sur sa table." *Ibid.*, p. 186, word 'Salcathāt.' "Ketaf al Solcathat," est le "Titre d'un livre qui traite de la science que les Arabes appellent *Ilm Alkhaouateu* [*Ilm al Khātim*] la science qui enseigne la fabrique et l'usage des anneaux magiques, qui servent à faire des prestiges et des enchantements."

³ JOSEPHUS, *Antiq.*, Bk. viii, ch. ii, 5.

⁴ YULE'S *Marco Polo*, Vol. i, p. 307. The Franciscan Friar Odoric, in his description of the Mongol court, is the first European to tell us that the great Khān had "four chief ministers to govern the empire of the great Lord," and in another place he says "and alongside go four barons who are called Cuthe, keeping watch and ward over the chariot, that no hurt come to the King." YULE'S *Cathay*, Vol. i, p. 137. H. H. HOWORTH, *Hist. of the Mongols*, P. iii, p. 508.

⁵ RICHARD HAKLUYT, Vol. ii, pp. 105 and 111, 112. W. W. ROCKHILL, *The Journey of William of Rubruck*, London, Hakluyt Society, 1900, p. 26.

omnium hominum imperator" which in Mongol would be *Mōngkā Tāngri kuchundur, Kuyk Khakhān*. 'By the power of eternal Heaven, Kuyuk Khakhān.' This, says Mr. Rockhill, "was the inscription on the seal which in all probability was written in Mongol and in Chinese seal characters."¹

The tughra of Chingiz Khān's imperial manifesto to Baidju runs as follows: "By the command of the living God, Chingiz Khān, the gracious and venerable son of Heaven, proclaims that God is exalted above all things. God is immortal and Chingiz Khān is the sole governor of the earth."²

Mr. Pauthier in his translation of an account of the Journey of Khieu, an eminent doctor of the sect Tao-Kiao or Taossé, to the camp of the great Chingiz in Turkestan, has related how Chingiz bestowed upon this personage "a seal with a tiger's head and a diploma, surely a lion's head *Páizah* and *Yarligh*; wherein he was styled *Shin-sien* or divine anchorite."³ The earliest European allusion to this 'Table d'or de commandement', the Lion's head *Páizah* or golden tablet, is in the Franciscan Rubruquis's journey to the Mongol Court.⁴ Marco Polo refers also to the *Yarligh* u *Paizah*.⁵ The Latin version of a grant by Uzbek Khān of Kipchak to the Venetian Andrea Zeno, in 1333, ends with the words: *Dedimus baisa et privilegium cum bullis rubeis*, where the latter words no doubt represent the *Yarligh al tamgha*, the warrant with the red seal or stamp, as it may be seen upon the letter of Arghūn Khān. So also Jambek, the son of Uzbek, in 1344 confers privileges on the Venetians "*eisdem dando baisinum de auro*"; and again Bardibeg, son, murderer and successor of Jambeg, in 1358 writes *avemo dado comamdamento* [i.e. *Yarligh*] *cum le bolle rosse et lo paysam*."⁶

¹ W. W. ROCKHILL, *The Journey of William Rubruck* (1253-55. A.D.), p. 26; *cfr.* DEVÉRIA, *Notes d'épigraphie Mongole*, p. 31, and Sir Maundeville, p. 231, *Recueil des Voyages et Mémoires de la Société de Géographie*, Vol. iv, p. 594. RICHARD HAKLUYT, Vol. ii, Tartary, pp. 105-6, makes the distinction between the *tughra* and the seal. He says: "Unde et ipse Imperator in litteris suis ita scribit: Dei fortitudo omnium hominum imperator." This in the tughra: "In superscriptione quoque sigilli ejus est hoc: Deus in coelo et Cuynecham super terram, Dei fortitudo omnium hominum Imperatoris sigillum. Hence it is that the Emperor in his letters writeth after this manner! The power of God and Emperour of all men, also, vpon his seale, there is this posie ingraven! God in heaven, and Cuyne Can upon earth, the power of God; the seale of the Emperour of all men."

² Abbé HUC. *Christianity in Tartary*, etc., Vol. i, p. 187.

³ Quoted in YULE'S *Marco Polo*, Vol. i, p. 343.

⁴ Rubruquis says: "and Mangu gave to the Moghul (whom he was going to send to the King of France) a bull of his, that is to say, a golden plate of a palm in breadth and half a cubit in length, on which his orders were inscribed. Who-soever is the bearer of that may order what he pleases, and his order shall be executed straightway." These golden bulls of the Mongol Khāns appear to have been originally tokens of high favour and honour, though afterwards they became more frequent and conventional. They are often spoken of by Persiau historians of the Mongols under the name of *Paizah* and *Paizah sir-i-sheer* or 'Lion's Head' *Paizah*.

⁵ YULE'S *Marco Polo*, Vol. i, Bk. ii, ch. vii, p. 342. "I should mention too," says Marco, "that an officer who holds the chief command of 100,000 men or who is general-in-chief of a great host, is entitled to a tablet that weighs 300 saggi. It has an inscription thereon to the same purport that I have told you already [By the strength of the Great God, and of the great grace which He hath accorded to our Emperor, may the name of the Kaan be blessed; and let all such as will not obey him be slain and be destroyed], and below the inscription there is the figure of a lion, and below the lion the sun and moon.... To certain very great lords there is given a tablet with gerfalcons on it; this is only to the very greatest of the Kaan's barons." The Armenian history of the Orpeliens, relating the visit of Prince Sempad, brother of King Hayton, to the court of Mangku Kaan, says: "they gave him also a *Phaiza* of gold, i.e. a tablet whereon the name of God is written by the great Kaan himself, and this constitutes the greatest honour known among the Mongols. Farther, they drew up for him a sort of patent, which the Mongols call *Iartekkh* &c...."

⁶ See YULE'S *Marco*, Tom. i, pp. 342-347, for specimens of these Tables d'Or, and Tom. ii, pp. 472-3, for Arghūn Khān's seal.

The letters of the Persian Khān Kharbandai better known as Oljaitu, written from Alidjan on the 8th of the first month of summer in the year of the Serpent (4th May, 1305) to the King of France and to Edward I., the King of England, have been stamped five times with the great square seal of the Mongol Prince in red ink.¹

Under the Persian branch of the Mongols, at least, the degree of honour was indicated by the number of seals upon the diploma or letter which varied from 1 to 5. It was the same with the number of lion heads upon the *Páizah*. The document addressed to Philip the Fair by Arghūn had the seal affixed three times only.

The two documents addressed to Philip the Fair by Arghūn and by Kharbandai present a remarkable difference in the dimensions of the paper, the length of the lines, the breadth of the margins and the intervals: and it is very well known that all these particulars are important in the eyes of Orientals, and are used, according to the customs of their diplomacy, as means of expressing and of graduating the esteem in which they hold the princes with whom they treat. Arghūn has confined himself in this respect to what was strictly necessary. Kharbandai is much more respectful, his letter being ten feet long, and having the seal affixed to it five times instead of three. The motto upon it is in those antique characters which the Chinese call *chuan*.² It signifies 'By Supreme decree, the seal of the descendant of the Emperor, charged to reduce to obedience the ten thousand barbarians.' By these last words are meant not only Persians, but Christians and Western Nations in general who acknowledge or, it is assumed, ought to acknowledge the authority of the son of Heaven.

"The Christian writers," says Col. Yule, "often ascribe Christianity to various princes of the Mongol dynasties without any good grounds. Certain coins [and I presume the seals also] of the Ilkhans of Persia, up to the time of Ghazan's conversion to Islam, exhibit sometimes Muḥammadan and sometimes Christian formulae: but this is no indication of the religion of the Prince. Thus coins not merely of the heathen Khans, Abaka and Arghūn, but of Ahmad Tigudar, a fanatical Moslem, are found inscribed 'In the name of the Father, Son and Holy Ghost.' Raynaldus, under 1285, gives a fragment of a letter addressed by Arghūn to the European Powers and dated from Tabriz 'in the year of the Cock,' which begins '*In Christi nomen. Amen!*' But just in like manner some of the coins of Norman Kings of Sicily are said to bear the Muḥammadan profession of faith, and the copper money of some of the Ghaznevide Sultans bears the pagan effigy of the bull Nandi, borrowed from the coinage of the Hindu Kings of Kabul."³ In the Delhi Historical and Archaeological Exhibition (1911-12) was exhibited a *Farmān* of Ghiyās-ud-dīn Balban, often called Balin by English writers. It bears the Sulṭān's seal with the

¹ HUC, *Christianity in Tartary*, Vol. i, pp. 294, 378.

² These characters are known as *Hor-Yig*, viz. "Mongolian letters." They seem to be an archaic square form of the Tibetan character with the letters arranged one below the other in vertical columns, and were invented by the Saskya hierarch Kun dga rgual mtshan, A.D. 1182-1252, who presented them to the Mongolians. See above, p. 101, note 1.

³ *Marco Polo*, Vol. ii, p. 479. *FARMAN de Ilchan Nummis*, vi, and *passim*. RAYNALDUS, iii, 619, J.A.S.B. XXIV, p. 490.

following legend : ‘ Abu Zafar Ghiyās-ud-dīn, Muḥammad Bādshāh, Ghāzi ’ ; and the *tughra* reads : ‘ Alwasāq bitaid ziya-ul raham, al dunyā wa-ud dīn Abu Zafar Sulṭān Ghiyās ud dīn. ’ Around the inner circle in which are written the name and titles of the Sulṭān, is inscribed a votive prayer or a quotation from the Qur‘ān in Arabic.

History has left us little information concerning the religion of Chingiz Khān and his immediate successors, probably because that was a matter in which they had small concern themselves. They were neither Christians, Muḥammadans, nor even idolaters. They protected one religion no more than another, and favoured each in turn as it suited the interests of their policy. Chingiz Khān strongly recommended his successors to give no préférence to any, but desired that the priests of the various faiths should be exempt from taxes and contributions. But from the study of the inscriptions on the Mongol seals alluded to above we may safely conclude that Chingiz Khān and Kuyuk believed in a Supreme Being, whom they named *Tāngri* ‘ Heaven, ’ but that it mattered little to them in what way He was worshipped : so their religion may be called ‘ Deism. ’¹

Wherever the successors of Chingiz Khān established their sovereignty, they adopted the dominant mode of worship, and thus became Buddhists in China, Muḥammadans in Persia and in India ; and in Germany or Italy would doubtless have embraced Christianity. Contrary to Col. Yule’s statement, referred to above, I am of opinion that the Christian legends on the coins and seals of the Ilkhāns of Persia show that some of the Mongol princes really were or became Christians. Marco Polo for instance says that Baidu was a Christian.² Hayton and Anthony the Armenian also say so, and assert that he prohibited Muḥammadan proselytism among the Tartars.³ The continuator of Abulfaraj relates, that Baidu to please the body of the Mongols in Persia which was passing over to Islam, adopted Muḥammadan practices. But he would only employ Christians as ministers of State.⁴ Anthony the Armenian says : ‘ Mangu Can with his people is baptized. His brother Cobila or Cublai Can succeeded as Emperor who reigned over the Tartars 42 years, became a Christian and founded a certain citie, called Jons, in the Kingdom of Cathay, which is reported to be greater than Rome and in that citie he dwelt untill his dying day. ’⁵

According to Abul Fazl,⁶ the *Muhr*⁷ or “ seal of His Majesty [the Emperor

¹ Compare Anthony the Armenian in PURCHAS, *His Pilgrimes*, Vol. XI, p. 318.

² YULE’S *Marco*, Vol. ii, p. 474 : “ When Kiaccatu was dead, Baidu, who was his uncle, and was a Christian, seized the throne.”

³ PURCHAS, *His Pilgrimes*, Vol. XI, p. 345. Anthony the Armenian says : “ He (Baydo) being a good Christian builded the Christian Churches and commanded that none should preach or publish the Doctrine of Mahomet amongst the Tartarians.”

⁴ YULE’S *Marco*, Vol. ii, p. 474.

⁵ PURCHAS, *His Pilgrimes*, Vol. XI, p. 325, and p. 330—Mangu Khan “ was accordingly baptized by the hands of a certain Bishop, who was Chancellor of the King of Armenia, and all that were of his household with many other great Personages of both sexes.”

⁶ BLOCHMANN’S *Ain*, Vol. i, p. 264.

⁷ The word *muhr*, a seal, means also a *stamp*, and generally, the *signature of a man*. Europeans sign documents, orientals stamp their names to them.

Akbar] is put above the *tughra*¹ lines on the top of the *farmān* where the princes also put their seals on *Ta'liqahs*²; and then he proceeds to give us the following description of Akbar's different seals:

"In the beginning of the present reign," says Abul, "Maulānā Maqṣūd, the seal engraver, cut in a circular form upon a surface of steel, in the '*riqa*'³ character the name of His Majesty and those of his illustrious ancestors up to 'Timūrlane; and afterwards he cut another similar seal, in the *nasta'liq*⁴ character, only with His Majesty's name. For judicial transactions a second kind of seal was made, *mihrābi*⁵ in form, which had the following verse round the name of His Majesty:—

Rāsli mujīb i rizā Khudāst, kas nadīdam ih gum shud āz rāh-i-rāst.

'Uprightness is the means of pleasing God! I never saw any one lost in the straight road.'

Tamkin made a new seal of the second kind, and afterwards Maulānā 'Alī Ahmad of Delhi improved both. The round small seal goes by the (*chagatāi*) name of *Uzuk*⁶ and it is used for *farmān-i-sabtis*⁷; and the large one, into which he cut the names of the ancestors of His Majesty, was at first used only for letters to foreign kings, but nowadays for both. For other orders a square seal is used with the words *Allahu Akbar Jalla Jalāluhu*,⁸ whilst another of peculiar stamp is used for all matters connected with the *seraglio*. For the seals attached to *farmāns* another stamp is used of various forms."⁹

Abul Fazl who, as far as I know, is the first oriental writer on the Indian Mughal seals, positively tells us that under Akbar, *i.e.*, about 1560, Maulānā Maqṣūd of Herat, "unsurpassed as steel engraver", cut on steel a manifold seal of circular form which was originally used only for letters to foreign kings, and later on also on *farmān-i-sabtis*.¹⁰ Though Abul Fazl does not mention the names of the Emperor's ancestors, nor the number of smaller circles round the inner one, which latter contained the Emperor's name and titles; yet from the fragment of Akbar's great seal on the *farmān* of that emperor granted to the Jesuit Missionaries at his court in the 42nd year of his reign, A.D. 1598, we may safely conclude that it contained 8 circles

¹ *Tughra* or signature of the Emperor, which contains the full name and titles of the King, written in a fine ornamental hand in the *Naskh* character.

² *Ta'liqah* is the abridgment of a *Yāddashī* or 'memorandum' of the Emperor's orders and doings, and of whatever the heads of the departments report.

³ '*Riqa*': one of the eight calligraphical systems current in Iran, Turān, India and Turkey. It consists of three-fourths curved lines, and one-fourth straight lines. BLOCHMANN, *Āin*, Vol. i, p. 99.

⁴ *Nasta'liq*. This writing consists entirely of round lines.

⁵ *Mihrābi* figure, see BLOCHMANN's *Āin*, i, p. 30. *Mihrāb* is the principal place in a mosque, where the priest prays with his face turned towards Mecca; a kind of high altar.

⁶ Mentioned also in the *Tuzuk-i-Jahāngīrī* or Memoirs of Jahāngīr, Orient. Transl. Fund, New Series, Vol. xix, translated by Alexander Rogers; edited by Henry Beveridge, London, 1909, p. 18. It was a small round seal. See above.—Mirza Haidar Ali in his *Tārīkh-i-Rashidi* invariably speaks of the ruling house which we know as the 'Mughals of India' by the name of *Chaghatai*, which is of course strictly correct. He reserves the name of *Mughal* to denote his own race, *i.e.* the descendants of the Mughals (or Mongols) of Mughalistan.

⁷ *Farmān-i-Sabtis* were issued for three purposes—(1) For appointments to a *Manṣab* and (2) to a *jagir*; and (3) for conferring *Sayūrgahs*. See BLOCHMANN's *Āin*, Bk. ii, p. 260.

⁸ BLOCHMANN's *Āin*, Vol. i, p. 166.

⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 52.

¹⁰ See BLOCHMANN, Vol. i, pp. 260-262.

in all, that of Akbar included. Jahāngir, who added his own name to the list of names on his seal, had a ninefold seal and each successive great Mughal, on his accession to the throne, by adding his own name increased the number of circles on his seal by one.

We cannot, however, deduce this absolutely from Abul Fazl's statement; as Mr. Rouffaer,¹ in his Indian origin of the ninefold Sultan's seal of Atjeh, so positively states, that Maulānā Maqṣud was the first to invent and to make this peculiar manifold seal of Akbar; yet it affords a great probability to the hypothesis that, so far as we know, no prototype of this kind exists.

The first European to give us Akbar's genealogy is the Jesuit Father Monserrate in his 'Relaçam do Equebar, Rei dos Mogores' dated 26th of November 1582.²

The round small seal called *Uzūk* by Abul Fazl is no other than Akbar's finger or signet ring. I found an impression of this seal on the first page of a small Persian Manuscript kept in the Lahore Museum, labelled 'New Testament pictures as drawn for Akbar.' It bears the legend '*Akbar Bādshāh*' and the year probably 980 (A.H.). On page 6 of this MS. we read:—*Ba tāriḵh panj daham Urdu bihiṣht san hazar wa shah sad wa do az waladāt Hazrat Yishu Khudāwand Mah ikhitan Yāft.* 'On the 15th day of Urdubihisht, 1602 from the birth of our Lord Jesus, this book was completed.' The real title of the book which is missing should be '*Āin Kitāb Majurāt Hazrat Maṣīh.*' It was composed by the famous Jesuit Father Jerome Xavier.

The square seal engraved with the words *Allahu Akbar, Jalla Jalāluhu*, must have been used for orders referring to Akbar's new religion. Since A.H. 983 or A.D. 1575-6, says Badāūnī, the Chroniclers, who had adopted Akbar's tenets began their pages with the oft-repeated *Allahu Akbar* instead of with the time-honoured *Bismallah*. This formula was also used on coins, the imperial seals, the headings of books, farmāns, etc."³

Abul Fazl does not tell us that Maqṣūd was the originator or the inventor of this eightfold seal of Akbar. Though I have no direct or authoritative evidence for the peculiar symbolic meaning that seems to be attached to this eightfold seal of one of the most glorious monarchs that India ever possessed; yet in consequence of the liberal religious notions contained in his new profession of faith 'There is no God but God, and Akbar is His Caliph'; and his well-known fondness for innovations, or rather revival of ancient customs; and his tendency to solar worship,⁴ I see in the

¹ *Bijdragen tot de Taal-land-en Volken Kunde van Nederlandsh-Indië*, Zevende Volgreeks, Vijfde deel (deel LIX der geheele reeks). 's Gravenhage, Martinus Nijhoff, 1906, pp. 349-384. G. P. ROUFFAER 'De Hindostansche Oorsprong van het "Negenvoudig" Sultans-zegel Van Atjeh.' On p. 377 Rouffaer says: "onder Akbar, in ca. 1560, maakte de Herat'sche staalsnyder Maulana Maqṣūd, die al vroeger voor Humayun gewerkt hadhet EERSTE....achtvoudige (?) grootzegel van Cirkel Vorm,..."

² Published with an English translation by Fr. Hosten, S.J., in J.A.S.B. 1912. "A ordem da geracam he esta Mirtimurlang, Miramxā, Abucaij, Ommarxā Qhanmirsā, Baburxā, Emmāūnpadxā, Zelaldim Equebarxā. Monserrate omits No. 3 Sulṭān Muhammad Mirza, and inserts Khān Mirzā before No. 6. On folio 138a of his Mongol. Legation. Comment. he remarks that the Timūrnāmā does not agree with the list which he proposes and which he had obtained from Akbar himself and from the tutors of Prince Salim and Murād.

³ BLOCHMANN'S *Āin*, Vol. I, p. 52 and 29-30 and 166. COUNT OF NOER, *The Emperor Akbar*, trans. by ANNETTE S. BEVERIDGE, 1890, Vol. i, p. 322. BADAONI, Vol. ii, p. 356.

⁴ BADAONI (ii, p. 301), quoted in BLOCHMANN, *Āin*, Vol. i, p. 195, remarks on Akbar's religious views:—"The era of

eightfold seal of this monarch the representation of the *Chakravarti*, 'the wheel king'; the *Maha Chakravarti Raja*,¹ or 'Supreme Lord of the Universe': a title which Chingiz Khān, Kuyuk and Timūr used on their seals. For in India when any great man conquered or achieved at any time supreme power over the greater part of that country, he received the title of a *Chakravarti*. Chandragupta, Asoka and Yudhishtira for instance bore this title, and Akbar no doubt deserved it. Akbar in his eightfold seal is the axle of the wondrous wheel, around which move in a sun's course the *Saptaratnas*² or seven jewels, his seven illustrious ancestors.

In the British Museum [K. 115 (22)] is kept a Map of Hindustan,³ which bears in the bottom of the left-hand corner the full title: *Indostani Imperii Totius Asiae ditissimi descriptio: ex indagatione Illust: Dom: Tho: Roe Equitis aurati in Regia Mogollanica Legatum agentis Illustrata: anno sal: 1619*.

In the upper right-hand corner of this map appear the Mughal's imperial standard and Jahāngir's royal seal with the Persian names given in English characters.

Terry⁴ describing the Emperor's standard says that it represents the "royal standard of the Great Mogol," which is "a Couchant Lyon shadowing part of the body of the sun." William Forster says: "This device appears on many of the portrait coins issued by Jahāngir, with the difference that the face of the sun is missing." In his remarks upon these coins, Professor Stanley Lane Poole remarks: "The presence

the Hijrah was now abolished, and a new era was introduced, of which the first year was the year of the emperor's accession (963 A.H.). The months had the same names as at the time of the old Persian Kings, and as given in the *Niçābuççibyān*. Fourteen festivals also were introduced corresponding to the feasts of the Zoroastrians; but the feasts of the Muslims and their glory were trodden down, the Friday prayer alone being retained, because some old, decrepit, silly people used to go to it. The new era was called *Tārikh-i-Ilāhī*, or 'Divine Era.' " Akbar's faith was called the Divine faith, and the note at the end of *Āin* 77 shows how Akbar, starting from the idea of the Divine right of kings, gradually came to look upon himself as the *Mujtahid* of the age, then as the prophet of God and God's viceregent on earth, and lastly as a Deity. The Jesuit Fathers at Akbar's court say: "The emperor is the founder of a new sect, and wishes to obtain the name of a prophet. . . . He worships God and the Sun. He is a Heathen."

¹ "The *Cakra*" [Pali—*Cakka*], says Professor Rhys Davids, "is no ordinary wheel, it is the sign of dominion, and a '*Cakravarti*' is he who makes the wheel of his chariot roll unopposed over all the world"—a Universal Monarch. (In his book on *Buddhism*, published by the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, p. 45). Dowson's Dictionary defines this word: a universal emperor, described by the *Vishnu Purāna* as one who is born with the Mark of Vishnu's discus visible in his hand"; but Wilson observes, "The grammatical etymology is, 'He who abides in or rules over an extensive territory called a Chakra.' " Senart (*Essai sur la Légende du Buddha*, p. 415) states that *Balacakra* means "Le cercle sur lequel s'étend l'armée et par suite son empire." But this title was also used in a spiritual sense, for Cunningham (*The Bhilsa Topes*, p. 352) says: "Buddha, the founder of the Buddhist religion, was commonly called the Mahāchakravartti Raja, or Supreme Lord of the Universe, or more literally the great king who hath turned the wheel [of transmigration]."

² M. SENART in his *Essai sur la Légende du Buddha*, p. 22) shows that the *Saptaratnas*, or seven jewels, or treasures, including the wheel, belonged to Brahmanism and were known as far back as the Vedic period at least 1500 B.C. If we adopt the theory that the wheel has a solar origin, and admitting Akbar's religious views (see above) on solar worship, then the following words of M. Senart writing on the word *Chakravartin* may be applied to Akbar. He says: Il n'était pas besoin d'une indication si précise pour nous faire connaître dans le Roi de la roue le possesseur du disque céleste, le souverain de l'espace, le soleil enfin, réalisé en un type tout populaire (*Essai*, p. 47). Sir Alexander Cunningham says, that "the wheel was one of the most common and obvious emblems of the sun." *Bhilsa Topes*, p. 353. MAX MÜLLER in his *Hibbert Lectures*, p. 282. HENRI GAIDOZ, *Études de Mythologie Gauloise*, p. 11.

³ A reduced facsimile of this Map of Hindustan is reproduced after p. 546 of part ii of Hakluyt Society's Edition, 2nd series II.—"The Embassy of Sir Thomas Roe to the Court of the Great Mogul, 1615-1619, as narrated in his journal and correspondence. Edited from contemporary records by W. FORSTER, London, 1899; and more fully explained on pp. 542-546 of that book.

⁴ A voyage to East India London, 1778, pp. 364 seq

of the sun has been explained as a reference to the fact that Jahāngir was born on a Sunday; but it is more probable that the sun's image appears in virtue of the tendency towards solar worship which undoubtedly found encouragement under Akbar, and was never positively repudiated by his successor. It is possible that the choice of the zodiacal sign Leo may be connected with the month (rather than the day) of the Emperor's birth, which was surrounded by mysterious omens and spiritual agencies, if we are to believe the historians."¹ But this explanation of Professor Poole, of the origin of the Lion and Sun on the Mughal's coins and on the Mughal's imperial standard is not at all satisfactory and still less conclusive. From what has already been said above on the *Paizah* and *Yarligh* of the Tartars, it is evident that its origin can be traced to a much earlier date. It is of course well known that the lion and the sun constitute the present badge of the Persian state.² In the Persian emblem, however, the lion is to the left, and is represented as 'passant guardant,' with a curved sword in his right paw. But the Persians and the Mongols derived these insignia from the Medes, Babylonians or Assyrians.³ Thus in a *farmān* of Ghazan Khān naming a Viceroy to his conquests in Syria the Khān confers on the latter "The sword, the august standard, the drum, and the lion-head *Pāizah*." We find the lion-head also on the coins of the Seljukian sovereigns⁴ of Persia and Iconium; it appears on coins of the Mongol Ilkhāns, Ghazan, Olgaïtu, and Abu Said, and it is also found on some of those of Muḥammad Uzbek Khān of Kipchak.⁵

Clavigo in his embassy to the court of Timūr, 1403-6, saw on the top of the doorway of a palace in Samarcand 'a figure of a lion and a sun, which are the arms of the lord of Samarcand.'⁶

In 1625 Purchas⁷ and in 1655 Terry⁸ give us a reproduction of Jahāngir's great seal, with his own Persian name and titles in the middle, which is surrounded by the names of his forefathers up to Timur in Persian characters and also in English. It

¹ Coins of Mughal Emperors of Hindustan, p. lxxx. FORSTER, op. cit., p. 563.

² The شیر و خورشید ایرانی *Shēr u Khūrshīd Irānī*, a Lion and Sun, have formed during some centuries the national device or rather the armorial bearings of the Persian Kings. SIR WILLIAM OUSELEY, *Travels in various countries of the East more particularly Persia*, Vol. i, p. 438, says, "I possess some other ancient gems representing the Lion and Sun." POCOCKE, *Historia Dynastiæ Persiarum*, published in Arabic and Latin, states that [(p. 487 Arab. and p. 319 Lat.) Oxon. 1663] "Abul Faraje tells us that Sultān Ghiyās ud dīn (13th cent.) intended to coin money bearing the image of his wife, when it was recommended that he should rather adopt the figure of a lion with the sun above him as relating to her horoscope, etc." ut imaginem ipsius (uxoris) monetæ imprimi vellet, datum ei consilium ut figuram Leonis, cui insistere Sol, effingeret, at ita horoscopum ipsius referret, etc.

³ See frontispiece of an Assyro-Chaldean palace restored by Fergusson in Mr. Layard's *Nineveh and Babylon*. The gigantic and sumptuous palaces of the Babylonian Kings were guarded by colossal statues of lions and bulls with human faces. Sculptured lions ornamented the thrones of Assyrian Kings, I (III) Kings X. 19. BATISSIER, *Histoire de l'art monumental*, pp. 88-89.

⁴ See Seljukian coin with the Lion and Sun in YULE's *Marco*, Tom. i, p. 343.

⁵ DUPRÉ de ST. MAUR, *Essai sur les monnoies*, etc., 1746, p. viii. *Golden Horde*, 219-20, 521. ERDMANN, *Numism. Asiatici*, i, 339. YULE's *Marco Polo*, Vol. i, p. 242 seq.

⁶ RUY GONZALEZ DE CLAVIJO to the court of Timour at Samarcand, Hakluyt Edit., p. 124, of *Embassy of Clavijo*.

⁷ Book I, London 1625, fol. 535-597 of Purchas' renowned collection of Travels. Hakluytus Posthumus or Purchas *His Pilgrimes*. "The seal is silver, the type and forme whereof, containing only the Mogols genealogie from Tamerlane, in several circles, with the English translation I have here added." fol. 591.

⁸ *A Voyage to East India*, London, 1778, pp. 364 fig.

is interesting to compare with Terry's figure the one given by Purchas. Of course neither of these earlier drawings purports to be an exact copy of the original seal, but only to give a rough plan of it. The original is a very ornate piece of work, with flowers between the circles and the names. The writing is the *riqa*. Purchas does not mention whence he obtained his drawing, but its superiority over the later production of Terry is at once evident.

In the first place, there is a great difference in the character of the Persian employed in the two cases. "Though Purchas's drawing," writes Professor Dennison Ross,¹ "is obviously not the work of a native, yet, being presumably a first copy of the original, the form of the letters has in most cases been accurately preserved. With regard to the other, this is evidently the work of a European, and copied rather from a transcribed version than from an original." Again there is an important difference between the two as regards the general arrangement of the names. In the drawing given by Purchas, which agrees with the original, the name and titles of Jahāngīr stand alone in the innermost circle, while the word *ibn*, 'son,'² is introduced into each of the other circles in such a way that Jahāngīr is shown as the son of each of his ancestors, and at the same time, reading the names in the right order beginning from the left upper circle, each emperor is shown as the son of his predecessor. This is a conceit quite in oriental style. Terry, on the other hand, gives the genealogy rather in the fashion of an English pedigree. Timūr stands alone at the top, while the *ibn* is prefixed to the name of each of his descendants, including Jahāngīr. The seal is thus reduced to a string of names, in which Timūr is the most prominent figure, and the reigning emperor is only distinguished from the rest by his longer title, its central position and larger circle. This arrangement is evidently wrong, and taken with the mistakes in the Persian, Terry's reproduction of this seal must be rejected as inexact. Terry, for instance, writes the strange form of 'Homasaon' for Humāyun, and 'almazaphar' for Abu-l-Muzafar. His ingenuity in explaining the proper names misled him; thus Humāyun is not the *ibn* of Bābā (father) but of Bābar 'lion'; his etymology of Mirath Sha [Miran Shāh] is wrong; he confuses *qirān* 'conjunction' with *karān* 'boundary' or 'limit'; and he is thinking of the Persian *mirās* 'an inheritance' while the name should be Miran Shāh.

From a curious note by Purchas it appears that the seal was not impressed in the usual fashion on the letters sent by Jahāngīr to James I, but was sent separately, engraved on a silver plate. The note is as follows:—"I have heard that Sir Thomas Roe at his Riturne, desiring the great Mogor or Mogoll his letters of Commendation to His Majestie, easily obtayned that request, but found him very scrupulous where to set his seale; lest, if vnder, hee should disparage himselfe, if ouer, it might cause distast to the king. His resolution and preuention therefore was this: to send the letter vnsealed, and the great seale itselfe, that so His Majestie might according to his

¹ FORSTER, *op. cit.* ii, p. 579.

² ابن a son. It is written ابن when preceded by a proper name and followed by the name of the father as حسن ابن محمد Hassan son of Muhammad.

owne pleasure affixe it. The seale is silver.”¹ A similar plan had been adopted with the royal letters delivered to the English factors in March, 1615. Kerridge writes (O.C. No. 270) “that the seale was but loose therein, which is the costome, for if itt were on the top itt sheweth superyorytye; if vnderneathe, Inferyorytye; but being loose, equallytye. The seale is sett in Inke, having therein eight severall names in signettes and himselfe the ninth placed in the midst, deryuing himself from Tamerlayne, the firste of the nine.”²

Della Valle in his Letters from India also mentions Jahāngīr’s seal “the impression whereof I keep by me, wherein is engraven all his pedigree as far as Tamerlane, from whom Sciah Selim reckons himself the eighth descendant.”³

Mr. Rouffaer in his interesting paper on ‘the Indian origin of the ninefold great seal in the Sultān of Atjeh,’ taking Purchas’s reproduction of Jahāngīr’s seal as an authentic copy, naturally draws wrong conclusions in the comparison on the superiority of these seals with regard to their fine workmanship and beautiful finish. He is also misled by Terry’s reading of the seal beginning it with Timūr, as from what has already been said, we should begin it with the Emperor’s name in the centre, and then right turning like the hands of a watch, with the first to the left downwards so that the different antecedent emperors all keep their right side, and the right hand towards the living king, just as a Hindu or a Buddhist in the *pradakshinā* or ‘right turning’ used to circumambulate a temple, keeping always the right side towards the temple which is the centre of the circumambulation. Another reason why the reading of the Mughal seal should begin as described, is that the Turks as well as the Persians read their writing from right to left.

The seal of the pretender Sultān ‘Ala-ud-dīn Muḥammad Dāūd (1879-1903), XXXth and last Sultān of Atjeh, is the reproduction of a copy of the *Chāp th ikoereuēng*, according to a reproduction of Dr. Snouck Hurgronge, *Atjehers*, i. 1893, p. 200, and again published in *Bydragen*, p. 384 ex appposito.

This great seal of the Atjeh Sultāns is always ninefold. The middle circle contains the name and title of the reigning Sultān like that of the Mughals. Three places or circles are set apart for predecessors of ancient dynasties, five for ancestors of the same family. The name of the first Sultān or founder of the later dynasty always remains on their seals; so that the proportion becomes, four names of Sultans of the four different dynasties that ruled the country, four names of ancestors of the ruling house, and the name of the reigning Sultān in the centre circle. The Atjeh’s great seal of 1879 perhaps surpasses Jahāngīr’s ninefold seal in technical symbolism; it is certainly a model of courtly art and etiquette, a fine masterpiece of Atjeh’s Byzantinism.

The legends in the circles surrounding the inner one maintain a fixed position in such a manner that in each circle the word Sultān, like the heads of the eight

¹ Hakluyt Society edn., Purchas, *His Pilgrimes*, Vol. I, p. 591.

² This practice was still in use during the time of Shah’ Alam. J. A. Ismael Gracis, *Uma Dona Portuguesa na Corte do Grao-Mogol*, remarks on p. 118 that the seal of that Emperor was in a separate paper added to the farman. “Treslado do sello que fica ano hu papel aparte que he de Xa-Allam El Rey mogor,” etc.

³ Hakluyt Society edn., Vol. I, p. 51.

earlier Sultāns, is always turned towards the centre. It is undoubtedly an improved copy of Jahāngir's ninefold seal.

Terry to the rough reproduction of the Royal Signet of the Great Mughal in Persian Arabic characters adds the following remarkable description: "This seal as it is here made in Persian words, the great Mogol, either in a large or lesser figure, causeth to be put unto all *Firmaunes* or Letter Patents, the present king's title put in the middle, and larger circle, that is surrounded with the rest, the impression whereof is not made in any kind of wax, but Ink, the seal put in the middle of the Paper and the writing about it, which Paper there is made very large and smooth and good and in divers colours beside white, and all to write on and the words on the Mongol's seal, being imboss't, are put upon both sides of his silver and gold coin (for there is no image upon any of it)."¹

Here Terry for the first time tells us something new. Not only on his farmāns but also on some of his coins did the Great Mughal put his manifold seal. Terry says: "upon both sides of his silver coins"; but that is evidently wrong. So is his next statement: "and the like signets or seals are used by the great men of that country, and so by others of inferior rank having their names at length engraven on them..... which round circle is their hand and seal too." Thus according to Terry the great men of the Mughal empire had "the like," i.e. manifold circular seals, which is manifestly wrong. But there is, however, one interesting fact in Terry's communication, which evidently escaped even the sagacious Mr. Forster, who in his edition of Roe's Embassy, remarks on Terry's statements: "These statements can only be accepted with limitations. The Emperor's name and titles appear on the coinage, but not together with those of his ancestors, as on the seal, and there were coins with images on them, though apparently they were not in general circulation." The most important reproduction of a coin such as described by Terry, and published by Tavernier, remained then unknown to Mr. Forster. Tavernier, the renowned jeweller, who travelled much in India, gives us on page 235, Amsterdam Edit. 1678, an authentic copy of Shāh Jahān's tenfold seal, according to a coin. Then follow the interesting details. "The accompanying figure," says Tavernier, "shows the form of coins which the kings cause to be thrown to the people when they ascend the throne. They bear the arms or seals of the kings whom I have just named. The largest seal, in the middle, is that of Shāh Jahān, the tenth king, for Aurangzeb, since he became king, has not had any of these pieces of bounty coined, these coins are nearly all of silver, only a small number being of gold." This is the bit of truth in Terry's exaggerated and often erroneous statements. Tavernier tells us, that coins with the manifold great seal were inauguration coins, which on the day of the first auspicious inauguration to the throne were distributed among the people as 'presents' or in Tavernier's own words, 'pièces de libéralitez.'² These coins of Shāh Jahān were struck in 1627; and the *Muhr* of 100 tolas weight in gold known as Nūr-Shāhi and the 100 tola silver coin, called *Kaubab-i-tāli* (star of horoscope),

¹ A Voyage to East India, p. 347.

² V. BALL and J. B. TAVERNIER, *Travels in India*, Vol. i, p. 324.

coined by order of Jahāngīr on his accession to the throne, may have had impressions of the ninefold seal of that emperor,¹ and it is perhaps one of these inauguration coins which was sent along with the letter to the King of England to serve as the unaffixed seal. Aurangzeb was too stingy to have such inauguration coins made on his accession to the throne; and from Tavernier's statement that most of these coins were made of silver and very few of gold, we may rightly surmise that the silver coins were distributed among the people or at least among the officers, as an Eastern courtly proclamation of the new accession; but that the fewer gold coins were presented as medals to the nobles and princes of the Imperial court.²

From the *Tuzuk-i-Jahāngīrī* we learn that Jahāngīr revived the old Mongol seal known as *Āl-tamghā*, the *Tamungha* of Pegolotti. Jahāngīr in his memoirs says: "As it is my desire that many of the Akbari and Jahāngīrī officers should obtain the fruition of their wishes, I informed the *bakhshis* that whoever make a representation to that effect, so that in accordance with the Chingiz canon (*tūra*) the estate might be conveyed to him by *Āl-tamghā* and become his property, and he might be secured from apprehension of change. Our ancestors and forefathers were in the habit of granting jagirs to every one under proprietary title and adorned the farmans for these with the *Āl-tamghā* seal, which is an impressed seal made in vermillion (*i.e.* red ink). I ordered that they should cover the place for the seal with gold-leaf (*tilā-posh*) and impress the seal thereon, and I called this *Altūn tamghā*."³

Valentijn, the well-known historian of the Dutch East Indian Company, in his IVth volume, 2nd part (1726) *Oud en Nieuw Oost Indien*, fol. 165, gives us a reproduction in Roman characters of Aurangzeb's great seal derived from a *farmān* which Mr. Adrichem, the Director of the Dutch Indian Company at Surat, on an embassy to Aurangzeb's court at Delhi, obtained from the Great Mughal. On fol. 261, 262 Valentijn gives us a Dutch translation of this imperial order, which ends with the following words: "Written in the 5th year of our accession, the 15th day of the month *Rabbi-ul-awal* 1073 H.=28th October A.D. 1662." This *farmān* was sealed on the top with the Emperor's great seal, which according to Valentijn contained 12 rounds. The name of Aurangzeb stands rightly enough in the middle circle which is encircled with eleven smaller ones containing the names of his ancestors up to Timūr.

¹ H. BEVERIDGE, *Tuzuk-i-Jahāngīrī*, 1909. Orient. Transl. Fund, New Series, Vol. xix, p. 10. The quarter Jahāngīrī coin was called *Niṣāri*, 'showering money.'

² H. BEVERIDGE, *Jahangir's Memoirs*, Vol. ii, p. 193, contains the following statement which may confirm my supposition: "Giving Muḥammad Shafi' leave to proceed to Multan, I presented him with a horse, a dress of honour, and a *Nūr-Shāhi-Muh'ar*, and sent him a special turban (*chira*) to Khān Jahān, my son (farzand)."

³ H. BEVERIDGE, *op. cit.*, p. 23. *Āl* is vermillion in Turki and *altūn* 'gold'; *Tamghā* means the royal insignia royal diploma or charter. D'ONSSON, *Hist des Mongols*, IV, pp. 373, 386, says that *Tamghā* was the name applied to all customs and transit duties under the Mongol Khans of Persia. The word, however, meant a *seal*, and going still further back was the term applied to the distinguishing brands of cattle among the Mongols (V. HAMMER *Gold. Horde*, 220). When Sulṭān Babar was engaged in a holy war with the Rajput Rana Sanga, he made one of his great abjurations of wine and vowed that he would renounce the *Tamghā* if victorious. Accordingly he published a *farmān* solemnly announcing his repentance and declaring that in no city or town, or no road or street or passage should the *Tamghā* be received or levied. The translators render it *stamp tax*, but the passages in D'Ohsson, as well as Babar's words seem to show that it was a transit duty (Babar, p. 356). YULE's *Cathay and the Way Thither*, vol. ii, p. 283, note 1.

The similar twelvefold seal of Aurangzeb, apparently copied from Valentijn's work, or more doubtfully, directly obtained from Mr. Adrichem, is to be found on p. 33 of another valuable Dutch work, edited in Batavia in 1758, bearing the title, *Beknopte Historie Van Mogolsche Keijzerrijk, en de zuijdelijke aangrenzende Rijken*. This would suggest that Aurangzeb had a twelvefold great seal.

Now authentic seals of Aurangzeb's immediate predecessor Shah Jahān are tenfold, and that of his immediate successor, Shāh 'Alam I or Bahadur Shāh, is twelvefold. Hence we must conclude that Aurangzeb's great seal must have been elevenfold. Whence then this irregularity? In Valentijn's reproduction of Aurangzeb's great seal, we find that in the genealogical table of his ancestors, a certain Pir Muḥammad has been intercalated between Sultān Abu Sāid and Sultān Muḥammad Mirza. Both these Dutch writers knew perfectly well that Pir Muḥammad was the son of Jahāngir, the eldest son of Mīr Timūr, and consequently a full cousin of Aurangzeb by his great-great-grandfather Sultān Muḥammad. Then why this intercalation of Pir Muḥammad into the genealogical table of the Indian Mughal Branch in Aurangzeb's seal? Valentijn does not explain this; yet he remarks on fols. 177-178 that there existed apparent contradictions in the imperial genealogy between Mirān Shāh and Omar Sheikh, while on fols. 185-186 of the same work, he rejects with a certain contemptible disdain the much more reliable and correct accounts on the pedigree of the great Mughals as given by the Jesuit Father Catrou, as coming from men "who have not the least knowledge of Mughal affairs."

The farmān, as already stated, from which Valentijn made his supposed reproduction is dated in the fifth year of Aurangzeb's reign. Now among the farmāns exhibited in the Delhi Museum, one is dated in the 3rd year, hence anterior to that of Adrichem, and another, posterior, is dated in the 10th year of Aurangzeb's reign. They both bear this monarch's great seal which is elevenfold. These seals do not give in their genealogical table the name of Pir Muḥammad: and as they are both identical in form and shape, we must reject Valentijn's statement, and his intercalation of Pir Muḥammad's name in the pedigree as false, unless we suppose that Aurangzeb made a new great seal for Adrichem's farmān, which is inadmissible. Moreover Valentijn seems to have been totally ignorant of the Persian language: the reading of several names on his seal are wrong; he writes for instance Miroen for Mirān Shāh; Baboer for Babar; in one place he writes Omar Sjaick and in another Sjaick Omar, and substitutes Mirza Seyed for Sultān Muḥammad Mirza; and finally, he entirely inverts the regular order of the names in the original seals.

Another proof that Valentijn cannot be trusted in this matter, is that the great seal of Aurangzeb is not circular but square. This square contains within its limits a great round circle similar to the seals of Shāh Jahān and Jahāngir, in which around the innermost circle containing the emperor's name and titles, are ten smaller circles, each inscribed with the name of one of his predecessors. In the four corners of this great seal are engraved invocations to God, or quotations from the Qur'ān. Such is the great seal of Aurangzeb.

Ahmad Shāh Durrāni had an imperial seal of Jahāngir's type, on which a

peacock was engraved.¹ The *Shāh* is styled the *durr-i-durrāni* 'the Durrāni pearl.' Durrāni itself means 'pearl wearer.' This was the name given to the tribe because they were in the habit of wearing pearl ear-rings.

As I have already described the great seal of Abul Muzaffar Jalal-ud-Din *Shāh* 'Alam II in my paper on the Mughal farmāns granted to the Jesuit Missionaries,² I think it superfluous to refer to it again. Let me here only remark that the seals of the last Mughal emperors and princes were surmounted by the umbrella, called *chattrā*. It was in the East from the earliest times, one of the insignia of royalty formed by foliage or by any projection.³

John Pinkerton, in his *Description of Persia*, says: "It may not be amiss to add a few words concerning the seals under which acts of state are passed in Persia. They have five seals, which are used in five several branches of business. One in all such affairs as concern the demesne land: a second for commissions, letters patent, etc.; the third only in military affairs; the fourth about the revenue; and the fifth in things relating to the household. There are no arms engraved upon them, but on one there are the names of the twelve *imams* or 'patriarchs'; on the others a scrap of the alcoran, or some pious expression, showing their dependence on God and his prophet Mahomet. The form of one of the seals is round, two others are square, and

¹ The peacock, according to the Purāṇas, is the vehicle of Kumāra *alias* Kārtika, the god of war, and the Gupta prince having the same name, adopted the vehicle of his namesake for his symbol. The peacock coins of Kumāra Gupta have on the reverse a peacock with outstretched wings and expanded tail. See Proceedings of the A.S.B., Jan. to Dec. 1878, p. 191.

² P.H.S.J., Vol. v, i.

³ The umbrella of the Western countries is a transformation of the parasol, which primarily was a sun-shade alone; its original home having been in hot brilliant climates. We do not exactly know when and how it originated; but in eastern countries from the earliest times the umbrella was one of the insignia of royalty and power. A gilt umbrella is a part of the insignia of high church dignitaries in Italy, as it is in Burma and other Buddhist countries. The baldachin erected over ecclesiastical chairs, altars, and portals; and the canopy of thrones and pulpits, etc., are in their origin closely related to umbrellas, and have the same symbolic significance. In each of the basilican churches of Rome there still hangs a large umbrella.

The Mahratta Princes of India had among their titles 'Lord of the Umbrella.' In 1855, the King of Burma, in addressing the Governor General of India, termed himself 'the Monarch who reigns over the great umbrella-wearing chiefs of the Eastern Countries.'

Ibn Batuta (iii. 228) speaks of a *chhatr*, raised over the elephant of the Sulṭān of Sind which was of silk set with precious stones, and had a handle of pure gold.

Friar John of Pian de Carpini states: "and when he [Bati, the Tartar Prince] rides out, there is always carried over his head on a pole an umbrella, or little awning; and all the very great princes of the Tartars do likewise"; and in another place the same Franciscan says of the ambassadors who visited the Emperor at the first audience of his accession, gave among other presents an umbrella. Here also it was that a kind of umbrella or awning is carried over the Emperor's head."

Arrian, the Grecian historian, describing the custom of the people of the Panjab, says: "The general dress of the great men was then, as now, garments of fine cotton: either wrapped round the shoulders, or enveloping the head.... They are adorned with costly earrings of ivory, and the more wealthy are distinguished by an umbrella and an umbrella bearer."

"Behind the King," says Xenophon, "are two attendants, both a head shorter than himself, one bearing a fan or fly-chaser, the other an umbrella, signs in Persia of royal dignity."

On the sculptured remains of ancient Nineveh, Babylon, and Egypt there are numerous representations of kings, and sometimes of lesser potentates going in procession with an umbrella carried over their head. (Ref. A. H. L. HEEREN, *Historical Researches*, Asiat. Nations, 1854, vol. i, p. 121. ARRIAN, *Indic.*, pp. 179-180. XENOPHON, *Cyrop.* viii, p. 241. W. ROCKHILL, *Journey of Friar William of Rubruck*, pp. 11, 23. A. LAYARD, *Nineveh and its Remains*, t. ii, p. 137. MARIETTE, *Abydos*, t. i, 1880, pl. 51.)

the other two are of an irregular form. The largest are about the bigness of a crown-piece, and the others about half that bigness. They are made of turquoises, rubies, emeralds, or some other precious stones. The principal seal the Shāh always wears about his neck, and on every Friday all instruments which require these seals are carried to the palace, and sealed in the Shāh's presence. The impression is made on the paper with a kind of thick ink, and not on wax as with us: the same usage prevails in most eastern courts."¹ As already stated, the delivery of the King's seal to one of his subjects, invested him with the right of acting authoritatively in his Monarch's name. "In China, the honorary seals given to Princes were of gold; those of the Viceroy and great Mandarins or Magistrates of the first rank, are of silver; and those of inferior Mandarins or Magistrates are only of Brass or Lead; being larger or smaller, according to their respective dignities. When it was worn-out, they were to acquaint the tribunal, which sends them another, obliging them to return the old one. When the Emperor sent visitors into the Provinces, to examine the conduct of the Governors, Magistrates, and private persons, he always gave each of them the seal of their office."² This same custom must have existed at the court of the Indian Mughals. The seals of the princes, prime ministers, high officials, civil and military officers were larger or smaller according to their respective dignities. They contained besides their name, the title or titles conferred upon them by the reigning Emperor; the year of his reign in which they were appointed to the office to the right of the seal; the Hijri year on the top. The text inscribed on the Mughal seal was generally read from the bottom upwards, so that the name of the reigning Emperor was always prominently on the top. During the palmy days of the Mughal Empire the Ministers' seals were very small (about 1 or 1½ inches in diameter), and their inscriptions very simple and most humble, such as:—Fada Khan, Gulām Bādshāh 'Alamgīr or Asaf-ul-daulah, Bandah Shāh 'Alam Bādshāh Ghazī. But after the decay had set in and when the ambitious ministers assumed the control of the government from the hand of the pageant emperors, their seals became very large and pieces of very fine and beautiful workmanship, with more elaborate inscriptions, such as:—Bakhshi-ul-Mulk Najif Zulfaqr-ul-daulah, Mirza Jang, Khan Bahādur Aliyah fidwi Shah 'Alam, Bādshāh Ghazī, or Sayad Asad Khan, the generalissimo of the kingdom, the hero of the war, the polar star of the Empire, the sincere friend of Muhammad Farokhsiyar, the King, the hero.

From the time of Shah 'Alam II down to the last titular Mughal king, European officers used titles conferred on them by the Mughal Kings with the name of the King in their Persian seals. Even after the administration of India was taken over by the Crown, the Viceroy and Lieutenant-Governors used Oriental titles in their seals with the name of Queen Victoria at the top.

Khwajah Muhammad Hussain, a member of the Panjab Historical Society, sent me the following mottoes taken from seals which were engraved on beautiful

¹ *Voyages and Travels*, Vol. IX, p. 223.

² THOMAS ASTLEY, *Voyages and Travels*, Vol. IV, China, p. 241, Col. i.

emeralds by the famous engraver Badr-ud-din 'Ali Khān of Delhi, for the late Queen Victoria and the Prince Consort ; for the Emperor Napoleon III and Queen Eugénie of France, and for European officials in India.

(1). SEAL OF QUEEN VICTORIA.

[مہر] علیا حضرت ملکہ معظمہ وکٹوریہ مرحومہ

شہنشاہ سلیمان جاہ کیوان بارگاہ خاقان الدھر سلطان البحر مورد الطاف ایزد رحمن بادشاہ انگلستان
و آیرایند فرمان فرمای ممالک ہند ناصر دین مسیحی ماکہ معظمہ وکٹوریہ سنہ ۱۸۵۰ ع *

High seal of Her Most Gracious Majesty the late Queen Victoria.

The Empress having Solomon's dignity and a Court as high as Saturn, Sovereign of the World, Ruler of the Sea, receptacle (or recipient) of the favours of Merciful God, Queen of England and Ireland, Ruling Sovereign of the Indian Empire, Defender of the religion of Christ, Her Most Gracious Majesty Victoria, 1850 A.D.

(2). SEAL OF THE PRINCE CONSORT.

الموید بہ تائید الہی فخر خاندان شہنشاہی برنسوک ایفیس معزز ملکہ معظمہ شہزادہ رفیع القدر والا شان
سر آمد بارگاہ انگلستان البرٹ فرانسس چارلس ایمانول سنہ ۱۸۵۰ ع *

Supported by the help of God, chosen (or boast) of the Imperial Dynasty of Brunswick, Honoured Consort of Her Gracious Majesty the Queen, Prince of high dignity and of great rank, the head of the English Court, Albert Francis Charles Emmanuel, 1850 A.D.

(3). SEAL OF THE EMPEROR OF FRANCE.

جوہر آئینہ معدلت پیرامی حامی دین عیسائی برگزیدہ ارکان سلطنت پسندیدہ جمہور مملکت نپولین
سوم شہنشاہ کیوان بارگاہ اہل ملک فرانس سنہ ۱۸۵۴ ع *

The brightness of the (looking) glass of justice-working, Supporter of the Christian religion, Chosen of the pillars of kingdom, Selected of the Republic Empire, Napoleon III, Emperor, having a Court as high as Saturn, of the nation of France, 1854 A.D.

(4). SEAL OF QUEEN EUGÉNIE OF FRANCE.

[مہر] ملکہ یوجینی فرانس

اختر برج میمنت گوہر درج سلطنت رفیع المرتبت منبع الشان یوجینی ملکہ محترمہ شہنشاہ کیوان
بارگاہ اہل ملک فرانس سنہ ۱۸۵۴ ع *

Star of the Constellation of blessings, pearl of the box of Empire, of high dignity and great rank, Eugénie, honoured Queen of the Emperor having a Court as high as Saturn, of the nation of the Country of France, 1854 A.D.

(5). SEAL OF THE GOVERNOR-GENERAL OF INDIA.

[مُهر] گورنر جنرل ہندوستان

زبدۂ نوئیڈان عظیم الشان مشیر خاص حضور فیض معمور بادشاہ کیوان بارگاہ انگلستان اشرف الامرا
لارڈ جارج ازل اف آکلینڈ گورنر جنرل بہادر ناظم اعظم ممالک محروسہ سرکار کمپنی امور متعلقہ کشور ہند
سنہ ۱۸۴۰ ع *

Chosen of the noblemen of great rank, special adviser to His Majesty full of grace, the King of England, whose Court is as high as that of Saturn, noblest of the Chiefs, Lord George Earl of Auckland, Governor-General, the Chief Governor of the Protected Provinces of the Government of the Company related to the affairs of India, 1840 A.D.

(6). SEAL OF LORD LAKE.

[مُهر] لارڈ لیک

صمصام الدولہ اشجع الملک خان دوران خان جنرل جیہارڈ لیک بہادر سپہ سالار فتح جنگ فدوی شاہ عالم
بادشاہ غازی *

Sword of the Empire, the bravest of the country, Khān of the world, Khān General Gerard Lake, Commander in Chief, Victorious in battle, Servant of His Majesty King Shāh 'Alam.

(7). SEAL OF LORD DALHOUSIE.

[مُهر] لارڈ دالہوزی

زبدۂ نوئیڈان عظیم الشان مشیر خاص حضور فیض معمور بادشاہ کیوان بارگاہ انگلستان آنریبل جیمس اینڈرو
لارڈ اف دالہوزی سنہ ۱۸۴۸ ع *

Chosen of the noblemen of great rank, special adviser to His Majesty full of grace, the King of England having a Court as high as that of Saturn, the Honourable James Andrew, Lord of Dalhousie, 1848 A.D.

(8). SEAL OF LORD HARDINGE.

زبدۂ نوئیڈان عظیم الشان مشیر خاص حضور فیض معمور بادشاہ کیوان بارگاہ انگلستان اشرف الامرا جنرل
رایٹ آنریبل ہارڈنگ جی سی بی سنہ ۱۸۴۴ ع *

Chosen of the noblemen of great rank, special adviser to His Majesty full of grace, the King of England whose Court is as high as that of Saturn, noblest of the Chiefs, General the Right Honourable Hardinge, G.C.B., 1844 A.D.

(9). SEAL OF THE FIRST VICEROY.

زبدۂ نوئیڈان عظیم الشان مشیر خاص حضور فیض معمور حضرت ملکہ معظمہ رفیع الدرجہ انگلستان اشرف
الامرا آنریبل چارلس جان لارڈ وائیکونٹ کیننگ نایب و گورنر جنرل بہادر ناظم اعظم ممالک محروسہ سرکار
ملکہ ممدوحہ فرمان فرماے کشور ہند سنہ ۱۸۵۸ ع •

Chosen of the noblemen of great rank, special adviser to Her Gracious Majesty full of grace, having high dignity, the Queen of England, the noblest of Chiefs, Honourable Charles John, Lord Viscount Canning, Viceroy and Governor-General, Chief Administrator of the Protected Provinces of the Government of Her Gracious Majesty the Queen, the ruling Sovereign of the Indian Empire, 1858 A.D.

(10). SEAL OF SIR DAVID OCHTERLONY.

نصير الدوله فخر الملك سردار با وقار وفادار خان جنرل سر ديود اختر لوني بارونت بهادر ظفر جنگ
سنه ۱۸۲۴ ع *

Helper of the Kingdom, boast of the country, nobleman of rank, Wafādār Khān General Sir David Ochterlony, Baronet, Victorious in battle, 1824 A.D.

(11). SEAL OF SIR THOMAS METCALFE.

معظم الدوله امين الملك اختصاص يار خان فرزند ارجمند سلطان طامس تهيافلس متكف بهادر فيروز جنگ
سنه ۱۸۴۱ ع *

Greatest of the Empire, Trustee of the Kingdom Ikhtisās Yār Khan, Blessed son of the Sovereign, Thomas Theophilus Metcalfe, Victorious in battle, 1841 A.D.

(12). SEAL OF SIR CHARLES METCALFE.

معظم الدوله مختار الماك اخلاص يار خان بهادر صولت جنگ سر چارلس تهيافلس متكف بارونت
عبدۃ *

Greatest in the Empire, Agent of the Kingdom Ikhlas Yār Khān, Bahadur, Dreaded in battle, Sir Charles Theophilus Metcalfe, Baronet, his servant.

(13). SEAL OF GEORGE THOMPSON.

مشير الدوله مشير الملك جار ج طامس بهادر مصلح جنگ سنه ۱۸۴۳ ع *

Adviser of the Empire, Adviser of the Kingdom, George Thompson, Reformer of battle, 1843 A.D.

(14). SEAL OF WILLIAM FRASER, RESIDENT AT DELHI.

بدر الدوله انتظام الملك صفوت يار خان وايم فريزر بهادر ملايت جنگ سنه ۱۸۳۲ ع *

Full moon of the Empire, Administrator of the Kingdom, Sifwat Yār Khān, William Fraser Bahadur, hard in battle, 1832 A.D.

(15). SEAL OF SIR EDWARD COLEBROOK.

روشن الدوله ضياء الماك سر ايڌرڻ كول بروك بارونت بهادر منصور جنگ سنه ۱۸۲۷ ع *

Illuminated of the Empire, Light of the Kingdom, Sir Edward Colebrook, Baronet, Conqueror in battle (literally 'conquered battle'), 1827 A.D.

(16). SEAL OF THE SUPREME GOVERNMENT OF BRITISH INDIA.

[مهر] سرکار اعظم و اعلیٰ انگریز بہادر مختار با الاطلاق در نظام و نسق امور ممالک و جزائر ہند

سنہ ۱۸۱۲ ع *

Seal of the High and Great English Government, the absolute ruler in the management and administration of the affairs of the Provinces and Islands of India, 1812 A.D.

(17). ANOTHER SEAL OF THE EARL OF DALHOUSIE.

اشجع الدولہ ناصر الملک خان زمان خان بہادر ارل آف دالہوزی سپہ سالار ضیغم جنگ فدربی محمد اکبر بادشاہ بادشاہ غازی سنہ ۱۸۳۱ ع *

The bravest in the Empire, Helper of the Kingdom Khān Zamān Khān Bahadur, Earl of Dalhousie, Commander in Chief, Lion in battle, Servant of Muhamad Akbar Badshāh Ghāzi, 1831 A.D.

(18). SEAL OF WILLIAM BYAM MARTIN.

اعتضاد الدولہ رفعت الملک صداقت یار خان ولیم بایم مارٹن بہادر مدبر جنگ سنہ ۱۸۳۰ ع *

Support of the Empire, High in the Kingdom, Sadāqat Yār Khān, William Byam Martin, Minister of War, 1830 A.D.

(19). SEAL OF THE LIEUTENANT-GOVERNOR, N. W. P.

زبدہ نوئیقان عظیم الشان اشرف لامرا آنریبل جارج فریدرک ایڈمنسٹرن گورنر بہادر ممالک مغربی و شمالی سنہ ۱۸۵۹ ع *

Chosen of the noblemen of great rank, noblest of the Chiefs, the Honourable George Frederick Administron, Lieutenant-Governor of the North-Western Provinces, 1859 A.D.

The Mosaic records (Exod. xxx. 23) and Hebrew (Ezek. xxvii. 24) and Greek writers (Arrian, p. 179) always speak of India as one of the richest countries in the world, and the Indians have no doubt great stores of precious stones, and family papers which contain valuable material, which have never yet been utilised. These hidden stores of family treasures would surely shed invaluable light on the social conditions and social relations. India, and this was common to all the East, had no doubt chronicles, or diaries or memoirs which formed the archives of the Kingdom. But a history compiled from such materials would necessarily be a history of the court rather than of the Empire. The modern historian no longer confines himself to the story of wars and conquests, the personal adventures of kings, the intrigues of courtiers and diplomatists; but recognizes that the highest theme of history is the growth of the social organism, the development of ideas, institutions and modes of life among the mass of the common men, and this may in a large way best be obtained from the

study of ancient seals, the perusal of farmāns, parwānahs and sanads, and what is still more important private and public contracts. These will give us a better insight into the social organisation in India, and as Professor Ramsay Muir said in his lecture before the Panjab Historical Society, "Experience is increasingly showing that it is only by means of the minute and patient analysis of the working of social habits and institutions in particular regions, that we can arrive at a clear idea of their development on a larger scale."

JOURNAL
of the
PANJAB HISTORICAL SOCIETY

Volume VI.

Calcutta :

PRINTED AT THE BAPTIST MISSION PRESS AND PUBLISHED BY
THE PANJAB HISTORICAL SOCIETY, LAHORE.

1918.

LIST OF CONTENTS.

	PAGE
Ballad on Nadir Shah's Invasion of India. <i>R.B. Pandit Hari Kishan Kaul, C.I.E.</i> ..	1
Some Notes on Ancient Kulu Politics. <i>G. C. L. Howell, I.C.S.</i>	69
An Unpublished Diary of Sikh Times. <i>Shaikh Abdul Qadir</i>	82
Influence of the Indian King upon the Growth of Caste. <i>The Hon'ble Mr. H. J. Maynard, C.S.I.</i>	88
History of Nurpur State. <i>J. Hutchison and J. Ph. Vogel</i>	101
Note on the Routes from the Panjab to Turkestan and China, recorded by William Finch. (1611). <i>Sir Aurel Stein, K.C.I.E.</i>	144
General Ventura. <i>The Hon'ble Pt. Sheo Narian, R.B.</i>	149
Secretary's Report, 1916	159
Treasurer's Report, 1916	160
Meetings, 1916	161
List of Members	163

LIST OF PLATES.

Following page 67 :

PLATE I—Nasr o'din Mahommed Shah.

PLATE II—Nadir Shah.

Ballad on Nadir Shah's Invasion of India.

A Paper read before the Panjab Historical Society on the 26th September, 1916.

By R. B. PANDIT HARI KISHAN KAUL, C.I.E.

The credit for unearthing this valuable ballad is due to our President, Sir Edward Maclagan, who, as far back as 1892, took down a brief version of it from the lips of a Mirasi, or village bard, of Mangat, a village in the Khangah Dogran Tahsil of the Gujranwala District, during his wanderings in the uninviting Bar forest, as the pioneer of colonization work in the Panjab. The text then written down, though shorter and containing only one hundred and sixty-one and a half (161½) verses compared with the 854 verses of which the present compilation is composed, nevertheless contained the main features of the story which forms the subject of the ballad. In 1912, about two years after the founding of this Society, Sir Edward gave me the privilege of amplifying it. After spending a certain amount of time in hunting for different versions of the ballad I was able to get two¹ fairly complete narratives.

This compilation is the result of collating the narrative taken down by Sir Edward Maclagan with the two versions collected by me. I have had some difficulty in arranging the text into a continuous story, as I found many sections and verses placed differently, and in many cases very inappropriately, in the various versions. I do not claim that the ballad is complete even now; for I have still in my possession a few sections and verses which, for want of connecting links, I have been unable to fit in with the rest of the text.

Historical ballads of this type are still recited in the villages, not by the ordinary Mirasis who live by singing and on charity, but by high class Mirasis who still represent the real bards of Rajput times and who consider it beneath them to sing or beg for their living. These receive their customary dues at weddings and other ceremonials where they are expected to narrate the genealogy of the families concerned; but their chief source of income is the recitation of ancient ballads at large gatherings of an evening when the audience contribute small gifts which make up a fairly large amount.

The two versions of the ballad obtained by me have so far been transmitted from father to son as heirlooms, and I had much difficulty in persuading the two bards mentioned above to allow me to reduce them to writing.

Owing to the great length of this ballad, the bards could seldom have had sufficient time to recite it *in toto*: I found that they often contented themselves with recit-

¹ One from Jiwana Mirasi of Ajlanwala, a village in the Khangah Dogran Tahsil, and the other from Mirasi Maula Bakhsh of Budhanki, a village in the Sharakpur Tahsil of the Gujranwala District.

ing portions of it. Transmitted as the ballad was by memory, in a limited circle of reciters or families of reciters, it is not strange that certain portions of it should be forgotten in course of time, and that different reciters should begin to group the verses in different combinations. I hope it may yet be possible to discover the missing portions.

THE AUTHOR AND THE DATE OF COMPOSITION.

Verses 564 and 849 contain the name of the author and show that the ballad was composed by a poet named Nijabat. Enquiries show that Nijabat was a Haral Rajput and lived in the beginning of the 19th century. His descendants are still to be found in Matila Harlan in the Shahpur District. But some say that the ballad was composed originally by one Sayad Shah Chiragh who founded Pindi Shah Chiragh, now known as Rawalpindi, and that Nijabat Haral, his disciple, touched up the ballad and transmitted it to posterity.

The mass of details into which the author has found it possible to dive proves conclusively that he must have had some recollection of the time when the event took place. As Nijabat Haral lived in the earlier part of the 19th century, while the invasion of Nadir Shah with which the ballad deals occurred in 1738-39, it appears reasonable to believe that the original author of the story was another man. Moreover, Nijabat refers to the story as 'Gallā agliā': in other words, he recognizes that, when he embellished the ballad, a considerable time had elapsed since the invasion. I am therefore inclined to think that the ballad was originally composed shortly after the invasion. Indeed the fact that the ballad ends with the battle of Karnal would seem to indicate that the poet reduced the narrative to poetry before the massacre at Delhi, an event which was too important for the author to have overlooked unless the sections relating to subsequent events have been forgotten by the reciters. The theory that Shah Chiragh was the original author is improbable, as a Sayad can hardly be expected to introduce Hindu ideas of which this story is full. It therefore appears likely that the ballad was composed originally by some Muhammadan bard or Mirasi of the Harals, who lived at the time of the invasion of Nadir Shah and from whom Nijabat learnt it.

Many of the facts related in the ballad are supported by the best authorities of the period concerned, and I venture to believe that such of the facts contained in the ballad as are not found in any historical book are not pure fiction. The mention of the 12th century Hijri in the 3rd verse of the ballad relates to the date of the invasion of Nadir Shah which took place in 1738-39 A.D., corresponding to 1147-48 A.H.

CHARACTERS OF MUHAMMAD SHAH AND NADIR SHAH.

The events narrated in the ballad may be made more intelligible by a description of the characters of Muhammad Shah the Emperor of Delhi at the time of the invasion, and of Nadir Shah the invader. The portraits of the two show a marked contrast.¹ We see Muhammad Shah well-built and well-trimmed, bedecked with jewels

¹ See Plates I and II. These are reproduced from photographs of almost contemporary paintings.

and sitting with all the paraphernalia of oriental luxury, his face showing unmistakable signs of high living. On the other hand Nadir Shah appears riding his fiery steed in a soldierly manner, with all the emblems of destruction about him. He is armed with his famous battle-axe, which he used for chopping off the heads of his generals who happened to fall back in battle without sufficient cause. Justice is trampled down under the hoofs of his steed, and the Angel of Death is preceding him. The pyramids of heads in the background indicate the results of his victorious excursions. About Muhammad Shah, S. Muhammad Latif the Panjab historian says, "Muhammad Shah in his youth was of robust make and possessed good intellect. He was fond of hunting and of the sport now known as 'Polo,' but had a tendency to heart disease. In the latter part of his life, the constant use of opium together with other excesses shattered and debilitated his whole frame."¹ Kennedy dealing with the time immediately preceding this invasion says, "The Moghal court was engrossed in debauchery." This ballad describes fluently in various sections the intrigue-ridden state of the Mughal Court and the absolute chaos which prevailed. In describing Nadir Shah's character I cannot do better than quote a few passages from a personal description received by Fraser evidently from Jones Hanway, a gentleman who lived at Nadir Shah's Court, and who in his book on the Revolutions of Persia has devoted a whole chapter to a detailed description of the character of this great hero.² "Nadir Shah is upwards of six feet high, well proportioned, of a very robust make and constitution. The injury that the sun and weather have done to his complexion only gives him a more manly aspect. His voice is so uncommonly loud that he frequently, without straining it, gives orders to his people, at about a hundred yards' distance. He drinks wine in moderation, his hours of retirement among the ladies are but few, his diet is simple, and if public affairs require his attendance, he neglects his meal and satisfies his hunger with a few parched peas (of which he always carries some in his pocket) and a draught of water. In the camp or in the city, he is almost constantly in public. He musters, pays and clothes his army himself. He is extremely generous, particularly to his soldiers, and bountifully rewards all in his service who behave well. He is at the same time very severe and strict in his discipline, punishing with death those who commit a great offence, and with the loss of their ears those whose transgressions are of a lighter nature. He never pardons the guilty, of whatsoever rank. When on march or in the field he contents himself to eat, drink and sleep like a common soldier, and inures all his officers to the same severe discipline. He is of so hardy a constitution that he has been often known of a frosty night to repose himself upon the ground in the open air wrapt up in his cloak with only a saddle for his pillow. In his private conversation no one is allowed to mention anything relating to public business. Among Nadir Shah's extraordinary faculties his memory is not the least to be admired. He knows most of the private men who have served under him any time and can recollect when and for what he punished or rewarded them. In all the battles, skirmishes and sieges he has been engaged

¹ Latif's *History of the Punjab*, p. 219.

² Fraser, *History of Nadir Shah*, p. 227.

in, although he generally charges at the head of his troops, he never received the least wound or scar and yet several horses have been shot under him and bullets have grazed his armour."

Nadir Shah's original name was Nadir Kuli (slave of God). His father was a chief of the Afshar tribe, and he was born in 1688 at Dastgarh in Khorasan, fifty miles from Mashhad. He started as a petty freebooter and highway robber. After seeing some adversity in his earlier days and having been taken prisoner by Uzbek Tartars when he was seventeen and escaped, he raised a following and joined Tahmasp, the vanquished Safvi monarch of Persia. For Tahmasp he recovered town after town until he restored him to the throne. He then called himself Tahmasp Kuli (slave of Tahmasp). He recovered from the Abdalis, the Turks and the Russians, the territories which they had annexed from the Persian kingdom and eventually deposed and blinded Tahmasp. He then managed to be elected king, calling himself Nadir Shah, and became the greatest warrior and conqueror Persia has ever produced. Malcolm in his history of Persia says the people spoke of Nadir Shah as "the deliverer and the destroyer." It is this wonderful soldier, general, administrator and king whose invasion of India our poet describes in the ballad.

THE BALLAD.

I will now deal with the ballad itself. The ballad displays an accurate and detailed knowledge of facts, wide information on the various subjects dealt with, and a richness of expression which is a peculiar trait of the better class of oriental poets. It is not within my scope to give a rhetorical dissertation on the composition; but I cannot help remarking that the ballad is one of the best pieces of real Western Panjabi 18th and 19th century poetry which I have come across.

I have divided the ballad into 38 sections. In Section I, the poet has described the state of political and social chaos which prevailed immediately before Nadir Shah's invasion. The reflections contained in verses 3 to 12 are all based on facts. Oppression, deceit, stratagem, falsehood were the order of the day and justice had vanished. The nobles assumed independence and slaves killed the kings as in the case of the Sayad King-makers. This is exactly the state of things depicted by historians like Muhammad Latif and Kennedy. The latter says, "The Emperor was young, loved pleasure, and had many advisers both amongst noblemen and amongst the women of the seraglio who everywhere obstructed Nizam-ul-mulk. Khan Dauran was in great favour and so also a woman called Poki Padshah, one of the harem favourites." I wonder if Poki Padshah is identical with Chowki, one of Muhammad Shah's favourites in the harem, mentioned by Sayad Muhammad Latif as having been put in charge of the Emperor's private signet which she used at her discretion; and who received and disposed of petitions in the harem, signing them "by order." Our poet, however, mentions neither of these women, but assigns great importance to Malika Zamani as we shall see further on. Fraser also mentions Malika Zamani as being in great favour.

Section II gives a short political history of Delhi from its foundation down to the

invasion of Nadir Shah. The author says Delhi was built originally by "Tur" Rajputs. Cunningham places the foundation of Delhi about 57 B.C. (the starting point of the Vikrama era) (Archaeological Report, 1862-63, Vol. I, Delhi, page 140). The theory of the town being founded by Dalip the great grandfather of Ram Chandra is highly improbable, as there is no evidence of Delhi's existence in very ancient times. Other theories are discussed by Carr Stephen in his Archaeology of Delhi. The tradition generally admitted is that the founder of the town was a Raja named Dillu, Dhillu, or Dehlu. Nothing more is known about this king, but he is said to have been defeated and killed by Porus the antagonist of Alexander the Great. The story goes that the town was eventually conquered by Vikramaditya and was deserted for 792 years. Anangpal the first Tomara Rajput king is said to have "rebuilt" Delhi in the eighth, or more correctly in the tenth century.¹

Our poet obviously ignores the short life of Delhi in ancient days and seems to be right in describing Túr (Tuár or Tomara) Rajputs as its founders. One of the bards who recited the ballad to me said that the town was founded by Dilpat Rai son of Hankhpat Jaljodh Rai. It seems possible that Dilpat Rai or Dalpat Rai which would mean the chief of the masses or of the army, was the complete name of the Raja who was the original founder of the town and who is known by the abbreviation "Dillu." From the Turs Delhi passed, according to the poet, to Chohans who enjoyed it; then to Ghoris for a short time, then to the Pathans and then again to Chughattas of Babar's line who thoroughly subjugated it. This is all true, for Delhi passed from the Tomara dynasty to the Chohans, of whom Prithi Raj was the last king. Muhammad Ghoris was the first invader who established his kingdom at Delhi. The Ghoris dynasty ruled Delhi from A.D. 1193 to 1205, that is for only 12 years. The dynasties which ruled from 1205 to 1506 when Babar conquered Delhi are alluded to by the author as Pathans, which is another word for Afghans; and it is true that the kingdoms of these dynasties were transient.

Section III gives the story of the invasion of Ispahan by Taimur, the ancestor of the Mughal Emperors of India, who was himself the first Mughal invader of India. It is relevant to this ballad as furnishing an incentive to Nadir Shah, king of Ispahan, to avenge himself on the Mughal Emperors of India; for Taimur had pillaged Ispahan and, according to the ballad, had killed a hundred thousand men, had his meal on a platform made of severed heads and returned home after imposing four terms on the people of Persia, which are related later on in Section VIII. The following account of the sack of Ispahan by Taimur appears in Sykes' History of Persia (Vol. 2, page 204): "Zaynul Abidin son of Shah Shuja now occupied the throne of Fars. He had not followed out his father's policy of submission to Tamerlane but had imprisoned his envoy. Consequently the great conqueror ordered a march on Ispahan. This city surrendered and a heavy contribution had been almost collected when the chance playing of a drum brought together a mob which attacked and slew the 3000 Tartars quartered in the city. Tamerlane was merciless in avenging this outbreak

¹ Ānaṅgapāla built the Red Fort, the oldest Delhi, of which remains are found, in A.D. 993-4; *vide* Vincent A. Smith, "Early History of India," 2nd edition, pp. 355-6.

and 70,000 heads built into pyramids taught a terrible lesson.' These facts are also borne out by the account given in Malcolm's Persia (Vol. 1, page 293). Our poet is therefore not wrong in saying "Vāj sipāhā luṭṭiā, kar man dā bhāṇā."

Section IV gives a short but significant account of the Sayad king-makers. The ascendancy of the Sayad king-makers commenced with the accession of Farrukh Siyar to the throne in 1713. The elder brother Sayad Abdullah was then created Wazir and the younger brother Hussain Ali Khan was raised to the office of Commander-in-Chief. I need not give an account of Farrukh Siyar's reign of terror. But he soon found the yoke of the Sayad brothers burdensome and Hussain Ali Khan was sent to fight the Mahrattas in the Deccan where he entered into a convention with them, recognized their independent sovereignty and made other concessions to them. The Emperor refusing to ratify this treaty, Hussain Ali Khan marched on Delhi along with a force of 10,000 Mahrattas and took possession of the city. Farrukh Siyar concealed himself in the recesses of the *seraglio*, but was eventually seized and deprived of his sight. He was then brutally murdered. This happened in 1719, so that Farrukh Siyar's reign lasted for slightly over six years. The Sayads placed Rafi-ud-darjat on the throne but he died in three months and was followed by his brother Rafi-ud-daulah who died, in turn, in three months. The Sayads then placed Roshan Akhtar on the throne with the title of Abul-Fateh Nasir-ud-din Muhammad Shah Badshah Ghazi in 1719. He soon felt the burden of the Sayad yoke and, according to S. Muhammad Latif, had S. Hussain Ali Khan murdered by an assassin named Mir Haidar, while he was marching at the head of an army to subdue Nizam-ul-mulk in the Deccan, in 1720. (Fraser however says S. Hussain Ali Khan was murdered by Muhammad Amin Khan, Haidar Quli Khan, master of the ordnance, Khan Dauran and several other Umeras who fell on him with their swords). S. Abdullah hearing of his brother's fate marched against the Emperor at the head of a large army but was defeated and taken prisoner. He died in 1723 in prison and, according to Kennedy, was probably poisoned. Thus ended the seven years' régime of the Sayad King-makers, during which short period, they placed the imperial crown on the heads of four successive Emperors, and whose death, our poet says, caused delight to demons, angels and men alike: "Jinn farishte te ādmī kul-i-ākhaṇ āmī."

In Section V the ballad relates the cause of Nizam-ul-mulk's jealousy. According to the ballad, Mansur Ali Nizam-ul-mulk headed the Turani faction, while Khan Dauran and his brother Muzaffar headed the Persian clique. This is corroborated by history.

The story of how Khan Dauran gained the favour of the Emperor is told as follows by one of my bards. It is supported by some passages of this ballad which I have not found it possible to incorporate in the compilation. Khan Dauran was a young Persian merchant who dealt in precious stones. He was putting up with his brother Muzaffar who was employed at the Delhi Court. His house overlooked a passage by which Malika Zamani used to go out for recreation and he happened to get a glimpse of her there one day. He was so fascinated that he contrived to enter the *seraglio* in the disguise of a woman and attended the queen's dar-

bar where his beardless face aroused no suspicion. But the shrewd queen spotted him even though he was sitting in the farthest corner. She put some pointed questions to him and discovered that he was a man. He should ordinarily have been put to death but she took pity on him and adopted the only other alternative of calling him her son. She related the story to the Emperor who thenceforward treated him as a son. Having thus gained the favour of the favourite queen and the Emperor, he rose in power (without any qualification of course) and ousted Nizam-ul-mulk who had gained influence since the fall of the Sayads. On Sayad Abdullah's death Muhammad Shah had sent for Nizam-ul-mulk, Governor of the Deccan, with a view to place him in charge of his court, but on his arrival Nizam-ul-mulk found Khan Dauran obstructive at every step. He accordingly went back with the excuse that affairs in the Deccan required his presence. He was sent for a second time but he was again outwitted by Khan Dauran. The events related in this section of the ballad refer to the time when Nizam-ul-mulk returned to court the second time. Owing to long residence in the Deccan he had adopted the flowing robes of the Mahrattas and learnt the Hindu form of salutation. He advanced in these long robes, tight in the waist, and bowed low to the Emperor several times to do his homage after the Mahratta fashion. Khan Dauran cut a joke at Nizam-ul-mulk's expense and likened the function to a dance by an old monkey from the Deccan. Nizam-ul-mulk took it seriously to heart and an open rupture between the Persian and the Turanian parties resulted. The poet accordingly says, "Majākh Nizām mulk nū Khān Dōurā lāē, te kiblā būdhā bādar dakkhānī muzre ko āē, etc., etc." This account is verified literally by Fraser who says (History of Nadir Shah, 2nd edition, page 68): "The Umeras not only disregarded him but took all opportunities of affronting him, especially Khan Dauran and his creatures who, when he came to pay his respects at court, used to ridicule him saying to each other, 'Observe how the Deccan monkey dances.' This usage having wrought him to the highest pitch of resentment he was resolved to revenge himself by distressing the Empire and destroying Khan Dauran and his creatures." After describing how Nizam-ul-mulk tried to take Kamar Din and Sa'adat Khan into his confidence Fraser continues:—"Having entered into an agreement it was resolved that Nadir Shah ruler of Persia who then was besieging Kandahar should be the instrument to distress the Emperor and remove Khan Dauran from amongst them." On page 129 of the same book, Fraser again says:—"While Nadir Shah was busy in securing and fortifying Kandahar, letters came from Nizam-ul-mulk and Sa'adat Khan to march towards Hindustan. In answer to these letters he raised several objections, but they soon satisfied him how unnecessary his fears were. Being encouraged by these representations he set out on the expedition." These points are brought out clearly in the following sections of the ballad. The poet's remarks about the nobles of the two factions assuming independent charge of their provinces are corroborated by history.

Malcolm in his History of Persia doubts the story about Nizam-ul-mulk inviting Nadir Shah to invade India. But our poet has the support of other eminent historians besides Fraser. Hanway who had the advantage of being at Nadir Shah's court and so had the best opportunity of knowing the facts relating to that king, alludes, in

his book on the Revolutions in Persia, in more places than one, to the complicity of Nizam-ul-mulk in the invasion of Nadir Shah. S. Muhammad Latif the well-known Panjab historian, who had, on the other hand, great facilities for knowing the facts from the Delhi point of view, writes as follows, referring to the time when Nadir Shah was at Kandahar: "About the same time letters were received by the Shah from Nizām-ul-mulk and Saádat Khan the disaffected Omerahs of the Moghal Court inviting him to march to India, extirpate the family of Tynúr and assume the reins of Government himself."¹

The weight of authority would appear to be in favour of the allegation and any doubt on the matter is removed by the independent authority of the ballad. The whole poem is full of references to the infidelity of Nizam-ul-mulk. Indeed it begins and ends with it. In the very first section the poet alludes to the trickery of ministers at the courts of kings. He then gives the cause of Nizam-ul-mulk's jealousy and mentions how the Turanians wrote a letter to Nadir Shah. Then in the mythical discourses of Kal and Narad which I will deal with presently, the fact is repeatedly brought out and, in the subsequent sections the correspondence between Nizam-ul-mulk and Nadir Shah is described in great detail. Our author seems to have no doubt whatsoever on the question and may be taken as setting the controversy at rest. This was of course only one of the contributory causes. The principal causes which led to the invasion were the rapid decline and disintegration of the Mughal power, the inability of the Emperor to exercise an effective control over the outlying provinces of Ghazni and Kabul, and the ambition of Nadir Shah, whose star was in the ascendant, to enrich his country at India's expense.

Sections VI to XII are taken up by discourses of Kal and Narad, two mythical personages. I will mention briefly what character the poet has assigned to Kal and Narad. Kal gives her parentage in verse 130 saying she is "Dhī Khākāldi, Hoṇī dī jāī," daughter of Khākāl born of Hoṇī. Kāla in Sanskrit means time and also death. In Hindu mythology Kāl is one of the names of the God of death. Khākāl is a corruption of Kākāl and signifies the great God of death. Hōṇī is the Goddess of bad luck and represents the inevitable. Kal therefore, according to the genealogy put by the poet in her own mouth, is a combination of the angels of death and retribution.

Nārada, on the other hand, is a sage repeatedly mentioned in the epics. He is supposed to be the mind of Vishnu and, like the mind which is restless and is constantly putting the *indriyas* into prohibited tracks, he is always found busy in misleading people without actually telling a lie. He is said to have caused ill-feeling between Indra and Sri Krishna over the *kalpa vriksha*. It was he who persuaded Vishnu on the one hand to become incarnate for the purpose of ending the atrocities of Kansa, and on the other warned Kansa that one of the offspring of his sister would be the cause of his overthrow and death. There are numerous other instances of this sort. Indeed a man who is known to be in the habit of going out of his way to spoil other people's shows is, among the Hindus, called a "Narad Muni" to this day. The union of Narad and Kal as husband and wife is however

¹ History of the Punjab, p. 199.

of the author's own creation and does not occur anywhere in the Hindu books, so far as I am aware. The parts assigned to the two, in the ballad, are these:—Kal appears before Muhammad Shah, warns him of the infidelity of his courtiers and prophesies what is going to happen, but gets no satisfaction out of him. She and Narad then fall out, evidently because he did not like her errand of creating trouble. She therefore goes and appears before Nadir Shah, apprises him of all the weaknesses of the Mughal administration in India and coaxing him to revenge—by citing the havoc which their ancestor Taimur played with his capital Ispahan—succeeds in inducing him to invade India. Narad then appears before Muhammad Shah and informs him of the onslaught of Nadir Shah.

It may be asked why fiction finds a place in this otherwise historical work. So far as I can see the author wanted to display his knowledge of detail and apparently needed a pretext for bringing it in. I have considered it necessary to leave the ballad intact, and not to omit these dialogues, as they contain some connecting links and much valuable information both as regards historical events and in respect of social conditions prevailing in the society of which the author happened to be a member. By way of instances of the former, I might quote verse 120 which obviously refers to the passing of the kingdom of Delhi from the Ghoris to the Slave kings, verses 136 to 139 describing the edicts of Taimur, verse 225 showing the importance of the Durrani clan, verse 226 pointing to the concentration of troops at Kandahar, and verses 209 to 219 in which Kal incites Nadir Shah's Wazir, Baki Khan, against the house of Taimur in India. As regards the latter the whole poem displays a curious mixture of Hindu and Muhammadan ideas, which is a mark of the transition stage, from the Hindu to the Muhammadan culture, in the Western Panjab. For instance in the first section, the poet begins by praising God, the Prophet and the Quran; but in verse 44 of Section V he talks of the death of Dahsar (Rawan) and the burning of Lanka, and quotes in several places from the Ramayana. Similarly in the discourses of Kal and Narad, the latter mentions the bloodshed at the invasion of Lanka by Ram and Lakhshman, on the one hand, and the massacre at Ispahan by Taimur on the other. He puts into the mouth of Kal how the martyrs are true Muslims, how the prophets join in their funeral prayers, how the houris bring their after-death garments and how they approach the Rasūl in paradise; while Narad likens Kal to Supnakhā in going to Nadir Shah to have her nose cut. The dialogue between Kal and Narad is interesting as depicting with infinite detail the village family life. Kal is represented as a wife discontented with her husband who is unable to earn enough to satisfy her tastes, in this case her insatiable desire for the life blood of warriors fighting in the battlefield; while Narad is depicted as a husband who cannot stand the extravagance of a spendthrift wife with a spoilt taste.

In verses 136-139 Narad describes the edicts of Taimur thus:—

“Otthe kyā tākat hē mihriā, nakk natthā pāwan
 Otthe mardā Kabzē Kāṭhdē, sir Kullah hādāvan
 Ghoreā de mūh nahriā nā, sākhat pāwan
 Oh hun tāi hukm Tēmūr dē, barjā leāwan.”

These then are the four edicts referred to in Section III, viz. (1) that the women shall not wear the nose-ring (which in India is a sign of wedlock), (2) that the men shall have wooden hilts to their swords, (3) that they shall wear caps and no turbans, and (4) that they shall ride their horses bare-back.

I have searched high and low in Persian histories for a mention of these edicts of Taimur, but have not come across them. That the Kazalbashes or the typical Persian soldiers wore red caps is well known, and the very small Persian turban may be a remnant of the prohibition to wear turbans. It is also a fact that prohibition to ride in state and to wear a turban was, with the trans-frontier people, a sign of contempt which they chose to impose on tribes or classes subjugated by them, as is evidenced by the fact that the Biluch conquerors of the South Western Panjab did not allow the Kirars either to wear turbans or to ride horses. Indeed, till the other day, the Hindu shopkeeper or Kirar of the Muzaffargarh, Dera Ghazi Khan and Multan districts wore a cap as his head-dress and always rode a donkey and never a horse. The wooden hilt would be a military safeguard. But if future historical research should show that the edicts mentioned in the ballad were actually imposed by Taimur on the Persians, it would be significant, with reference to the first edict, that, till as late as the fourteenth century, the Hindu custom of wearing the nose-ring as a sign of wedlock existed among the Persians, a fact which might be of considerable historical importance.

Section XII relating to the appearance of Narad before Muhammad Shah should really have come a little later, but I have placed it here so that the whole mythical portion should appear together.

In his address to Kal, Wazir Baki Khan said that the Durranis were an important tribe. In Section XIII, the ballad narrates how the Durranis on hearing of Nadir Shah's expedition felt anxious of the risks they would have to run and how they approached Nadir Shah, offering to clear the way to Delhi, if he would pay up the arrears of their salaries, double the rates for future and permit them to plunder and capture slaves in India. It appears that the army was paid half yearly and that the pay often remained in arrears for several half years. The association of the Durranis with the expedition is corroborated by history.

Section XIV gives a brief description of Nadir Shah's pomp and power and his determination to conquer Delhi. Having previously ordered a concentration of troops at Kandahar, Nadir Shah now set out from Ispahan. Section XV describes this and gives a list of the tribes which accompanied him. They were Nasranis, Māzūfis, Jews, Bedouins, Georgians, Khārjis, Marwanis, Kazalbashes, Uzbeg Mughals with flat noses and huge heads, who practised polyandry. The list is quite correct. Other historians also mention these tribes as forming part of Nadir Shah's army.

In Section XVI the author gives the contents of the letter written by Nizam-ul-mulk to Nadir Shah, inviting him to invade India, with prospects of immense booty. The purport of this letter and what occurs in the next section is borne out almost literally by the account given by Fraser on pages 129 to 132 of his History of Nadir Shah and is supported by Muhammad Latif.

Section XVII contains a discourse between Nadir Shah and Wazir Baki Khan as to the possibility of fraud. The Wazir warns him that it would not be safe to undertake a journey of 950 *kos*, all through foreign territory, without previously obtaining reliable information through an ambassador.

Section XVIII deals with the despatch of an ambassador and the letter sent through him. This ambassador according to the author was Shahbaz Khan. The historians mention the following ambassadors:—

(1) Ali Mardan Khan sent from the capital of Persia to secure the assistance of the Emperor of Delhi in driving out the refugees, who returned with cordial assurances of help.

(2) Muhammad Ali Khan who was sent when no action appeared to have been taken and who was killed in the way; and

(3) Muhammad Khan who was sent when the refugees, after the sack of Kandahar, flocked to Ghazni and Kabul under the shelter of the Emperor of Delhi.

Muhammad Khan spent a whole year at Delhi without being able to get an answer.

No historian mentions the name of a fourth ambassador, but I find in the *Tārīkh-i-Nādiri* written by Nadir Shah's Mir Munshi, Mirza Mehdi, that when Muhammad Khan wrote, after a year's detention at Delhi, complaining that he could not get a reply, Nadir Shah got exasperated and sent an ultimatum through another messenger. This fourth messenger probably was Shahbaz Khan, the king's own nephew, as the errand of this ambassador, particularly that of supplying reliable information, was of the utmost importance. The message is interesting. Nadir Shah sends a rosary, a sword, a dagger, and an embroidered cap set with jewels. In Section XIX, besides delivering to Muhammad Shah the letter which announces Nadir Shah's intention to invade India from Kandahar via Kabul, the ambassador explains the meaning of the gifts brought by him. Muhammad Shah is asked either to take up the sword which becomes a king or to put the rosary around his neck, wear the cap and clear out as a fakir. Muhammad Shah, as would be expected, took great offence at this impertinence and threatened to sack Kandahar, Māshhad and Herat and plunder Ispahan, as was done by his ancestor Taimur. These details may be the poet's own creation, but the ideas are familiar to those who have read Persian historical poems.

Section XX deals with the ambassador's private negotiations with Nizam-ul-mulk and Section XXI contains the ambassador's encouraging report to Nadir Shah, describing the state of affairs at the court and the features of the country which he would have to traverse. In Section XXII a short account of the march from Kandahar to Attock is given. Ghazni and Kabul were plundered and the contingents at Peshawar and Jalalabad were massacred. Nasir Khan and his followers are said to have surrendered and Nasir Khan is stated to have been taken into service by Nadir Shah. This is all corroborated by history. Nasir Khan was subadar at Kabul and fled before the arrival of Nadir Shah. He put up a fight at the Khaiber Pass, but was overpowered as Sarwar Khan Barakzai showed Nadir Shah the way by which Taimur had crossed the hills and enabled him to take Nasir Khan in the rear. He consequently

surrendered and went over to the invader's side. He then became one of Nadir Shah's generals. Our poet therefore says of Nasir Khan and his followers: "Firkē hoēnē peshvā chagattē dā nimak vājākē"—"They turned round and became leaders, throwing to the winds the salt of the Chughatta." The ballad mentions Kaka Khan Kakshal as having put up a plucky fight and having sacrificed himself. This is a detail which is not noticed in any of the histories I have consulted, unless Kaka Khan is another name for Sherdil Khan (Sherzih Khan as Fraser calls him), governor of Kabul, who with his two sons closed the gates of Kabul, offered a stubborn resistance and met with a cruel fate by treachery.

Section XXIII mentions the state of confusion in India on the arrival of Nadir Shah at Attock, and Section XXIV describes the march from Attock to Jhelum and the rout of the Khattars, the Ghebas and the Gakkhars. In the march from Jhelum to Gujrat which is described in Section XXV, the author praises the bravery of the Gondal Rajputs headed by Dillo and Saido, who drove the army beyond their boundary. The Gondals are a strong tribe who reside in a tract of country extending from the Shahpur to the Gujrat district. They were evidently some distance out of Nadir Shah's way and must have had an engagement with his right flank.

Section XXVI deals with the march of the advance guard from Gujrat, past Wazirabad, and the uncommonly stubborn fight of the contingent under Mirza Kalandar Beg, who was the Governor of Lahore's assistant in the Trans-Ravi tract. But after the day's fight the Mirza found himself unequal to the task of maintaining his ground and sent a message to the Nawab of Lahore for assistance. This is related in Section XXVII. The infidelity of Mansur Ali Nizam-ul-mulk is again referred to here. The resistance of M. Kalandar Beg (mentioned by Muhammad Latif as Kalandar Khan) is borne out by history. He evidently succeeded in shattering the van of the army so that a fresh advance had to be made from Gujrat under Mirza Nur Beg, a Marwani chief, as stated in Section XXVIII. They plundered Eminabad and the scouts reached Talwandi north-west of Shahdera, while the main guard encamped at Shahdera. The sack of Eminabad is mentioned by Fraser and Muhammad Latif although according to them the place was reduced by Amir Khan, one of Nasir Khan's dependents. Section XXIX shows that Khoja Yakub, one of the Nawab of Lahore's generals, marched out of Lahore with 1000 horse to dispute the passage of the Ravi. Muhammad Latif however says that the Nawab himself marched out 10 kos at the head of 10,000 horse but that he beat a hasty retreat. Yakub was evidently the general who offered some resistance at the Ravi ferry (Section XXIX). Meanwhile Nawab Zakaria Khan mentioned by our poet as Khan Bahadur, which was one of his titles, sent word to Batala saying how Kalandar Beg and Yakub Khan had fought. The Batala contingent arrived headed by Aziz Khan. There was a furious engagement on the Ravi in which the invading army was put to confusion (Section XXXI). The presence of Nadir Shah himself at the ferry was needed to enable his army to cross the river. Muhammad Latif refers to the battle of Lahore and there seems to be no reason to doubt the plucky fight of Yakub Khan and of the Batala contingent.

Section XXXII relates to the preparation of the Nawab to oppose Nadir Shah,

the Nawab's cowardice and his surrender. The author's comments on his action are contained in verses 532-536.

"Khusrē baddhi pagri ki mard sadāe." "How can a eunuch who has tied a turban be called a man."

History tells us that the Nawab saved the city of Lahore from the horrors of massacre and spoliation by offering twenty lakhs of rupees. He was confirmed by Nadir Shah as Governor of Lahore.

In Section XXXIII Malika Zamani tries to cheer up the nobles in order to prepare them for battle. She warns the Turanians not to play false. Muhammad Shah similarly urges them but, as the poet says:—"Amīn rahe kalāwē meonō chīr nīklē-kachhā." "The Amirs failed to come within his embrace and slipped through his armpits." He again says, "The Turanians pledged their word and inspired confidence; by telling lies and by misrepresentations they induced the king to lead out his army. They spread the net of trickery, faithlessness and fraud. They felt no shame." Historians have wondered why the departure of the Emperor was delayed a considerable time by Khan Dauran after the order to march had been given. The above may explain the hesitation of Khan Dauran, who was the only real well-wisher of the king, to march out until he had secured himself against treachery.

Section XXXIV contains a description of the advance of Muhammad Shah to Karnal with the usual oriental display. Here again Khan Dauran is represented as explaining to the soldiers the serious plot which had culminated in the invasion of Nadir Shah.

Section XXXV describes the contingent of Rajputana Chiefs. The author's knowledge of Rajputana seems to be scanty as he mentions only Umethi, Mārwar and Bundi as leading the army. But he has not failed to notice the characteristic feature of the Rajputana retinues, viz. the prancing of horses which is prominent to this day in all ceremonial processions. He also alludes to the Rajputana soldiers being addicted to the use of opium. "Oh pāpā fīmā tākdē kēfi jhūṭālāvaṇ." "The riders who ate half a pound of opium each, every day, galloped their horses." It is well known that opium is not only eaten freely in Rajputana but is offered by way of hospitality to every visitor in the same way as a *pan* or a cigarette is offered elsewhere, and if a typical Rajput happens to go round to pay a call at half a dozen places, he has swallowed half a dozen 4-grain pills by the time he comes home.

Nizam-ul-mulk appears to have written another letter to Nadir Shah when the two opposing armies were encamped facing each other. (See Section XXXVI.) He gave him the disposition of the Indian forces and advised him to attack Khan Dauran's rear. It is significant that, according to Fraser (page 156), the attack commenced between Nadir Shah's camp and Khan Dauran's rear. The author gives no details of the march from Lahore to Karnal, which is natural, as the tract was outside the ordinary beat of a bard of the Shahpur *bār* or of a Haral poet of that locality.

Section XXXVII deals with a small but interesting incident. The author relates the onslaught of Sanyasis headed by Bhopat Nath on the army of Nadir Shah, who had called them names. The term *sanyāsi* is used in vulgar parlance for all

Hindu ascetics of whatsoever order, but the name Bhopat Nath shows that the monks in question were Kanpata Jogis. Moreover the author refers to them as meat-eaters and it is only Kanpata Jogis who eat meat. Infuriated at the slight, Bhopat Nath is said to have collected his following, all celibates who had no one to mourn their loss, and fallen on the enemy with desperation. They retired after killing 5,084 Georgians (Gurzis), which is obviously an exaggeration. The poet mentions this incident as the first battle and would seem to imply that the incident took place at or about Karnal immediately before the encounter of the two armies. Now, there is an important institution of Kanpata Jogis at Bohar in the Rohtak district not far from Karnal. In para. 55 of the Gazetteer of the Rohtak district, the monastery at Bohar is said to have been founded by Mast Nath in Sambat 1788, but on page 64 of the same book the period for which he presided at the institution is put down as Sambat 1864 to 1894 or A.D. 1807 to 1837, which is probably correct. The present line of Mahants therefore started after Nadir Shah's invasion. But it is said in the same Gazetteer that there are traces of a much older foundation on the site which tradition connects with the time of Guru Gorakh Nath himself. Moreover, the Nath Jogis of Rohtak are said to have given trouble, as an armed body, as far back as the time of Aurangzeb. I therefore venture to think that the raid described in the ballad was made by the Kanpata Jogis of Rohtak. I have not been able to make a thorough enquiry on the subject, but I trust that efforts to investigate the point may bring to light other facts corroborative of the ballad.

This section also shows the mixture of Hindu and Muhammadan ideas in verse 625, where the author puts in the mouth of Bhopat Nath, a Jogi, "Assā bhī fakar kadim dē vāg shāh mirā." "We are also hermits of old like Shah Miran (a Muhammadan Saint)."

Section XXXVIII deals with the battle of Karnal. After giving a vivid and impressive description of the general conditions on the battlefield and mentioning how Khan Dauran rallied his forces, the author enters into details of the exploits of individual warriors. He begins with a charge by Muzaffar, working great execution, which frightened even Kal and Narad and puzzled the angel of death. He killed Katal Kuli, a general commanding 50,000, and Shah Tawacha, commanding 7,000, and was killed in turn by Shah Ghazali. Akal a soldier killed two officers, Shah Ghazali and Aziz Khan Kandahari. Akal was killed by Badar Beg Marwani, a general who had, according to the author, led the second advance from Gujrat. Then Mirza Nur Beg, a Persian Mughal of the Indian Army, came and killed Badar Beg. He and Afzal Kuli fought like demons, but apparently the conflict ended in a draw.

The Kasur contingent which formed part of Khan Dauran's following, fought well and turned Nadir Shah back. Nizam-ul-mulk and Kamar Din fretted over its success. The battle was resumed and Shahdad Khan (which may mean Shahdad Khan or Sa'adat Khan) was stopped by Karāk Beg who was killed by Mirza Sayad Gullu. Khan Dauran is then said to have charged at Nadir Shah and struck him seven blows with his sword, but without effect. Nadir Shah fired his gun of foreign make and laid Khan Dauran low.

This, according to the author, ended the battle, as the biggest piece on the chess-board had been taken. Nizam-ul-mulk and Kamar Din rejoiced.

The characters mentioned in this section are not mythical. Fraser says (page 156) that when news was brought that Sa'adat Khan's attendants had been attacked and his baggage plundered in the rear of Khan Dauran's camp, he left the Darbar and went to his people's assistance. Khan Dauran and his two sons and the rest of his troops joined in the fray; so did Muzaffar (brother of Khan Dauran), Sayad Hussain Ali Khan, Khan Zaman Khan, Mir Gullu, Shahdad Khan, Asleh Ali Khan, and others; in all twenty-two Umerahs and General officers, each with a body of his own men. Some of these names occur in the author's account and we know that Muzaffar was killed in this battle, Sa'adat Khan was taken prisoner and Khan Dauran was mortally wounded. Some of the names of Nadir Shah's generals are also found in the historical books.

The single combat between Khan Dauran and Nadir Shah may be a myth invented by the poet to embellish the end of the story. But, considering that Nadir Shah was personally leading the attack, the incident would not be an impossibility. As to the intensity of the fighting, history tells us that 17,000 soldiers of the Delhi army were killed on the field while Nadir Shah lost only 400 killed and 700 wounded. The Delhi army also lost some 15,000 men in the marauding excursions of Nadir Shah's army. According to a letter from Nadir Shah to his son Riza Kuli 20,000 Indians were killed on the battlefield and more taken prisoners.

Here ends the story related in the ballad, with the remark that the whole of India shook with terror of Nadir Shah, which is only too true as he has been called by historians "the terror of Asia," and the adjective Nadir Shahi is used even now to signify "absolutely autocratic." It is curious that the ballad should not relate the most important event of the invasion, viz. the sack of Delhi. A possible explanation is that the ballad was composed during the interval between the defeat of Muhammad Shah at Karnal on the 14th of February, 1739, and the massacre at Delhi on the 11th of March, 1739.

But an account of Nadir Shah's invasion would be incomplete without a mention, howsoever brief, of what followed on the battle of Karnal.

No more fighting took place after the defeat of the 13th February, 1739. Muhammad Shah surrendered and he resigned his crown. Nadir Shah promised to restore the kingdom to him on payment of an indemnity of 25 crores of rupees. Muhammad Shah remained like a prisoner in Nadir Shah's camp and marched with him to Delhi where Nadir Shah was practically the Emperor. The *Khutbah* was read in his name on the 'Id, and he treated the population with kindness and moderation. All went well till an unfortunate incident compelled Nadir Shah, in the words of Muhammad Latif, "to taint his victory with those horrid deeds of bloodshed and spoliation which have associated his name with ideas of terror and dread." (p. 204.)

A quarrel arose over a Persian soldier forcibly seizing some pigeons which were exposed for sale in the market. A mob collected and killed the soldiers. Some one spread the rumour that Nadir Shah was dead. This encouraged the mob and they

cut up every soldier they could find, thus killing 3,000 of the Kazalbashes posted in the town. This happened at night. Nadir Shah was informed but refused to take action. In the morning he rode out. He sent a strong party to suppress the mob which was getting bolder. He repaired to the mosque of Roshan-ud-daulah where some one fired a shot at Nadir Shah from the neighbouring terrace. The shot missed Nadir Shah but killed one of the officers in immediate attendance. This infuriated the Shah and made him give way to his passion. He ordered a general massacre and in an instant his soldiers began to kill and plunder. I will not go into details but will only mention that some 150,000 persons were killed. The massacre did not stop till Muhammad Shah went and begged Nadir Shah to spare his people. The request was granted, and the order to cease the bloodshed was promptly obeyed. Nadir Shah collected as much of the plunder as he could.

He spent 58 days at Delhi and returned after having recovered the promised indemnity. Before his departure, he placed the crown on Muhammad Shah's head and gave him some advice which, according to Fraser (page 207), included the following remarks: "You are more particularly to beware of Nizam-ul-mulk whom, by his conduct, I find to be full of cunning and self-interested and more ambitious than becomes a subject." This remark would appear to prove beyond doubt the complicity of Nizam-ul-mulk in Nadir Shah's invasion which the ballad brings out so clearly and forcibly.

Fraser estimates the loss which the Emperor and the people sustained within and outside Delhi between the battle of Karnal and Nadir Shah's departure from Delhi (exclusive of loss of buildings) at one *arab* or a hundred crores of rupees. This booty included the famous Koh-i-Nūr diamond and the Peacock throne. Nadir Shah was so encumbered with this treasure and with what he had collected at Lahore and other places, that when, on his way back, he was harassed, near Peshawar, by some of the frontier tribes, Afghans and Indians, owing to unavoidable delay in crossing the Indus, he readily conciliated them by a payment of ten lakhs of rupees. Towards the end of his career, Nadir Shah's brain got affected. He became an absolute autocrat and used to have people put to death or to have their eyes pulled out on the slightest excuse. In a fit of rage he had the eyes of his son Raza Kuli torn out. His people got tired of him and his nephew Ali Kuli Khan, who aspired to the throne, designed to put an end to his life. Nadir Shah was encamped near Mashhad. Seventy of his body-guard, who had conspired with Ali Kuli Khan, arranged to assassinate him, but only thirteen went on the errand and, forcing their way into his tent, put him to death. Thus fell, according to Latif,¹ "Nadir Shah, the terror of Asia, the pride and deliverer of his country, the restorer of their freedom and the conqueror of India who, from an humble position in life, raised himself to a dignity which few monarchs have attained by birth." It is sad that a person so great should have met with so ignominious an end.

¹ History of the Punjab, p. 210.

Ballad on Nadir Shah's Invasion.

I. PRAISE OF GOD, AND STATE OF AFFAIRS IN THE 12TH CENTURY HIJRI.

- | | |
|---|---|
| 1. 'Sahi sachch khudāwād
bādshāh, sachche kamm
tere Subahānā. | Right and true art thou, O Lord God, true are thy
works O Subahān. |
| 2. Sar par ūā hōsiā, jehri
likhiē vichch Qurānā. | That alone will come upon a man's head, which is
written in the Quran. |
| 3. Sadi Nabi di bārhawī, vadde
fikir paē khandānā. | In the 12th Century of the Prophet, great anxieties
befell the (respectable) families. |
| 4. Zulm zimī te varteā, kūṛ
makar bahānā. | Oppression prevailed on earth, falsehood, deceit and
stratagem. |
| 5. Bhāji daghē farēb di, vichch
phiri jahānā. | The chaos of deceit and cheating spread over the
world. |
| 6. Musāhab te chōr kachahriā,
lā bahiṇ diwānā. | Servants and thieves held courts, sitting in the audi-
ence halls. |
| 7. Ral siflē karaṇ majālasā, ²
adl insāf geā Sultānā. | Black-guards held councils, the justice of the kings
disappeared. |
| 8. Charh ghorē drōṛan ājari,
jaleb ṭuraṇ asil jawānā. | Shepherds raced horses, the noble youths walked on
foot. |
| 9. Chhaṭṭā pavaṇ arākiā,
kharkē āṇ khalē mēdānā. | Bags were loaded on Arab horses, donkeys appeared
at the race-course. |
| 10. Mardā thī geā zābtā, ghālab
peā zanānā. | Men lost their prestige, women got the upper hand. |
| 11. Amīrā nazrā baddhiā, ³ kar
(leōnē) jamā khazānā. | The nobles usurped the rulers' dues, and collected
treasure. |
| 12. Charh nōkur kōhdē bād-
shāh, ulṭ peā zamānā. | Slaves rose and killed the king, the times took a
subversive turn. |
| 13. Par rabbā rakkh nigāh
vichch, pāk parwardigār
Rahmānā. | But O God, keep an eye on (me), O pure Preserver,
the Merciful! |

¹ For system of transliteration see page 66.

² Another version is *Vizāriā*, which would mean "Black-guards acted as ministers."

³ Another version is *Nazrā Pheriā* = "became disaffected."

II. HISTORY OF DELHI.

14. Awwal Dilli Turā,¹ kar āpñī
pāi.
15. Phēr lei Chuhāṇā, āg khush
kar lāi.
16. Phēr lei sī Goriā, kōi
muddat vasāi.
17. Phēr lei Paṭhāṇā āṇkē,
ghar chōthē āi.
18. Phēr lei (Bābar keā) Cha-
gatteā, ghatt sār kuṭāi.
19. Dilli hāēsiāriē, rat dharī
lawāi.
20. Tū mās khāē rajj puttarā,
jiū bakar kasāi.
21. Tū lakkh lahāiā nē khūhñiā,
mehr mūl na āi.
22. Tēnī niviā jimiā Sāriā, jag
phiri duhāi.
23. Ikk mārē ik sir dharē, nit
husan sawāi.
24. Dilli tō shahzādeā, khēh
hūdi āi.

Delhi was originally founded by the *Turs* as their
own.
Then the Chohans took it, and enjoyed it to their
benefit.
It was then taken by the Ghoris and kept for some
time.
The Pathans then came and took it, and it thus came
to the fourth house.
It was then taken by the Chughattas of Baber's house,
who thoroughly subjugated it.
O hard-hearted (cruel) Delhi, thou paintest the parting
of thy hair with blood.
Thou eatest the flesh of thy sons to thy heart's con-
tent, like a butcher who slaughters goats.
Thou hast had innumerable hosts slaughtered (but)
never felt any compunction.
To thee bowed all lands. Thy fame reached far and
wide.
Thou killest one and exaltest another in thy ever-
flourishing beauty.
Over Delhi the princes have always fallen out (with
each other).

III. TAIMUR'S STORY.

25. Tē charhē Chughattā bād-
shāh, Tēmūr, jū, dhaṇā.
26. Tē ghōrā sādhe satt lakh,
saṇē Mughal Paṭhāṇā.
27. Jitni jimī pahār di, nā rihā
adāṇā.
28. Kōṭā nū āwan tharārāt,
chhadḍ gaē ṭikāṇā.
29. Vāj Sipāhā luṭṭiyā, kar man
dā bhaṇā.

The Chughatta king Taimur marched (at the head of
an army countless) as grains of rice.
Consisting of 7½ lakhs of horses, including the Mughals
and the Pathans.
Throughout the hilly regions, there remained no
obstacle.
The forts trembled and the occupants abandoned
their positions.
He went and plundered Sipahan (Ispahan) to his
heart's content.

¹ Tūrs, also known as Tuars or Tomars, were Rajputs.

30. Pakkaṛ kuṭṭhē lakh ādmī,
lêh péiā ghāṇā. He caught and slaughtered lakhs of men, as if throw-
ing oil-seeds into an oil-press.
31. Kar siriā dē dam-damē,
chaṛh khāē khāṇā. Seated on the battlement of fallen heads, he had his
meal.
32. Īnā chār manākē, ghar āyā
jarwāṇā. Having dictated four terms, the hero (king) returned
home.

IV. THE SAYYAD KING-MAKERS.

33. Aggē nazar vadhāi sī
sēiyadā, lê mulak Ināmī. Formerly the Sayyads had assumed power after having
received a large territory in reward.
34. Onhā kuṭṭhā sī Faluk Shēr
nū, kar zulm tamāmī. They assassinated Farrukh Siyar with great cruelty.
35. Ō apṇā kitā lê mōē, mār
laē hisānī. They were punished by their own sins, and were killed
without difficulty.
36. Jinn farishtē tē ādmī, kul-i-
ākhaṇ āmī. The genii, angels and men all said Amen!

V. CAUSE OF NIZAM-UL-MULK'S JEALOUSY.

37. Majākḥ Nizāmalmulk nū
Khān Dōrā lāē. Khan Dauran sought to ridicule Nizam-ul-mulk (by
addressing the king thus):—
38. Kiblā! būḍhā bādar dakkh-
nī, muzrē kō āē. My Lord! the old monkey of Deccan has come to do¹
his homage.
39. Ō sarā kachēhrī bādashāh,
kar ṭōk hasāē. His pointed remark made the king laugh in court.
40. Nizāmal suṇēā kannī āpṇī,
dukh dīl vichch lāē. Nizam-ul-mulk heard this with his own ears and took
it to heart.
41. Unnhū tīr kelejē varamdā,
dihō rāt handāē. The arrow pierced him through the heart, and con-
sumed him day and night.
42. Bhā laggī sī dāuṇō, angeār
khīḍāē. The strings of the charpoy having caught fire, live
coals were scattered all over.
43. Kar mansūbā sārdā, udmād
uṭhāē. Having hatched a deep plot, he created confusion.
44. Ghar de bhēt nāl dah sar
māreā, saṛ Lēkā jāē. The treachery of one of his house led to the fall of
the ten-headed (Rawana) and the burning of Lanka
(Ceylon).
45. Ērāniā te Turāinā mansūbē
hallē. The Iranis² (Persians) and Turanis³ (Turani-
ans) began to conspire (against each other).

¹ This is a pun. Mujra also means dancing. This is a fling at the flowing garments of Deccan, which Nizam-ul-mulk wore when he appeared before the king on return from Deccan, and the South Indian etiquette of doing homage to the Royalty.

² Khan Dauran was a Persian.

³ Nizam-ul-mulk was a Turanian.

46. Ambirā āpo āpnē chā sūbē
mallē. The Amirs (nobility) usurped their respective Provinces.
47. Kar māt bahāyōnē bādshālī
nū, hatth hukm na challē. They checkmated the king, and made him and his orders powerless.
48. Khalk nimāni luṭṭiyē, hakk
pavē na pallē. The helpless subjects were ruined, as they received no justice.
49. Par hukm razā Khudā di,
kōi kīkur na jhallē. But how can any one do otherwise than submit to God's will.

VI. INFIDELITY OF TURANI WAZIRS.

50. Nā kitī nīnk halālī, zūf
Turāniā. The Turanis did not act loyally: fie on them.
51. Onhā ghar Chagattē de
bālī, ātish āṇke. They struck fire in the house of the Chughatta.
52. Unhā rukkā likh jawālī,
bhejēā Nazar Shāh. They wrote an urgent letter and sent (it) to Nadir Shah.
53. Mēdān Dilli dā khālī, bōdā
bādshāh. (Saying) "The coast of Delhi is clear, and the king a nonentity.
54. Edhī kāi na challē chālī,
rasam Chagatteā. None of his ways is that of the Chughattas.
55. Edhī rēiyat nā sukhālī,
kūkē rāt din. His subjects have no peace and complain day and night.
56. Tū chaṛhkē dē vikhālī,
takht mubārakō. Ride thou from thy blessed throne and show thy face.
57. Par ghinn khazānē māli,
jinni chāhnē. Then take away from the treasury as much wealth as thou likest.
58. Burā kita Turāniā, muṛ
dujji vārī. Evil did the Turanis again a second time.
59. Unhā dastār mubārak, āpuī
chā āp utārī. They took off their respected turban themselves.
60. Adab guvāyā nōkarā, kar
be itbārī. The servants threw their respect to the winds by betraying the confidence reposed in them.
61. Dāṛhī kise na vēchiā, hatth
dē bapārī. No one has ever sold his beard, handing it over to a trader.
62. Unhā sadd ke ādā Nazar-
shāh, dē rishwat bhārī. They invited Nadir Shah having offered (him) a heavy bribe.
63. Us kāli dhōli pakaṛ kē, hikk
agge mārī. The latter impressed (without distinction) all black and white and embraced them (as members of his army).

64. Kehr haranjū khāhdeā,
laṛdē vich barī. Like the horned deer throwing up earth with their
horns when they fight in the Bar (Jungle).
65. Chukk leiā sab siddatā,
chhuṭkāwā kārī. He took up all the old grudges and started with a ven-
geance (lit. who should prevent the catastrophe).

VII. KAL'S APPEARANCE BEFORE MUHAMMAD SHAH.

66. Baṇ Dilli Muhammad Shah
agge, Kal arzā kardī. Assuming the form of Delhi, Kal¹ appeared before
Muhammad Shah and submitted as follows:--
67. Kiblā mẽ bhī bājh khudā
dē, hōr kisē na ḍardī. Your worship, I too fear none but God.
68. Nā mēnū rījh ulād dī, nā
vassō ghardī. I have no ambition of progeny nor of household life.
69. Nā mēnū talab sīgārdī, nā
tālab zardī. I am not fond of decoration nor crave for gold.
70. Nā mēnū dhupp na chhā
hē, nā garmī sardī. I am not affected by sun or shade nor by heat or cold.
71. Jehrā sabh tō ōkrā, mẽ
khāwād kardī. Whoever is the most powerful, him I wed as my hus-
band.
72. Mẽ rahā sīgārī rāt diṇ,
mahēli nar dī. I remain adorned day and night as the queen of the
brave.
73. Mẽ siriā dē hār hāḍāvadi,
ratt māgā bhardī. I wear necklaces of skulls, and decorate the parting of
my hair with blood.
74. Mẽ mās khāwā rajj puttarā,
saṇ gōshat charbī. I eat the flesh of my sons—muscles, fat and all.
75. Jitnē tērē omrā, vichch ikk
na dardī. Of all your noblemen not one is your well-wisher.
76. Sar par joṛā mārīē, jug
phuṭte nardī. The² united piece (in chausar) is bound to strike (take)
the single piece as soon as a combination has broken
up.
77. Tū chhaḍḍ dē mān jahāndā,
rakh talab safardī. Give thou up the pride of the world and prepare for
travel.
78. Sar par ikk diṇ āosī, oh rāt
kabar dī. That one day will befall you—that night in the grave.
79. Tērē pichchē bādshāh, mẽ
hōr nahī vardī. After thee, O King, I will not marry another.
80. Par tuddhē pichhē bādshāh,
pē jāṇie gardī. But after thee, O King! will arise confusion.

¹ Kal is the personification of goddess of death.² The allusion here is to the game of *Chausar*.

VIII. DISCUSSION OF KAL AND NARAD.

81. Kal tē Nārad āp vichch, hō
khalē ajōrē. Kal and Narad fall out with each other.
82. Bēh laṛdē āmhōsāmhāṇē,
saṭṭaṇ tarphōrē. They sit opposite each other quarrelling (and) uttering calumnies.
83. Kal māgē kujh khāṇ nū,
Nārad mūh morē. Kal wants something to eat, Narad turns his face (has nothing to give).
84. Nārad dē na sakkē khaṭṭiā,
Kal khādhā lōrē. Narad has no earnings to bring home, Kal seeks food.
85. Khāṇō piṇō te pēhnaṇō,
mard buḍḍhī nū hōrē. The husband reprimands the wife for (extravagance in) eating, drinking and dress.
86. Sar par jhuggā ujaṛē, diṇ
wassē thōrē. (Because) a home is ruined (thus) and can last only a short time.
87. Kadē na hūḍē ujjalē, jehrē
maṭṭī boṛē. Such (clothes) can never be washed clean as have been steeped in pots full of colour.
88. Kal lōrē kujh gūdeā, Nārad
hadrōrē. Kal wants to knit something, Narad undoes it.
89. Mēnū bahōt janāniā, tēnū
mard na thōrē. I can get many a wife (says he) and for thee there is no lack of husbands.
90. Par tērē mērē juṭṭ nū, vidh
mātā torē. But may the Goddess of fate break our union.
91. Kal āhḍī vē Nāradā, tū
kehṛī chāī. Kal says, O Narad ! what are you up to ?
92. Te tērē mērē juṭṭ vichch,
kyū peī judāī. And why has discord marred our union ?
93. Tū dārū dē vichch lōṛnē,
kujh agg chhapāī. Thou wishest to conceal fire in gunpowder.
94. Mē bhi tērē rāj vichch, kujh
khushī nahī pāī. I too have, in thy reign, enjoyed no happiness.
95. Nā mē khādhā rajj kē, nā
kisē khilāī. Neither have I (ever) eaten my fill, nor has any one fed me.
96. Nā charḥ suttīā palhāg tē,
ghatt lef tulāī. Nor have I enjoyed sleep on a coach provided with a mattress and quilt.
97. Mōlī mēhḍī sir dhaṛī, nakk
natth na pāī. I have not worn the mauḷī (red thread) (coloured my hands and feet with) mehndī (myrtle), decorated the parting of my hair or adorned myself with a nose ring.
98. Mēnū kyūnā guṛṭṭi zēhardī,
taddō ditti dāī. Why did not the midwife administer poison to me in my first potion ?

99. Hēf kitā sī lāgiā, kiti kur-
māi. Fie on those adherents who betrothed me.
100. Tē pāp kitā sī onhā Brah-
maṇḍā, jinhā vēd aḍāi. Sin committed those Brahmans who installed my
nuptial canopy.
101. Mēriā kānhū lāvā dittiā,
kyū gāḍh chittarāi. Why did they make me circumambulate (the sacred
fire) ; why did they knit together (our garments) ?
102. Tuddh makhaṭṭū khasam
nāl, mē nijj parṇāhī. In vain was I married to the drone of a husband like
you.
103. Bāp te dādē dī lajj nū, mē
bahot lāghāi. I have maintained the honour of my father and
grandfather long enough.
104. Par bhalkē pēkē jā gi, nāl
lēke nāi. But tomorrow I will go to my parents' home taking
with me the (family) barber.
105. Nārad ākhē Kal nū, tuhē
vichch akkal na rattī. Narad says to Kal, You have not the least sense.
106. Kade āgaṇ charkhā dāh kē,
tuhe tād na kattī. Sitting with (your) spinning-wheel in the courtyard,
you have never spun a single thread.
107. Nā tū bhar aṭeriā, atēraṇ
tē aṭṭi. Nor have you reeled a full skein on the reeling frame.
108. Mēnū kadē na dittiā siū kē
chādar chōpaṭṭi. You have never sewn for me a sheet of four widths
(broad enough).
109. Mē chōkē bēth na jīvēā, tū
sahēj na pakkī. I have never eaten my food sitting in the Chauka¹ (i.e.
comfortably) nor have you ever cooked with ease.
110. Tū ghar ghar phirniē
gēhkdī, jōban dī mattī. You wander from house to house shouting with joy in
the intoxication of youth.
111. Teriā gallā parē mahāinī,
dārē tē satthī. You are talked of at meetings and crowds, and in
rest-houses and village assembly-rooms.
112. Tēnū chaksā bahōt jabān
dā, lēkhā har haṭṭi. You are desperately fond of dainties and have an ac-
count at every shop.
113. Méthō nahī bhari dī, eh
tērī chaṭṭi. I can not afford to pay this fine for you.
114. Jāh ṭur jā pēkē āpnē, ghatt
keri paṭṭi. Go, walk away to your parents, throwing ashes on
your head.
115. Kal āhdī vē Nāradā, tēnū
kī bhaliāi. Kal says, O Narad ! what good will it mean to you ?
116. Tē gharō janānī ṭōrnī, khū-
bī nahiū kāhī. To turn one's wife out of the house is not commend-
able.

¹ Chauka is a place in the kitchen which is kept clean with a wash of clay and cowdung and where the Hindus used to eat their meals. It is called Chauka (four-cornered), because it is usually rectangular in shape.

117. Ik has has karē kushāmadā,
dujjā karē laṛāi. On the one hand you humour and flatter (me) on the other you quarrel.
118. Ēs kushāmad tō Kairavā,
chā jadd kuhāi. It was on account of such vanity that the Kauravas had their tribe destroyed.
119. Tē Rām nē ēs kushāmadō,
Lēkā luṭāi. And Rama owing to such vanity had Lanka (Ceylon) plundered.
120. Ēs kushāmad tō Gōriā, Dilli
marvāi. Through such vanity the Ghoris lost Delhi.
121. Mē ṭur jā kisē vilāyatē, teri
satāi. I will go to some foreign country persecuted by you.
122. Agge Nādar Shālī dē, jā
deā duhāi. To Nadir Shah will I go and submit my complaint.
123. Ōthō lashkar charhan ērān
thī, kar lamni dhāi. From Persia troops shall, by forced marches, invade
124. Ākē Hīdōstān vichhi,
karan juddh laṛāi. India where they shall fight battles.
125. Raṇ kahāṇē hoṅgē, vēkkhē
lukāi. This will become an epic story, people will see.
126. Ikk dujja nā sambhalē,
bētē nū māi. No one shall be able to look after another, not even mother (her) son.
127. Kadē gāh gāh rai bēhṅgē,
bhēṇā tē bhāi. Seldom shall sisters and brothers sit together.
128. Bhar lēp ērāni Dilliō, ṭopē
di pāi. The Persians will take from Delhi a pai (16 seers) for a topa (4 seers).
129. Mē bhi badlē leāgi, bhar dūṇ
sawāi. I will also have my revenge by demanding double or 1½ times (the grain advanced).
130. Mē tāhiē dhi Khākāl di,
Hōṇi di jāi. Then only shall I be the daughter of Khankal born of Honi.
131. Nārad āhdā ōṛak hōsangē
ōh kamm, jehrē rabb nū
bhāvaṇ. Narad says, After all those events alone will happen, which please God.
132. Tē mihriā dē ākhē mard
laggaṇ, muṛ pachchōtā-
vaṇ. But if men follow the advice of women, they must repent afterwards.
133. Tērē ākhē bādshāh, Ērānō
dhāvaṇ. If on your advice the king hastens from Persia.
134. Taddō nadiā vēhaṇ apuṭ-
thiā, phal bēt liāvaṇ. Then the rivers will flow up-hill and willows will bear fruit.
135. Aggē jō varti us mulk nāl,
ākāl samjhāvaṇ. What happened to that country in former times the wise can explain.

136. Otthē kyā tākat hē mihriā,
nakk natthā pāwaṇ. There the women dare not wear nose-rings in their noses.
137. Otthē mardā kabzē kāṭhdē,
sir kullah haṇḍāvaṇ. There the swords of men have wooden hilts (and) they wear caps on their heads.
138. Ghoreā de mūh nāhriā, nā
sākhat pāwaṇ. The horses have bridles in their mouths but carry no saddles.
139. Oh huṇ tāi hukm Tēmūr dē,
barjā leāwaṇ. The people obey the edicts of Taimur to this day.
140. Jiū Lachhmaṇ dā chhil
karaṇ nū, bhēṇ ghallī sī
Rāwaṇ. As Rawan sent his sister to impose upon Lachhman.
141. Par tūh bhī challiē Sūp
Nakh, vāg nakk vaḍhā-
waṇ. Thou art also going like Sūp Naka to have thy nose cut.

IX. APPEARANCE OF KAL BEFORE NADIR SHAH.

142. Ghussā khākē¹ dakkhaṇḍ,
kal raṇī jāgī. In anger, from the south woke up queen Kal.
143. Aggē Nādar Shāh dē, āi
faryādī. (And) before Nadir Shah appeared suppliant.
144. Tū suṇ kiblā ālamī, faryād
asādī. (She said) hear thou O Lord of two worlds my complaint.
145. Merā khasam makhaṭṭū,
tē āhlakī, bhāgī sharābī. My husband (is) a drone, lazy, addicted to *bhang* and a drunkard.
146. Afimī tē jāwariā, jālam
aprādhī. Opium-eater and gambler, tyrant and sinner.
147. Mērē damm laē sān māpeā,
lei vaḍḍhī lāgī. My parents sold me for money and the retainer accepted a bribe.
148. Merā sāk chā kitonē ōs nāl,
jinnhū gamī na shādī. They married me to one who cares neither for sorrow nor pleasure.
149. Ōh dē nahī sakkeā khaṭṭiā,
bhukkh ghar bēh jhāgī. He could bring me no earnings and I have had to starve at home.
150. Jis diharē Lachhmaṇ jodhē
Ram Chād, chaṇḍ Lēka
sādhī. The day when Lachhman—the warrior—and Ram Chandra invaded and reduced Lanka.
151. Ōthē Halūmān agvān sī,
dēh lūbā dāgī. There Hanuman was the forerunner who set fire (to Lanka) with the torch of his body.
152. Lakkh mārē dānū tē dē-
vātē, hārī par vādhī. Lakhs of Rakshasas and Devatas were killed, like the harvesting of spring crops.

¹ Another version is Suttihōi.

153. Ōthē baliā lakh jhiāliā, agg Lakhs of funeral piles were burnt there, the whole
bēlē lāgi. forest was set ablaze.
154. Jivē rāt diwālī Hīduā, bāl As the Hindus light up lamps on the Diwali night.
dharī chirāgi.
155. Ōthē nālē vaggē sāṇ ratt Streams of blood flowed there and no end of fat (was
dē, mijh bē hisābi. cast about).
156. Bhar khappai pitē jogaṇā, The *Jogans* drank skulls full (of blood) and I sat
bōh hōi sā rāji. satiated.
157. Tis dihārē mēhn bhī chōkē That day I too had my meal sitting comfortably in
bēth kē, rasōi si khāhdi. the Chauka.
158. Par ajj āi ā kiblā almī, And to-day, O Lord of the two worlds, I have come
kar ās tusādi. with my hopes in thee.

X. NADIR SHAH'S ADDRESS TO WAZIR.

159. Bādshāh ākhē wazir nū, ik The king says to his wazir, There is a strange woman.
azab janānī.
160. Oh āvē sādē sāhmaṇē, har She appears before me every day without fail.
rōz mudāmī.
161. Odhā sir khullhā dād darāz, She wears loose hair, has long teeth and a black fore-
tē siah pishānī. head.
162. Oh ādmiā dī ratt mijh, Man's blood and fat she asks for her feast.
māgē mizmānī.
163. Nahī usdē kōl likkheā, kōi She has no written letter or other token (of identity)
khat nishānī. with her.
164. Oh kull hakikat Hīd dī, (But) the whole account of India she relates verbally.
dass de zabānī.
165. Āhdi ajj na kōi Hīdōstān She says in India to-day thou hast no equal.
vichch, hē terā sānī.
166. Othē dōvē dhirā ajōriā, There the two parties have fallen out (viz. the) Persians
Ērānī Turānī. and Turanians.
167. Tēnū rātī diṇē uḍikdē, sabh All nobles and chiefs are waiting for thee day and
Nāsir khānī.¹ night.
168. Unhādiā shahrī rahīā nē Their cheques are honoured in the city (and they)
hūdiā, hath pawwē kha- have treasuries in their hands.
zānī.
169. Sūbēdārā sābhiā, sabh The local Governors have taken possession of all cash.
dirmā damī.

¹ Nobles.

170. Othō gaē hazār be tarf hō,
sipāhi nāmī. Thousands of famous warriors have been dismissed there.
171. Tē pēhdā sāde pādshāh,
firkā nadānī. And our king has worn the cloak of foolishness.
172. Yā rāg mahall sahēliā, mal-
kā Zamānī. He is always in the palace of luxury either with female attendants or with queen Zamani.
173. Os mūl na puchchī mulkdī,
vassdī vēranī. He has never inquired after the welfare or distress of the country.
174. Par Rābb Dillī nū badlā
chēn dā, ditti gham dānī. But God has given to Delhi sorrow in place of peace.

XI. DISCOURSE OF BAKI KHAN WAZIR AND KAL.

175. Bāki Khān wazir nē, saddē
Kaṭwāl. Baki Khan Wazir sent for the Kotwals.
176. Ikk ēs tarah dī istarī, tusi
lyāō bhāl. There is a woman of this description (go) search for her and bring her.
177. Oh bēṭhī kisē dukān tē,
phaṛ lyāē nāl She was sitting in some shop (they) captured her and brought her up.
178. Tū nāgī nā miryād hē, dissē
bikarāl. (Baki Khan said to her) You are naked and regardless of manners and look dreadful.
179. Tū bhukkhiē kisē mulkdī,
bahòt pāvē savāl. You are hunger-stricken of some country and ask for too much.
180. Ēnhū aṭē dā deō ikk maṇ,
nāl vaṭṭī dāl. Give her one maund of flour and five seers of pulse.
181. Dhaniā, jirā, lōg, mirch nāl
lūṇ bisār. Coriander, cummin, cloves, pepper, salt and turmeric.
182. Sēr divāōs dahī dā, jā
dhōvē vāl. Get her a seer of curds so that she may bathe her hair.
183. Bhār divāōs lakkari, agg
bēṭhe bāl. Get her a bundle of fuel, so that she may make fire.
184. Āpñi hatthī rasō kar, ghat
jevī thāl. After cooking your food with your own hands, have your meal off a plate.
185. Roṭi khāh duā dē, jā vatan
sambhāl. Having taken your food, pray for us and go back to your home.
186. Tē treōr deōs vidāegī, nā
pavē kheāl. And give her a suit of three clothes as a parting gift, so that she may have no care.
187. (Kal ākhē) khād khīr tē
dhrārīā, bēh khāṇ birāgī. Kal said, Sugar, puddings and dainties are eaten by Baīragis.
188. Tē ādmiā dī ratt mijjh ēh
khurish asādī. But blood and fat of men is my diet.

189. Mên raṇ vichch mārā sūr-
mē, ādi muniādī.
From time immemorial I am in the habit of killing
brave warriors on the battle-field.
190. Jinhā nū pagg dāhṛi dī
sharm hē, lajj māt pitā
dī.
Those who respect their turban and beard (i.e. who
have a sense of honour), and care for the honour of
their parents.
191. Oh mēhram dīn islām dē,
hēn pāk nimāzī
They are well acquainted with the religion of Islam
and are pious sayers of Nimaz (prayers).
192. Jinhā nū dittā gusal farish-
teā, paṇ shart sabābī.
Those whom the angels gave the final bath with the
incantation leading to heaven.
193. Sir dēde rabb de wāste, āp
thīde gāzī.
They give their lives in the name of God and them-
selves become martyrs.
194. Unhādē hūrān lyāiā kap-
paṇē, pōshāk gulābī.
The houris (heavenly damsels) bring pink garments
for their shroud.
195. Chādar tēhmat tē kullah,
pēhan sūrat fukrā dī.
They wear a sheet as the upper garment, another
round the waist as the lower garment and a cap,
like the Fakirs.
196. Onhādiā kitiā safā pēgham-
barā, bhajj ralē janāzī.
The Prophets perform their funeral ceremony and
hasten to join their funeral processions.
197. Onhā jā kē pāi bahisht
vichch, shahādat shādī.
They go to heaven and enjoy (there) the pleasure of
martyrdom.
198. Oh jā hazūr rasūl dē, hōe
mērāji.
They go into the presence of the Prophet and become
dwellers of the heaven.
199. Wajir āhdā Kal rāṇiē, tēri
baṇi awasthā.
The Wazir says, O Queen Kal long life to thee.
200. Tēri akkhī nē lahū chhaṭ-
tiā, tē zabān karakhtā.
Thy eyes are sprinkled with blood (are blood-shot),
and thy tongue is harsh.
201. Tēnū uṛkē ṭurdī nū vēkh
kē, kuliālam hassdā.
When people see thee fly they all laugh.
202. Tē sūrat terī vēkh kē, kul
bālak nhassdā.
And seeing thy figure all children flee.
203. Tū mall akhāṇē vēkhaṇē,
tēri barwasthā.
Thou wishest to see wrestlers in the arena; this is thy
verdict.
204. Mulk asādā avādān, sab
jōki vassdā.
(But) our country is prosperous, all live happily.
205. Ēthē hor arjāni hē sab chij,
ikk mās nahī sastā.
Here everything else can be had, only flesh is not
cheap.
206. Tū āi ē rāt sarāc réhṇ, ghatt
bēthi ē phasta.
You have come to pass a night in the inn and have
created a muddle.
207. Par ṭur jāh mulk tū āṇē,
phaṇ fajarī rastā.
You had better go back to your country, and start on
your way early in the morning.

208. Kal āhdi wajir nū, lê vidā
asādī. Kal says to the Wazir, I bid you adieu.
209. Mē gall suṇāniā kalh di,
kujh nahī durādī. But I shall relate to you a story of yesterday, it refers
to no remote period.
210. Jadō geā Tēmūr virān kar,
vilāyat tuhādī. When Taimur went after devastating your country.
211. Tē ōh bāki nā chhaḍḍ geā,
kujh bō abādī. He left behind him not even a sign of habitation.
212. Dhuādī māl walāyat luṭṭ
kē, lê gaē Pājābī. The wealth of your country was plundered and taken
away by the Panjabis.
213. Lê gaē sirō utār kē, dastār
dhuādī. They took away your turbans from off your heads.
214. Āp geā Jahānabād nū, hō
Makke dā Hāji. He himself went to Jahanabad after becoming Haji of
Mecca.
215. Dhuādē khadhē uṭṭhā te
hāthiā, chuṇ mēvē bāgi. The camels and elephants ate up the fruit of your
gardens.
216. Kānhū lēiyō jē hatth kar,
bigāni bhāji. Why did you receive the ceremonial gift of sweets
from others.
217. Jē mūl nahī sāje devaṇī,
tad paī kharābī. If you never intended to repay it? It is disgraceful.
218. Huṇ dūṇ dēiyē ghar jākē,
tad hūdē rāji. If its double be paid now at their home, then they
would be satisfied.
219. Par kadō shāmal hōi si bāj
nū, āzat mugrābī. But how can the habits of a duck equal those of the
hawk?
220. Wajir āhda jāh akkhī aggō
dūr hō, ranne badkāre. Wazir says, Get thee gone from my presence, thou
women of evil deeds.
221. Ēs bōli tērī dī rapaṭ jā,
pōhti sarkāre. The report of this taunt of thine has reached the king.
222. Asā karkē ghallē nē ēlehī,
sab Balakh Bukhāre. We have sent ambassadors to Balkh, Bukhara and all
other places.
223. Asā dittē nē ghall vilāyatī,
likh kē halkāre. We have sent messengers with letters to various
countries.
224. Fōzā hōṇ akaṭṭhiā, āwaṇ
sarkāre. (That) the troops should mobilize and present them-
selves to the king.
225. Ēs asādē mulk vichch, Du-
rāni bhāre. In this country of ours Durrani are important.
226. Asī sabbhē dēiyē hājari,
chal shēhar Kādhāre. A review of all of us shall be held at the city of
Kandahar.
227. Oh sabbhē ākhaṇ niyat
khēr, ral mōman sārē. They shall all pledge unity—the believers assembled.

228. Asā sar par Dilli mārñī,
ghat zōr talwārē. We will conquer Delhi throwing the weight of our
swords on the heads (i.e. by the force of arms).
229. Asā luṭṭañē sabh jawāhriē,
ōr shāh vanjārē. We will plunder all jewellers, bankers and traders.
230. Asā urdū jhādē luṭṭañē,
ōr rast bazārē. We will pillage armies, banners, highways and streets.
231. Satarā vichchō bīviyā,
kaḍḍh deō kanārē. Women shall be seduced from the seraglios.
232. Badlā ōs dastār dā rab ajj
utārē. May God avenge that (dishonour of our) turban to-
day.
233. Par mānō Makkē deā hājiā,
sē hajj guzārē. It will then be as if Hajis of Mecca have performed
hundreds of pilgrimages.

XII. NARAD'S APPEARANCE BEFORE MUHAMMAD SHAH.

234. Nārad Muhammad Shāh
aggē, jā karē sawāl. Narad appears before Muhammad Shah and states.
235. Vekhī kiblā ālmī ajj mērā
hāl. See O lord of the worlds my condition to-day.
236. Mērē sir tē gujreā ikk jawāl. On my head has befallen ruin like the doomsday.
237. Ikk gharō janānī ṭur gai,
dujjā bhukkh kamāl. Firstly my wife has left my house, secondly I am
starving frightfully.
238. Jadō geā Tēmūr vilāyatē,
mē tadō sā nāl. When Taimur went to foreign countries I accompanied
him.
239. Us luṭṭiyā sabh vilāyatā,
kitiā pēmāl. He plundered all the countries (and) trampled (on
them).
240. Kar siriā dē damdamē, rattī
dē khāl. Raising battlements of slain heads and making streams
of blood flow.
241. Mē tadō sī vart upārē,
ghat bhōjan thāl. I then broke my fast by eating from a plate.
242. Par tū pīr Chagattā ē bād-
shāh, ajj rajj khawāl. And thou, O holy Chughatta king, give me now
enough to eat.
243. Bādshāh ākhē Nārad nū,
lē jāhō bazārē. The king says, Take Narad to the bazar.
244. Tē kar deo ēsdi tābeā,
halvāi sārē. And place at his disposal all confectioners.
245. Kaṭṭhi kar ke umēdni, bhar
deō taghārē. Collect *umedni*¹ and fill troughs with it.

¹ A kind of sweets.

246. Khāḍ pēṛē jalebiā, ôṛ shakkarpārē. Sugar, *peras*,¹ *jalebis*¹ and *shakarparas*.
247. Laḍḍū maṭṭhē tē mōhanbhog, ôṛ garī chhuhārē. *Laddus*,¹ *maṭṭhas*,¹ *mohan-bhog*,¹ cocoanuts and dates.
248. Nārad āvēnhā kē, bēh varat upārē. So that Narad may return from his bath and sit down to break his fast.
249. Par roṭī khāh duā dē, bōh thākarduārē. And after taking his meal may sit in the temple and pray for us.
250. Nārad āhdā laḍḍū maṭṭhē tē mōhanbhog, eh kamm nahī mērē. Narad says, *Laddus*, *maṭṭhas* and *mohan-bhog* are of no use to me.
251. Mē dassnā sabh hakikatā, jē saddō nērē. I will explain to you the whole affair if you will let me approach nearer.
252. Tēthō hōē nē firaūn musāhab tērē. Your ministers have turned traitors.
253. Inhā gufiā likh kē arziā, ghalliā sōvērē. They have written secret epistles and sent them hundreds of times.
254. Inhā kasmā karke chāṭhē, Nādar Shāhi dē ḍērē. They have sworn allegiance and induced Nadir Shah's armies to move.
255. Ōs sadd laē nē mulk tō, aswār chāgērē. He has collected from the country selected horsemen.
256. Ōnhādē ghoṛē sabh vilāyatī, hēn parē parērē. All their horses are of western countries, and one excels another.
257. Ikk, dōk, nakād, tē navē pāj, ēlāk vachhērē. One, two, three, four years old (i.e. all young) colts of the best blood.
258. Oh chillī khādēn ghā dī, rātīb dāh sērē. They eat a pony-load of grass each and ten seers of gram.
259. Oh bhār uṭhādēn shutar dā, khushkī dē bērē. They can carry a camel's load, those ships of the land.
260. Ān Ispahān dē mulk vichh, ghatt bēṭhē ghērē. They have arrived in the country of Ispahan and have encamped there.
261. Jiū rātī uttarī makkṛī, uḍḍ chāṭhī savērē. Like the locusts settling down at night to fly up in the morning.
262. Diūhchann chhappe nē gard vichh, pē gaē hanērē. The sun and the moon have been concealed by dust, and darkness prevails.
263. Par Nādar Shāhi Bālāsār vichh, lashkar chōfērē. And Nadir Shah has reached Bala Hisar surrounded by his army.

¹ Different kinds of sweets.

XIII. THE DURRANIS.

264. Suṇī muhimṁ Durāniā,
hōē ghamnāk. When the Durrani heard of the expedition, they were
struck with sorrow (fear).
265. Sabbhe ral ke arz karō,
kiblā dē pās. (And resolved) to go together and make their request
to the lord.
266. O sabbhē āhē rōbrō, kar kē
itfāk. United they appeared before (the king).
267. Sādā kōi nahī geā ut mulk,
dādā nahī bāp. None of us has gone to that country, neither our
grandfathers nor fathers.
268. Ajj tū dāiyā kitāē bādshāh,
mumārakh lākh. To-day you have resolved (to go there), hail! a hun-
dred thousand times.
269. Sādē ghōrē sabbh vilāyatī,
hēn chust chalāk. Our horses are all of foreign breed and are strong and
swift.
270. Pichchhliyā sabbh chhimā-
hiā, kar dē bēpāk. Pray clear off our arrears of the past half years.
271. Agge talabā kar de duṇiā,
phaṛ kalam dawāt. For the future take pen and ink and double our pay.
272. Lōṭi tē bād Pājab di, sab
kar dē māf. Grant us forgiveness for plunder and captives of the
Panjab.
273. Khalkat jāgh pahār nū,
rahig kidhrē vās. People (of the Panjab) will then go to the hills and
few places will be left inhabited.
274. Dilli tāi bādshāh, vēkh
rastā sāf. Up to Delhi, O King, you will find the way (coast)
clear.

XIV. PREPARATION OF NADIR SHAH.

275. Chaṛh takht tē bēthā Najār
Shāh, gajj sikkē challē. Nadir Shah ascended the throne. His coins became
current with eclat.
276. Ōnhū niviā sabbh vilāyatā
kōi dhāg na jhallē. All countries submitted to him, none could bear his
anger.
277. Sadd bahāyōs ōmrā, vichch
bēthē gallē. He summoned his ministers and held a consultation.
278. Yārō tir kalejē varamdā,
diūh rāti hallē. Friends (said he), the arrow which has pierced my
heart shakes day and night.
279. Mē Dilli nū mārā bhēṇ bhē,
vaḍḍh sir dhaṛ gallē. I want to smite Delhi to pieces and to sever heads
from trunks in heaps.
280. Par takht léiyē te kul tare,
nahī takhtē bhallē. If we secure the throne (of Delhi) then alone can the
name of our ancestors be revived, otherwise it is
better to lie on the funeral plank (i.e. to die).

XV. NADIR'S DEPARTURE FROM ISPAHAN AND ARRIVAL AT KANDAHAR.

281. Charhē Isfahā thī Nazar Nadir Shah rode from Ispahan, the pipes resounded.
Shāh, bhērī ghurakkē.
282. Tē chuṇ chuṇ kaddhē pēhla- He picked out warriors brave and unmatched.
wān, bahādar yakkē.
283. Nasrānī, Mazūfiē, Yahūd Nasranis, Mazufis and the robber Jews.
uchakkē.
284. Baddū, Gurzi tē Khārjī, Bedouins, Georgians, Kharjis, those utterly degener-
ōh mulhad pakkē. ate.
285. Marwāni te katalbāz, ōh Marwanis, Qazilbashs and Uzbek Mughals.
mughal ajbakkē.
286. (Ōnhādē) nakk phinē sir With flat noses, heads like pitchers and pot-bellies
tāwarē, dhiddh vāg like drums.
ḍhamakkē.
287. Ōh ikkā nār vasāōdē, Who have a single wife between ten real brothers.
dah bhāi sakkē.
288. Kōṭā nū āon tharārāt, nīr¹ The forts trembled (i.e. shook), the waters in the
nadiā sukkē. streams dried up.
289. Irān, Turān, tē Īsfahān, They ate up (the produce of) Persia, Turkīstan and
dhar talī tē phakkē. Ispahan in an instant.
290. Rāti dēdē chōkiā, diṇē dūr They kept the watch at night and made forced
palaṭṭe. marches by day.
291. Dērē kōl Kādhār dē, ā The boisterous army arrived and encamped near
ūdham latthē. Kandahar.
292. Tis dihārē dakkhaṇ te pūrāb The south and east trembled that day and news
kambeā, khabarī tōṛ reached right up to Mecca.
Makkē.

XVI. COMMUNICATION OF THE WAZIRS OF DELHI TO NADIR SHAH.

293. Pāk bē ēb nāzira, sachchē O pure, faultless, wonderful, true Lord.
Sāhibā.
294. Jō likhēā takdirā, sō kujh Whatever is written in fate shall happen.
vartasī.
295. Tērā mālīk dōst wazirā, O Wazir, thy master is the Prophet himself.
khāsā mustafā.
296. Ummat diā taksirā, sabbhē Who will forgive all the faults of his following.
bakshsi.

¹ Another version is:—Pahar karṇakke, i.e. the mountains cracked.

297. Asā racheā dhrōh ambirā,
Muhammad Shāh nāl. We nobles have conspired to betray Muhammad Shah.
298. Tē likh parwānā Irān,
ādar bhējeā. And written a letter and sent it to Persia.
299. Tē Ispahā deā pirā, tū sun
Najar Shāh. Hear thou Nadir Shah, the saint of Ispahan.
300. Sātthō hōeāē girā, sādā
bādshāh. Our King has become alien to us.
301. Tū rātī na ghātt khalirā,
chaḥh kē ā tū. Have not the least anxiety (but) ride on to this place.
302. Ēthē dōlat bahòt jakhīrā,
heī charōkūī. There is great wealth here, accumulated of old.
303. Mōti pannā tē hīrā, bahòt
be kiintā. Priceless pearls, emeralds and diamonds are in abundance.
304. Pāṭā hōeā chīrā, tābhī
lakkh dā. Even a torn rag is worth a lakh.
305. Godī ādar kirā, ik farzād
sū. He (the king) has a worthless son in his lap.
306. Par sūjā takht sakhīrā,
ākē mall bahò. But the great throne is (as if it were) vacant. Come and take possession of it.

XVII. NADIR SHAH'S DIALOGUE WITH HIS WAZIR.

307. Nādar Shāh bādshāh ākhdā.
sun Baki Khānā. King Nadir Shah says—Listen Baki Khan.
308. Ā vēkh Hīdustāniā, likeā
parāvnā. Come and see the Hindustanis have written a letter.
309. Ōhnā avval likhī hē bēntī,
vichch vaḍḍā karyānā. They have first sent their respects and then given great detail.
310. Ōh ākhdē hun asī tuhāḍē
nāl ā, sānū kasam kurānā. They say "We are now with you, we swear by the Quran.
311. Par nā phiriē is gall tō, lāh
imānā. And will not go back on our word or break our faith."
312. Vazīr ākhē bādshāh nū, tū
sun sultānā. Wazir says to the King, listen, O King.
313. Tē bādshāhā dē farēbdā,
kasam bahānā. Oaths are tricks to deceive Kings.
314. Ōthē avval ghalliē elchī,
fahmīdā dānā. We should first send there an ambassador, intelligent and wise.

315. Ōh aggā āvē vēkh kē, sartal
sameānā. He should go in advance and see the arrangements there.
316. Ōth kēduk lashkar ētfāk,
hōr keḍ khazānā. How big the army is, what union (and) how much treasure.
317. Sādhē nō sō kōh vichch,
sab mulk begānā. Throughout the 950 kos the country is all foreign.
318. Mat ôkhā hovē āōdā, rāh
kehre janē. Beware lest you may be put to trouble on your way back. What (a difficult) way (i.e. step) are you taking?
319. Bakī Khān vazīr nū, bād-
shāh farmāē. The King asks Baki Khan Wazir.
320. Dass Khā kehṛā ghalliē
elchī, jehṛā Dillī jāē. Tell us which ambassador we shall send, who will go to Delhi.
321. Ōh gallā karē khanādiā,
matlab samjhāē. Use sweet words there and explain our meaning.
322. Jā milē (Mansūr Ali) nizā-
mat mulknū, rafik baṇāē. Who will go and meet Mansur Ali Nizamulmulk and establish friendship?
323. Ōh kul hakikat hīd dī, muḥ
likh pōhchāē. Who will then write and send us all particulars about India?
324. Asā likhē unhā dē tē amal
kar, lashkar māgvāē. Acting on their epistle we have collected troops.
325. Keī lakkh Pathāṇ valāetī,
ēranō āē. Several lakhs of foreign Pathans have come from Persia.
326. Ikk chaṛhē Karāchī bādarō,
kharch khurjī pāē. Some have started from the Karachi port with their travelling expenses in their saddle bags.
327. Kujh mithāī tē khāḍ birījdē,
bhār sāth lavāē. We have taken with us loads of sweets, sugar and rice.
328. Lakkh dumbē farbah mās-
dē, ēiyyaḥ hakvāē. (And) had a lakh of fat sheep driven in flocks for mutton.
329. Lakkh luṭērē Khārjī, bhur-
jī' chaṛh āē. A lakh of Kharji dacoits have come riding bareback.
330. Tē tambū bannh saliteā,
hāthī ladvāē. We have had tents packed in *shalitas* and loaded on elephants.
331. Sē ōḍ farāsh tē bēldār, nōkar
rakhvāē. And employed hundreds of *ods*, tent-pitchers and *beldars*.
332. Kar rastē tōfā vāstē, pahār
kaṭvāē. And have had mountains cut in order to make roads for our guns.
333. Par huṇ kīkur pēihya gaḍḍ
dā, eh khālī jāē. But how can the wheel of this cart now help going?

¹ Bhurji has been explained by some to mean bare-back while others say Bhurji is the name of a sect like Khārjī.

XVIII. DESPATCH OF AN AMBASSADOR.

334. Bādshāh nū ākhdā, vazīr
Khān Bākī. Wazir Baki Khan tells the King :
335. Tē hazrat Shabāz Khān
ghallīē ēlchī, bhatijā,
zātī. My lord, we should send as ambassador Shahbaz
Khan, Your Majesty's nephew.
336. Ghōrā kīmat lakkhdā, zūn
zarī banātī. A horse worth a lakh, a saddle of broadcloth em-
broidered with gold.
337. Usnū khilat bakhshī bād-
shāh, sarbatt pōshākī. And a *khilat* of a complete suit of clothes was granted
to him by the King.
338. Bēh gōshē khān Shahbāz
nū, us eh gall ākhī. In private he told Shahbaz Khan :
339. Tusā karnī nahī taghāfali,
ṭurnā diṇ rātī. You must not be negligent, you must march day and
night.
340. Jā milnā Mansūr ali Nizā-
mat mulk nū, samjhāoniā
bātī. You should go and see Mansur Ali Nizamulmulk, and
explain things.
341. Ōh lāvaṇ khā hathh kurān
tē, jē hēn pakkē sāthī. Let them place their hands on the Quran (swear by it),
if they are true partizans.
342. Ajjkal Jānō ghatteā, mūh
gōshat kātī. They should take it that the knife will devour the
flesh to-day or to-morrow.
343. Nālē Aṭaktē sānū ā milāṇ,
kar barī chalākī. And they should join us at Attock with great dex-
terity.
344. Par mē lōhī karā Kādhār
vichch, Lahōr visākhi. I will be at Kandahar on Lohri and at Lahore on
Baisakhi.
345. Maslihat gir vichār, ākhē
Najar Shāh. To his counsellor, says Nadir Shah after deliberation :
346. Likhkhō khat savār, Mu-
hammad Shāh nū. Write a well-composed letter to Muhammad Shah.
347. Tasbīh tē talvār, bhējo
pēsh-kabj. Send him a rosary, a sword and a dagger.
348. Ikk tōpī tillē dār, jaṛat
javāhari. An embroidered cap set with precious stones.
349. Tusī hōvō tayyār, asī bhi
āvādē. (Tell him) to get ready, we are also coming.
350. Asā dil vichch hē takrār,
charoka rat diṇ. We have an old determination in our heart day and
night.

351. Charh mārā ān Kandhār To invade and conquer from Kandahar and from the
Kabul dē shêhr tō. city of Kabul.
352. Par vekhaṇā hē ik bār, mē As I must see for once the country of India.
hātā hīd dā.

XIX. ARRIVAL OF AMBASSADOR AT MUHAMMAD SHAH'S COURT.

353. Jō likheā sī elchī, khaṛ Whatever was written in the letter, the ambassador
guzrānī. went and submitted.
354. Tē Muhammad Shāh Chag- Listen Muhammad Shah Chughatta of Babar's line
atteā, suṇ Babareānī. (said he):
355. Ēhā tēnū ghallīā, bādshāh Herewith the King has sent you tokens.
nishānī.
356. Mat koī dil vichh jaṇḍō, Don't you feel in your mind an excessive pride?
kar barī girānī.
357. Jā tē khāḍā chukk lē peshah Either take up the sword which is the profession of
sultānī. (becoming of) kings.
358. Nahī gal tasbīh, sir kulāh Or put the rosary round your neck, wear the cap on
dhar uṭh hō sēlānī. your head and clear out as a fakir.
359. Muhammad Shah amīrā Muhammad Shah having sent for his Ministers sits in
āṇṇēā nū sadd kē, bēh council.
karē salāhā.
360. Yārō ēh kōṇ kamīnā ādmī, Friends, who is this mean fellow to talk (thus) to
bōlē bādshāhā. kings?
361. Ēnhū deō javāb vakīl nū, Give this ambassador a reply so that he may go back.
muṛ jāē pichhāhā.
362. Ēh laē surt Kādhār dī, hō And visit Kandahar by way of Kabul.
Kabal dē rāhā.
363. Ēhdī Mashhad tē Herāt nū, I will put his Herat and Mashhad to the sword.
ghatt teghī gāhā.
364. Jēhī kitī sī Tēmūr nē, Like Taimur, I will order a general massacre of Ispa-
katlām sipāhā. han.
365. Mē tā chaṛh kē kilā Kādhār I will invade and pull down the fort of Kandahar to-
dā, saṇē burjī ḍhāhā. gether with its bastions.
366. Ōhdē dharā banērē jimī tē, I will level its parapets to the ground and uproot its
munyād utāhā. foundation.
367. Ēhdī sārā Bālā sār mē dē I will set fire to his Bala Hisar and burn it to ashes.
aggī bhā-hā.
368. Kābal rōvaṇ Paṭhāṇiā kar The Pathan women of Kabul shall bewail with uplifted
khaliā ba-hā. arms.

369. Par shāed samjhangē tā But these westerners will understand then alone or
 valāeti, jā avaṇē gī akl they will then come to their senses.
 tadāhā.

XX. PRIVATE NEGOTIATIONS BETWEEN THE AMBASSADOR AND
 NIZAMULMULK.

370. Suṇ kē sukhan Shahbāz On hearing these words Shahbaz Khan got into a fix.
 Khān nū, lag gai hērānī.
371. Tē mat kōi daghā kamādeō, Might not you Hindustanis be practising deceit ?
 tusi Hīdustānī.
372. Eh tā karē tuhāḍā bād- This king of yours makes heavenly resolves.
 shāh, dāvā asmānī.
373. Mansūr Ali kahē Shahbāz Mansur Ali tells Shahbaz Khan verbally :
 Khān nū, ikk sukhan
 zabānī.
374. Tē assā kalmā pāk rasūldā, We have (sworn by) the kalma (aphorism) of the holy
 atē hadd musalmānī. Prophet which is the limit of Islam.
375. Assi ikk nahī eḍhē nāldē, Not one of us is with him, we are all waverers.
 hēā sabhē khāmī.
376. Tē tīr na chaldē nābakō, And the arrow cannot be shot from the rest without
 biṇ guṇī kamānī. the bow having the string.
377. Tē kyā kushti bhalvān di, And how can a wrestler wrestle without the strength
 bin zōr javānī. of youth ?
378. Tē bajhō khāvād dē kyā And without a husband what will a woman adorn
 karē, sīgār zauānī. herself for ?
379. Ik na lārā sōhṇā, jēde nāl No bridegroom looks pretty if he has no one in the
 na jājī. marriage procession.
380. Tē ikkō ehdē nāl hē, Khān One alone is with him and that is Khan Dauran the
 Dôrá êrānī. Persian.
381. Yā bēgam saṇe sahēliā, Or the queen Malika Zamani together with her female
 malkā Zamānī. attendants.
382. Tusi lāghā pāō Aṭak tō, You cross at Attock all Pathans and Durranis.
 Paṭhān Durrānī.
383. Assi dēiē shīraṇī pīr di, We will give offerings of joy to the saints and sacri-
 bakkare kurbānī. fice goats.
384. Par jitnē Hīdustāniē, sab All the Hindustanis profess to be your slaves.
 dāvā gulāmī.

XXI. AMBASSADOR'S LETTER TO NADIR SHAH.

385. Tē bēh Dilliō likkheā ēlchī,
suṇ Nādar Shāh. The ambassador wrote from Delhi: Listen Nadir Shah.
386. Tē chaṛh kē ā nisāg tū, hō
bē parvāh. Advance without fear and have no anxiety.
387. Tē ehdā nā kōī akal vazīr
hē, nā mard sipāh. He has no wise minister nor brave soldier.
388. Ēthē ghaṭṭā vaṭṭā kujh nā,
nā dhakkī dhāh. This (country) has no dust nor stones, no hill-slopes nor ravines.
389. Nā kōī kakkh nā pōhī, nā
jhārī jhāh. No weeds nor thorns, no bushes nor brushwood.
390. Tē nā kōī pul banhāvaṇā,
nā minnat mallāh. No bridges have to be built nor have the boatmen to be humoured.
391. Tē sab-bhē nadiā khushk
nē, muḍḍh zarā ikk vāh. For all the rivers are dry, there is only a small stream adjoining (Delhi).
392. Eh Dilli khaṛī uḍikdī, merā
karō vivāh. This Delhi stands awaiting, (and says) marry me.
393. Tē menū rāḍī nū āṇ suhāg
dē, nahī lē marnīū phāh. Take me the widow into wedlock, or I will hang myself.
394. Jē tū sāhib hē tōfikdā, āṇ
khōlhī sāh. If you have the strength, you may come and restore my breath.

XXII. NADIR SHAH'S DEPARTURE FROM KANDAHAR.

395. Chaṛhē kādhārō Najar
Shāh, damāmē tablak
vākē. Nadir Shah started from Kandahar amidst the beating of drums and tomtoms.
396. Tē chhuṭṭ paē haṛ zulmdē,
kul khalk uṭṭhī kurlākē. And floods of tyranny were let loose, making the whole populace groan.
397. Mūh āyā kujh nahī chhaḍḍ-
dē, katlām karēdē nē
chākē. They left nothing (alive) that came in front of them (and) pursued a general massacre.
398. Ghaznaī tē Kabul luṭṭeā,
kul thāṇē zabah karākē. They plundered Ghazni and Kabul, after having massacred all the (contingents at the) military posts.
399. Pashāvar Zalālābād nū, tēh
mat kitō nē chākē. Peshawar and Jalalabad they devastated.

400. Saṭ lohā nāsar khāniē, gal
milē nē paṭkē pā kē. The Nasir Khanis threw down their arms, and putting their turbans round their necks (i.e. in abject submission) they embraced (the conquerors).
401. Firkē hōē ne pēshwā,
Chagatte dā nimak vājā kē. They turned round and became leaders, having thrown to the winds the salt of the Chughattas.
402. Kākē Khān Kākshāl nē,
raṇ kuṭṭ ghattiās ā kē. But Kake Khan Kakshal came and smote the battle-field hard.
403. Ōh bhī oraḱ māreā aṭṭh
pēhar laṛāi khā kē. At last he was also slain after having fought for 24 hours.
404. Tē ḍērē uttē Aṭaḱ dē, Ō
kaṭaḱ jō latthē nē ākē. And when the armies encamped at Attock.
405. Par khabrā Dilli pōhtiā, jō
āyā shīh ghurlākē. News reached Delhi, that the lion had arrived roaring.

XXIII. THE STATE OF CONFUSION IN THE COUNTRY.

406. Dōlat vād amīr, sab kāshat
dōṛāhaṇ. The wealthy and the nobles were all sending messengers about.
407. Ikk charab halūfē khā kē,
diṇ rātī dhāṇ. Others fed themselves on rich confections and galloped day and night.
408. Aglē pichhlē pēhr dī, lē
khabar pōchāhaṇ. Carrying the news of morning and evening.
409. Tē khalkā hōṇ akatṭhiā,
machkūr suṇāṇ. People assembled (and) related stories (thus).
410. Kōm Ayūd, Mayūd dī,
vaḍḍh ādam khāhaṇ. They are the tribe of Yajuj and Majuj,¹ they cut up men and devour them.
411. Sō mard ikk istarī, sāg rāt
hāḍāṇ. A hundred men spend their night with one woman.
412. Jērhiā diūh chann mūl na
diṭṭhiā, kaḍḍh bāhr
bahāṇ. (Women) who have never been seen by the sun or moon, they drag out (of the harem).
413. Tē suṇ suṇ gallā bīviā,
mulire suk jāhaṇ. Ladies hearing these stories die beforehand of fright.
414. Te iknā dī hatthī kātiā,
peṭ chhuri chalāhaṇ. Some take knives in their hands and rip their own bellies open.
415. Ikk ḍūhge bhore khaṭṭ ke,
vichh zari dabāhaṇ. Some dig deep pits and bury valuables.

¹ According to Sikandarnama Yajuj and Majuj were two man-eating giants to prevent whose inroads the Chinese wāi was built.

416. Ikk sāviā piliā hō kē, mar Others turn green and yellow and die in anticipation.
aghdī jāhuṇ.
417. Jiī chiriā sap vēkh kē, Men scream like sparrows who have sighted a serpent.
ādam chirīāhuṇ.
418. Tē kīr nagar ikk dheriā, nā And like ants on an anthill, overcrowd the ways.
rāh simāhuṇ.
419. Biṇ tōbā thī ādami, nā Except ejaculations (of terror) men do not utter a
sukhan alāhuṇ. word.
420. Tē Rabbā sē kam kisē nā O God, no one can avert events which please thee.
meṭaṇē, jehṛē tēnī
bhāhuṇ.

XXIV. DEPARTURE FROM ATTOCK.

421. Aṭak tō chaṛheā Najar Nadir Shah started from Attock, the military drums
Shāh, raṇ bhēri kuṭṭē. were beaten.
422. Tē vēh paē Pājābē pāsaṇē, (The troops) cantered towards the Panjab killing and
sē mārē mutṭhē. plundering hundreds.
423. Khaṭṭar, Ghēbē, tē Gah- The Khattars, Ghebas and Gakkhars were routed in
kharē, pē bhēni luṭṭē. rushes.
424. Kōh pājāh chuṛattani, laṛ The wings of the army spread out to a width of 50
āhuṇ chluṭṭē. kos.
425. Dērē uttē Jehlamī, āṇ lam- They encamped at Jhelum and flashes (of cannon)
bū chluṭṭē. went forth.
426. Par khabrā Dillī pōhtiā, The news reached Delhi and people began to talk (i.e.
suṇ zikrē phuṭṭē. it became the topic of the day).

XXV. DEPARTURE FROM JHELUM.

427. Jehlamō chaṛheā Najar Nadir Shah started from Jhelum. The tomtoms
Shāh, sūl tablak vāē. were beaten hard.
428. Vāg Sikādar bādshāh, sabh Like King Alexander he subjugated all countries.
mulak dabāē.
429. Ōhnū kōi na hōvē sāhmaṇā, No one dare oppose him or face the steel.
nā lōhā chāē.
430. Dobārī rāh nē, Gōdalā laz- Alongside the road were the Gondal Rajputs.
pūtā āhē.
431. Tē Dillō tē Sêdō, vaddheā Dillo and Saido had risen to the skies.
asmāni sāē.
432. Sāgā tiggōvāṇiā, bhann (Their) sharp lances pierced the hearts and made the
zikar chīghāē. troops shriek.

433. Tē murgh jivē kabābiā,
chā sikhī lāē, And pinned (men) down like birds skewered for roast-
ing.
434. Ōhnā himmat kiti surmeā,
chik siō lāghāē. Those brave warriors exerted themselves and drove
the army across their boundary.
435. Dhiā tē bhēṇā betiā dē, rab
sharam rakhāē. God saved the honour of daughters and sisters.
436. Vāj pēiā Darpe loṭiā, mār
farsh òṭhāē. The plunder shifted to Darpa and (the tract) was
beaten hollow.
437. Par salāmi Shāh Dōlā Pir
dī, Guzratē āē. Hail to Shah Daula Pir (Nadir Shah) reached Gujrat.

XXVI. DEPARTURE FROM GUJRAT AND OPPOSITION BY MIRZA KALANDAR BEG.

438. Charhē Guzratō Najar
Shāh, dhraggī dhrē wānā. Nadir Shah started from Gujrat with a vigorous
beating of drums.
439. Tē lāgh Vazirābād thī, cha-
pōl jō dhānā. And the advance guard as numerous as grains passed
Wazirabad.
440. Tē saṭh hazār savār dā,
vichch kōhā dē tāṇā. Sixty thousand horsemen spreading out over miles.
441. Pādshāhi gardā vēkh kē,
tāgū kurlānā. At the sight of the dust of the Royal (army) the
watchman raised a hue and cry.
442. Ōs attan chētē diṭṭhiā, ōh
shakal Paṭhānā. For to him the faces of the Pathans were a surprise.
443. Mirzē Kalādar Beg dā,
vichch kachchī de thāṇā. Mirza Kalandar Beg had his headquarters in the tract
adjoining the river.
444. Tē mirzā kahē sipāh nī,
ikk sukhan siāṇā. The Mirza gave sound advice to his soldiers.
445. Yāro chā jē sifāt asildī, piṛ
chhadḍ nahī jāṇā. Friends! the test of good birth is that one should not
turn back from the battlefield.
446. Asā suṇē nāl gavāhiā,
vichch shak na āṇā. We have heard on authority, which cannot be
doubted,
447. Sūrmē tē sakhi shahīd dā,
bihisht ṭikāṇā. That the brave, the generous and the martyr have
their asylum in paradise.
448. Shastar pēhdē sūrmeā, sha-
hīdī bānā. The warriors took up their arms and wore the garb of
martyrs.
449. Sāj zirē tē bakhtar pēhdiā,
hath paghar kamanā. Put on their accoutrements and coats of mail and took
their bows in hand.
450. Ōh jā khale médan vichch,
heāo satranā. They entered the battlefield, instilled with bravery to
maintain their traditions.

451. Tē chhuṭṭaṇ tīr mih unāṇ-
wāg, sār ghatti bāṇā. The arrows flew like rain following on close weather,
and the shafts caused burning wounds.
452. Ōthē chhuṭṭaṇ bādūkā kār
kār, kahō kit aḍāṇā. The muskets went off crack—crack, where could a
man take shelter?
453. Jivē agg laggī sī nār nū, tivē
bhujjaṇ dhāṇā. Men were burnt like grain being parched in a forest
of reeds on fire.
454. Dhū gard chaṛhi asmān nū,
nā rahī pachhāṇā. The smoke and dust rose to the sky and no one could
identify another.
455. Chamkaṇ vēkh tapālīā. jivē
rāt ṭināṇā. The guns flashed like the firefly at night.
456. Laggaṇ muṇsā tē ghoreā,
goshat chirraṇā. They hit men and horses and the flesh was charred.
457. Ghorā tē mard mēdan
vichch, dhē peā utāṇā. Horse and man fell upside-down on the battlefield.
458. Jivē mochhē karkar suṭṭi-ā,
ganniā tārkhāṇā. Like logs of wood sawn to pieces by the carpenters.
459. Jivē jhaṛē sharābī farsh tō,
bāh dē sarhāṇ-ā. Like a drunkard falling away from the carpet with
his arm for a pillow.
460. Khēḍ suttē nē hōlī lājpūt,
kar suhā bāṇā. The Rajputs went to sleep after playing Holi, with
their garments coloured red.
461. Phēreō sū mūh chapōldā,
kar lashkar kāṇā. He turned the face of the advance-guard depriving the
army (of Nadir) of one eye.
462. Mirzē namak halāl dā, vēkh
rām kahāṇā. This is the story of the glorious deeds of Mirza—the
faithful.
463. Par ālamgīrī dhaṛī nāl,
chaṛh tōl vikāṇā. He weighed his grain against the enemy's pound.

XXVII. DESPATCH OF MESSAGE BY MIRZA TO THE NAWAB (GOVERNOR)
OF LAHORE.

464. Mirzā ḍērē āṅkē, dalīl duṛāē. The Mirza returning to his camp thought over matters.
465. Tē ohnū jānāt nā dissē
āpuī, kōn jī ṭharhāē. But he could not see much of a following, nor any one
to cheer him up.
466. Diṇ chopahrā kaṭṭeā, kōn
rāt lāghāē. The twelve hours of the day passed, but how was the
night to be got through?
467. Mirzē kāsād saddeā, lik-
kheā pahōchāē. The Mirza called a messenger who would carry his
letter.
468. Kāsād aggē nawāb dē,
faryād suṇāē. The messenger went and explained the complaint to
the Nawab.

469. Ōs rattū bhinnē kapparē He set fire to clothes soaked in blood.
agg nāl jalāē.
470. Ōh kul hakikat jāg dī, kar He related the whole account of the battle.
ākhi suṇāē.
471. Ikk chaṛhē Paṭhān valāeti, The invaders are foreign Pathans thirsty of blood.
lahū dharyāē.
472. Ōhnā māvā tō bacheliē They snatched children from mothers and had them
pakaṛ kē, chuk zabali butchered.
karāē.
473. Asī pāj sē bādē āpnē, sabh We had five hundred men—our own kinsmen,
ammā jāē.
474. Nām Ali dē bakkarē, dē And sacrificed them in the name of Ali.
latt kohāē.
475. Mansūr Nizāmad mulk dī, (The Nawab said) cursed be Mansur Ali Nizamulmulk,
jaṛh muddhō jāē.
476. Jinhā bāl matābī chōr nū, Who has held the torch to the thief and shown him
ghar āp vikhāē. his own house.
477. Ēsē mulak Pājāb vichh I have ruled this Province of Panjab,
chaṛh hukam kamāē.
478. Zari bāzlē pèhn kē, bāz, And wearing gold lace amused myself with hawking.
zurē uḍāē.
479. Tē ēthō bhajjā kādh dē, If I turn my back on the place and flee, the world will
jag lānat pāē. say “fie on him.”
480. Par sir dēṇā manzūr hē, jē I would rather lay down my life to save India.
Hīd na jāē.

XXVIII. DEPARTURE OF THE ADVANCE GUARD FROM GUJRAT UNDER BADAR BEG.

481. Guzrātō chhuṭṭi māgi, Mirza Badar Beg asked leave from Gujrat (to go
mirzē Badar bēg. ahead).
482. Muhrā pōhch gēiā Talvāḍi, The advance guard reached Talwandi, and camped at
ḍērā Shāhdarē. Shahdara.
483. Ōhnā luṭṭ lei si mādī, Ema- They plundered the market town of Eminabad.
nabād dī.
484. Ōhnā nā chhadḍi chōkhāḍi, They spared no walled enclosure or Dharinsāl.
nā koi dharmśāl.
485. Kudrat sahab sādī, dekho See, O people, the manifestation of God's might.
bādeo.

486. Disse maṇ bulādī, aggō The front of the army looked like a high wall.
sāhmanē.
487. Ōs diṇ dūr rahī sī dādi, par But that day the river bank (of Ravi) was not
daryā dī. reached.

XXIX. ARRIVAL OF NEWS AT LAHORE.

488. Ghattī vichch Lahôr dē, The runner spread the news in Lahore.
halkārē kūk.
489. Suneā vichch darbār dē, Khoja Yakub heard it in court.
Khozē Yakūb.
490. Ōs lê irshād navāb tō, kar- He obtained orders from the Nawab and sounded the
vāyā kūch. march.
491. Ōhdē nāl jamīyat āpñī, His own followers consisted of one thousand mus-
hazār bādūk. keteers.
492. Pājsē ghoṛā mōgali, pājsē Five hundred Mughal horsemen and five hundred
Lājpūt. Rajputs.
493. Tē pul tē melā dōhā dā, The two sections met at the bridge as if they were the
kōh kit salūk. best of friends.
494. Jivē vichchṛē hōē bāp dē, They embraced one another like long-separated sons
gal mildē pūt. of the same father.
495. Ōhnā kar maslāet jāg dī, They held a council of war and had the decision pro-
karvaī hūk. claimed.

XXX. THE BATTLE ON THE RAVI.

496. Sē zātī sāl misriā, lēiō-nē They drew their precious Egyptian (Persian) swords.
sūt.
497. Māraṇ tēghā gurziā, khāsē The high-born Rajputs used their swords and maces
Lājpūt. (with great effect).
498. Khā gurzī teghā diḡ paē, The enemies fell to the blows of maces and swords
hō gaē bhabūt. and were reduced to ashes.
499. Jivē khā dhatūrā giṛ paē, Like mad jogis fallen senseless after eating *dhatura*.
jogī abdhūt.
500. Madad rahi Nawāb dī, tā If we have the support of the Nawab (said the
jāg makūf. warriors) there will be no more fighting.
501. Phir Shāhdarē tē kitī, ā The Pathans then plundered Shahdara.
Paṭhānā lūt.
502. Navāb Khān Bahādur fōj Nawab Khan Bahadur took count of his men (and
nū, kar hōsh sambhālē. said):

503. Tē ajj etihāhī loṛian, jēhṛē
burkī pālē. Here to-day are needed those who have been fed on dainties.
504. Tē likheā dittā kāsadā, tū
jā Vaṭālē. He gave a letter to a messenger and ordered him to go to Batala.
505. Tē mūhō hakikat dassapī,
parvānā nālē. And to explain the situation verbally besides delivering the written order.
506. Tē ākhī tusī bē khabarō
mulak tō, bēṭhē matvālē. And to tell them you are ignorant of the country, sitting intoxicated.
507. Kitthō bhalōgē raīyatā,
jehṛiā bhardiā sān hālē. Where will you find the subjects who have been paying you revenue?
508. Kitthō pahogē kinkhāb, O
zari doshālē. How will you wear *kinkhab* and golden *doshalas*?
509. Thēlē rakkhō tākchē,
bhann dōr piālē. Deposit your (hunting) bags in niches and break your wine-glasses.
510. Kalādar tē Yakūb Khān,
jāg kihā-kū ghālē. See what a fight Kalandar Beg and Yakub Beg have put up.
511. Par ajj diṇ hatth na āvasī,
jehṛā bhalkē bhālē. To-day is the opportunity. He who waits till to-morrow shall miss it.

XXXI. THE BATALA CONTINGENT.

512. Phēr laggī agg Aziz nū,
ḍiṭṭhē parvānē. On seeing the order, Aziz was infuriated.
513. Tē ghōṛēā tē pāō pākharā,
saṭṭ nōbat khānē. Saddle your horses (said he) and throw off music.
514. Oh charhē rāgilē gabbharū,
sūre mardānē. Those handsome young men, brave and plucky, got on their horses.
515. Ōhnā hanne hatth, rakāb
pēr, duā bakhānē. They said their prayers with their hands on pommels and feet in stirrups.
516. Ōh āē domājīlā kaṭṭ ke,
vichh milē médanē. They came by forced marches and joined on the battlefield.
517. Aggē lashkar Nājar Shāh
da, vēkh dhūmā dhāmē. In front of them they saw the pompous army of Nadir Shah.
518. Ōhnā āōdeā kujh na sam-
jhea, apṇē begānē. Immediately on their arrival, they began to fight without distinction of friend and foe.
519. Ōh mārāṇ teghā, gurziā,
kōh kit sameānē. They plied their swords and maces with wonderful agility.
520. Lashkar pei harōli, uḍḍh
hērat janē. Confusion beset the army (of Nadir Shah), the men lost their presence of mind.

521. Jivē tuṭṭī rassī, dhaṭṭhiā,
lōthā karvānē. As dead bodies drop in a caravan when the string
(of camels) breaks.
522. Ōhnā vaddhē rassē kanāt
dē, tambū janānē. They went as far as cutting down the ropes of female
apartment tents.
523. Kull ambīr valāeti, hō gaē
hērānē. All foreign chiefs became astounded.
524. Asā Dillī kīkar pōhchanā,
ghar ghar hakāmē. How are we to reach Delhi if there is to be a fight at
every step?
525. Vēkh shamā dī rōshanī, jiū
mōē parānē. The warriors sacrificed themselves like moths burning
themselves to death on seeing the lamp light.
526. Kar kē nimak halāl Mu-
hammad Shāh dā, nāl
gaē imānē. They proved themselves true to Muhammad Shah's
salt and died the death of the faithful.

XXXII. SUBMISSION OF THE NAWAB OF LAHORE.

527. Nājar shāh ambīr valāeti,
phēr sabh bolāē. Nadir Shah then summoned all his chiefs.
528. Ōh jā khalōtā Rājghāt,
malāh sadāē. He went and stood at the Rajghat ferry and summoned
the boatmen.
529. Kāsad khabar amūr dī,
hazūr pōhchāē. The scouts carried the news to their lord.
530. Navāb Khān Bahadur mōr-
chē kaḍḍh, aggō lāē. Nawab Khan Bahadur advanced his fortification on
the opposite side.
531. Charheā lashkar vēkh kē,
uḍ hērat jāē. But on seeing the advancing army he lost his presence
of mind.
532. Khusrē baddhī pagrī, kī
mard sadāē. How can a eunuch who has tied up a turban be
called a man?
533. Jiū kēhar kharkā pakreā;
nā dumb halāē. (The Nawab felt like) the donkey caught by a tiger
who cannot even wag his tail.
534. Jiū kar mīrī mard nū, kar
nāz vilāē. (He therefore behaved) like a woman who cajoles a
man by her charms.
535. Ōh dē khajānē vaddhiā,
chhēh jān bachāē. He surrendered treasure as a bribe, lay low and saved
his life.
536. Bahādar chhōṛ bahādari,
lagg kadmī jāē. The brave forsook his valour and fell on the enemy's
feet (submitted to him).
537. Par dērē vichch Lahōr de,
ān kaṭkā pāē. The army then entered Lahore and encamped there.

XXXIII. AFFAIRS AT DELHI.

538. Dilli nū garmī khalafali, sun
katak tufānī. The news of the tempestuous (invading) army caused
excitement and confusion in Delhi.
539. Tē sadd ambirā nū ākhdi,
malkā Zamānī. The queen Zamani called the nobles and spoke to
them.
540. Tusī marūfi ō jadd dē, um-
brā Tūrānī. You are famous hereditary warriors, Turani chiefs.
541. Lē mansab turē hāḍavādē,
var husan javānī. You have received rank and decorations and enjoy
life.
542. Ikkō jēḍā ikk hāṇ, bal
Rustam sānī. Each of you—equal to others—is a second Rustam in
strength.
543. Dāḥi tē dastārdī, ēh mard
nishānī. The beard and the turban befit only a man.
544. Mē kehri vēkhā fatah di,
vichch targash dē kānī. How shall I see the arrow of victory in the quiver?
545. Ajj chaḥkē ḍhukkā hē
Najar Shah, hatth pavē
khajānī. Nadir Shah has arrived bent on plundering all trea-
sure.
546. Tusī dehō lōhē sār dī, kar
tar mizmānī. You give him a sumptuous feast of mighty steel.
547. Chagattē dā nimāk halāl
karō, hōvō kurbānī. Be true to the Chughatta's salt and scarifice your-
selves.
548. Jiū parvānā shamā tē, jal
marē parānī. As the live moth burns himself to death over the
lamp.
549. Vat nahī duniā tē āvaṇā,
jag ālam fānī. You have not to come again to this mortal world.
550. Matē ēh kujh lohriē, kar
dhrōh sultānī. Beware, seek not anything by turning traitors to your
King.
551. Par ikk chaḥeā chann ram-
zān dā, Khān dōrā ērānī. But Khan Dauran the Persian alone appears like the
crescent of Ramzan.
552. Muhammad Shāh amirā
āṇṇēā nū saddke, nitt
dēdā pachchā. Muhammad Shah called his Amirs and goaded them.
553. Dushman kīkar sāhdian
bājh lōhē tachchhā. (But) how can the foe be defeated without the strokes
of steel?
554. Lōhā kīkar toṛiē, bājh hūḍar
rachchhā. (And) how can steel be smashed without the weapon
of wisdom?
555. Bajhō jāli kūḍiā, kōṇ pagrē
machchhā. Without the net and hooks who can catch fish?

556. Amīr rahē, kalāvē meonō,
chīr nīklē kachchhā. The Amirs failed to come within his embrace and slipped through his armpits.
557. Par huṇ kīkar pāhaṇē
etfāk, bājḥ dil deā hach-
chhā. How could unity be secured now without the attachment of heart?
558. Pabb biṇ pādh kaṭivaṇ
nāhī, dushman nā bin
bāhā. Distance cannot be traversed without feet, nor the enemies (subdued) without arms.
559. Bin dōlat thī ādar nāhī, dil
bin nā dilgāhā. There is no respect without wealth and no attachment without love.
560. Gur bin geān nā ilm paṛ-
hivē, bajhō akl salāhā. There is no true knowledge without a preceptor, nor can one learn without wisdom and advice.
561. Bin mīhā thī dādar bōlē,
kēhdē zūf tadāhā. When the hawk calls without rain, people say, 'Fie on him'.
562. Bin kishtī samūdar tariē,
hōdē gark tadāhā. Those who wish to cross the ocean without a boat are invariably drowned.
563. Bin purkhē sīgār jo mīri,
gashtī kēhṇ tadāhā. A woman who adorns herself in the absence of her husband, is called a 'flirt'.
564. Jabtē kār amīr, Najābat,
māt ghattaṇ pādshāhā. Cunning councillors. O Najabat, checkmate the Kings.
565. Dittā kōl turāniā, visāh
kitō-nē. The Turanis pledged their word and inspired confidence.
566. Kūr, khilāf, elāfkē, bād-
shāh charheō-nē. By telling lies and misrepresentations, they induced (the King) to lead out his army.
567. Hūdar daghē farēb dā, chā
jāl suṭṭeō-nē. They spread the net of trickery, faithlessness and fraud.
568. Dhiā tē bhēṇā, bēṭiā, nā
sharam kitō-nē. They felt no shame on account of their daughters and sisters.

XXXIV. ADVANCE OF MUHAMMAD SHAH TO MEET NADIR SHAH.

569. Chaṛhē Chagattā bādshāh,
dhraggī dhaskārē. The Chughatta King started and the drums resounded.
570. Ghōrā sādhē das lakkh, raj-
vārē sārē. (With him) 10 lakhs of horsemen and all the Rajas.
571. Gardā falkī pōhtiā, pē gaē
gubārē. The dust reached the skies and pervaded like a dust-storm.
572. Diōh chann nazar na āvadā,
samānī tārē. Neither the sun nor the moon was visible, nor were the stars in the sky.
573. Bāgī bōlaṇ kōelā, jiū turiā
kukārē. The pipes sounded like the cuckoo calling in the gardens.

574. Pīghē farrē bērakā, rāg
karan nazārē. The flags fluttered like the swinging ropes and displayed different colours.
575. Raṇ bhērī baddal gajjdē,
ghaṇṭal nahārē. The trumpets thundered like the clouds and the drums produced superhuman noise.
576. Hāthi dissan āōdē, vichch
dalā sīgārē. The bedecked elephants on the march were visible above the masses of soldiers.
577. Mār bhabbak gardā chalde,
sir kūdē bhārē. They trumpeted as they walked through dust with heavy hooks over their heads.
578. Dād chittē dēṇ vikhāliā,
kaho kit hanārē. Their white tusks shone white, and dispelled darkness.
579. Jiū ghaṭṭ kāli, baghleā, rut
samā chitārē. As a black cloud illumines the weather (sky) for the herons.
580. Jiū nōldar hallā dīggiā,
sunnh lēṇ jhuṭārē. Their trunks swung like crooked ploughs.
581. Jiū dissan utte makbareā,
safēd munārē. They appeared like white minarets above mausoleums.
582. Jiū pahārā uttō azdahā,
kaṭṭ khāvaṇ hārē. And like the devouring dragons on top of the hills.
583. Charhiā dō bādshāhiā, mēl
guṭṭhā chārē. The armies of two kingdoms arrayed themselves pervading all four corners.
584. Jiū basērā makkari, ghaṇ
bē shumbarē. Like innumerable flights of locusts settling down for rest.
585. Dērē ghattē chāgatteā, āṇ
nadi kanārē. The Chughattas struck their camp on the bank of the stream.
586. Khān Dōrā karē savāl, sadd
sipāh nū. Khan Dauran summoned his soldiers and told them :
587. Yarō beṇēā hashar javāl,
Dilli dē takht nū. Friends, it augurs decline and the doomsday to the throne of Delhi.
588. Mansūbā ē kamāl, sir tē
karkeā. This is a serious plot which has knocked it on the head.
589. Zan farzād tē māl, na vēsug
nāl kujh. Wife, son, and wealth, shall not go with them.
590. Kyā hoeā ikk sāl, ki bāki
jivaṇā. What if they have to live another year or so?
591. Par kareō nimak halāl,
Muhammad Shāh dā. But, be you true to the salt of Muhammad Shah.
592. Baddhē hatth sipāhiā,
bannh arzā kariā. The soldiers folded their hands and made their humble reply.

593. Nimak halāl hā āz kadīm-
dē, khūb talbā tariā. We are faithful of old and have been paid well.
594. Ōhnā kaḍdhē dāg aṭhūheā,
vaṭṭ muchchhā dhariā. They braced themselves up like scorpions throwing
out their stings and twisted their moustaches.
595. Ōhnā sarak leiā sarvāhiā,
hath ḍhālā phariā. They pulled out their swords and caught shields in
their hands
596. Asi Hazrat Ali ambīrdē jāg
vāg, ghat deā de galiā. We will clear roads through the enemy's ranks as in
the battle of Hazrat Ali.
597. Kābal rōhaṇ Paṭhāṇiā,
bhann chūrē kariā. The Pathan wives will cry at Kabul and break¹ their
bracelets and anklets.
598. Par sāhnū tā hī ākhī āfrī,
dastārā valiā. Then alone shall we deserve praise and (prove that
we) have worn turbans.

XXXV. THE RAJPUTANA CHIEFS.

599. Chaṛhē Ōrāgābād thī, bhērī
ghurlāvaṇ. They started from Aurangabad with a flourish of trum-
pets.
600. Aggē Amberī tē Mārvaṛ,
Būdi ghaleāvaṇ. In the forefront, the Amberi,² Marwar and Bundi
chiefs unfurled their banners.
601. Ikkā ghoṛē mard nū, kar
jashan vikhāvaṇ. The horses pranced about and afforded amusement to
the men.
602. Ōh pā pā fimā ṭākdē, kēfi
jhutalāvaṇ. The riders who ate half a pound of opium each gal-
loped the horses.
603. Jivē jahāj samūdarī, girdā-
vā khāvaṇ. And swung like ships tossed about by waves on the
sea.

XXXVI. LETTER FROM NIZAMULMULK TO NADIR SHAH.

604. Nazāmād khat bhalera,
vāchē Najār Shāh. Nadir Shah reads a pleasing letter from Nizamulmulk
which said,
605. Aggē lashkar mērā, pich-
chhē Êrāniā. My army is in the front and that of the Persians in
the rear.
606. Darmeān dohādē ḍerā, Mu-
hammad Shāh dā. Between the two is the camp of Muhammad Shah.
607. Tū rātī ghattī ghērā, chhē-
kaṛ talaf kar. Attack the rear by night.
608. Kichī bēra bēra, Dōrā nū
paghar kē. Destroy at leisure, taking Khan Dauran prisoner.

¹ Signs of widowhood.² Apparently Umethi.

609. Nā karnā zōr bhalerā, kisē mukābalā. No one will offer any resistance worth the name.
610. Eh takht mubārak tērā, kul valāctā. This auspicious throne is thine and so are all the countries.
611. Ghar dā bhēd chāgērā, kisē na sāhdeā. No one has tried to guard the secret (of our own dispositions).

XXXVII. THE ONSLAUGHT OF THE SANYASIS.

612. Shah Nājar gal alāhi, sakhtī bōl kē. Nadir Shah spoke harsh words (to the Sanyasis).
613. Tusi hēsō tughar gadāi, Hīdustān dē. You are the beggars of India.
614. Koī dēdē lōg gavāhi, dhuvādē fakar dī. Does any one give evidence of your saintliness?
615. Huṇ jāde hō hēf kamāi, lajj na vatan dī. You are now absconding, having earned disgrace; you have no patriotism for your country.
616. Sir khāk dhuvādē pāi, jāhō nhass kē. Let dust be thrown on your heads for running away.
617. Shāh Nājar kēhdā jāi, sārī fōj vichch. Nadir Shah said so in the presence of his whole army.
618. Kisē jā eh gallsunāi, Bhōpat Nāth nū. Some one went and related this to Bhopat Nath,
619. Hō muṛhkō muṛhkā jāi, gussā kēhr dā. Who got terribly enraged and perspired from head to foot.
620. Tusā karnī khub larāi, jītnē sūrmē. You must fight well (said he) all you brave men.
621. Bhōpat Rāe sanāsī, sadd puchchē bīrā. Sanyasi Bhopat Rai¹ called and asked his men.
622. Eh utrēn dē valāctō, hath paghar gāḍirā. These giants have come down from a foreign country holding maces in their hands.
623. Oh dēhan dhakkā davāl nū, kar sattan līrā. They push walls down and tear them to pieces.
624. Kadd jinhādē Ōz vāg, yā munkar nakīrā. Their height is like that of Oz, or they are the angels Munkar Nakir (of death).
625. Asā bhi fakar kadimdē, vāg Shāh Mirā. We are also hermits of old like Shah Miran.
626. Sādā mulak Pājāb valaet, tē Hīd jagīrā. The Panjab is our country and India is our jagir.

¹ The same as Bhopat Nath.

627. Rāe Bhōpat khalā vīgārē,
sārē pāth nū. Bhopat Rai summoned all members of his order,
628. Duniā jē chār diharē, kichar
kū jīonā. (and said) this world is but for four days, how long
can we live?
629. Jō likheā kaltārē, sōiō var-
tasī. Whatever is written by the Creator shall take effect.
630. Tusī hō balvāt karārē, sārē
laṛ marō. You are all strong and tough, fight to the bitter end.
631. Karaṇ fakīr tiārē, āoṇ jāg
tē. The fakirs made preparations and came to the battle-
field,
632. Jiū shēr māraṇ bhabhkārē,
pōhchaṇ mārte. Roaring like the tiger going to his kill.
633. Jiū bannhaṇ bāz tarārē,
vēkh shikār nū. And like the hawks sweeping down on sighting the
game.
634. Oh dēvaṇ khōl bhādārē,
teghā vāh kē. With the strokes of their swords they ripped heads
open.
635. Hō naṭṭhaṇ lashkar sārē,
vāgar lūbaṛā. The whole army began to flee, like foxes.
636. Tē nāvē daftar chārḥō, Mu-
hammad Shāh dē. (Let some one) enter up the names of the warriors on
Muhammad Shah's records.
637. Pahlā jāg sanāsī, kardē
ōkrā. The first battle was fought by the Sanyasis and it was
a stiff one.
638. Khāk jinhā dī bāsī, jāti dē
surme. Those who wear ashes but are warriors by caste.
639. Ōh aṭṭhē pēhr udāsī, bhēkh
fakīr dā. We are in renunciation day and night, in the garb of
fakirs.
640. Ōnhādi nā kōi phupphi
māsī, kisē na rōvaṇā. They have no relations to mourn their loss.
641. Ōnhā dē divē balan agāsī,
vāu jhaṭkiaṇ. Their after-death lamps burn in heaven above the
reach of the wind.
642. Ōnhā diā āhaṇ baldiā
akkhī, lahū chhaṭṭiā. Their blood-shot eyes shone like fire.
643. Ikk rabb tinhā dā sāthī,
āhē sāhmaṇē. With God alone as their supporter they came to the
attack.
644. Ōnhā kōl chhuṛī, kohārī
kāti, eh hatheār sān. They had knives and axes as their weapons.
645. Oh bhajjaṇ vāg erākī,
teghā vāhdē. They ran like horses, wielding their swords.

646. Oh khādē mās gaṭāki, vag- They devoured flesh, streams (of blood) flowed.
gaṇ nāvakā.
647. Ohnā pāj hazār churāsī, They killed five thousand and eighty-four Georgians.
Gurzi māreā.
648. Par karkē gaē khalāsī, They fought to a finish and went on to the hills.
chaḥē pahār nū.

XXXVIII. THE BATTLE OF KARNAL.

649. Dōhī dalī mukābalē, raṇ The two armies faced each other, the brave warriors
sūrē gaṇaṇ. roared in the battlefield.
650. Chaḥ tōfā gaḍḍī ḍhukkiā, The cannons were brought up on carts with a hundred
lakkh sāgal khaṇaṇ. thousand chains jingling.
651. Oh dārū khādiā kōhliā, maṇ They devoured tons of powder and chewed maunds
gōlē raṇaṇ. of cannon-balls.
652. Oh dāg palitē chhaḍḍiā, vāḡ When fired by the fuse they thundered like the
baddal kaṇaṇ. clouds.
653. Jiū dar khullē dōjakhā, And fires raged at their mouths as if the gates of hell
mūh bhāī bhāṇaṇ. were thrown open.
654. Jiū jhāmbē mārē pakhaṇū, As birds hedged in flutter in the garden (when it is
vichch bāgā dē phaṇaṇ. set on fire),
655. Jhaṇē taraṭē hambalā, vāḡ As fish flutter in agony when the net is cast,
machchhā dē taṇaṇ.
656. Jiū jhallī aggā laggiā, raṇ The warriors were roasted in the battlefield as if
sūrē taṇaṇ. jungles of reed were on fire around them.
657. Oh hashar dihārā vēkhī kē, The hearts of both the armies shook at the sight of
dal dōvē dhaṇaṇ. that day of judgment.
658. Dhraggā diā dhrē vaṇā, The Maru (war music) sounded to the accompaniment
mārū vajjeā. of drums.
659. Ghūkar ghatti bāṇā, raṇ The arrows flew whizzing in the battlefield.
vichch āṇ kē.
660. Hatheār vadḍā jarvaṇā, The great mighty weapon (mace) like an expert joker
bahad makhōliā.
661. Oh āhraṇ vāḡ vadāṇā, sir Cracked on the heads like a hammer on an anvil.
tē karkeā.
662. Jivē dhāe bāḡ tarkhaṇā, As if the carpenters felled gardens and cut (the trees
tachhhaṇ gēliā. into) logs.
663. Uḍḍ jādē nēṇ parāṇā, muṇ The life and soul of men and horses departed.
sā te ghōreā.

664. Hōeā hukam jambūrchīā,
ā uṭh jhukāē.
The zamburchis (camel gunners) got orders and they
lowered their camels.
665. Bāhī jivē pahār dī, kar kōt
bahāē.
And made them sit down in the form of a fort look-
ing like the side of a hill.
666. Ōhnā dhōṇā karkē lammiā,
baddal girrāē.
The camels stretched their necks and created peals of
thunder.
667. Dāg palitē chhaḍḍiā, ḍō
jhallī lāē.
They (the light guns) were fired by fuses and set the
forest on fire.
668. Pē rahē hazār mēdān
vichch, dōpāē chōpāē.
A thousand bipeds and quadrupeds fell in the battle-
field.
669. Hāthī dhēdē dalā vichch,
hō sīr talvāē.
Elephants fell in the ranks with their head down-
wards.
670. Jivē dhēṇ maṇā daryā diā,
sāvaṇ haṭh āē.
Like the banks of a river falling in during the floods
of Sawan (July-August).
671. Javānā tufāgā paghārīā,
kar shist sābhālē.
The youths (warriors) took up muskets and took a
steady aim.
672. Ōnhā lappī dārū ṭhēhleā,
agg lā peālē.
They put in handfuls of powder and set fire to the
firing cup.
673. Saṛak ghatti sī goliā, lahū
parṇālē.
The bullets cleared a road making spouts of blood
flow.
674. Jiū bhaṭṭh bharakkaṇ dhā-
neā, pē jēṭh purālē.
It was like grain being violently thrown up in the
parching oven in the plentiful supply of Jeth (May-
June).
675. Jivē bhōr gulā par gūjdē,
hō muhrē phālē.
As the bumble-bee humming over the flowers falls
forward.
676. Vassē garā tufāndā, hōṇ
baddal kālē.
It was a terrible hailstorm which made the clouds
black.
677. Jiū kēfi jhaṇṇ hūglākē, hō
khivē matvālē.
The horses fell neighing, turning restive and mad.
678. Jivē ropēiyē tā kē, vichch
pāṇī dē ḍālē.
Like heated rupees thrown in water.
679. Dhanvā paghār bahādarā,
hatth khabbē phariā.
The brave (archers) took their bows in their left
hand.
680. Ōnhā sajjē chillā khichcheā,
khichch kannī khariā.
With the right hand they pulled the strings to their
ears.
681. Jōg jivē shannāsīā, chuk
bāhī khaliā.
And raised their arms like Sanyasis in the practice of
Yoga.
682. Guṇ bōlaṇ marū lakkh rāg,
bād rogan jariā.
The strings set in the decorated bows twanged the
Māru and a hundred thousand other tunes.

683. Ō niviā safā rakū nī, tas-
biḥā paṛhiā. The lines bent as if to say their prayers and tell their
rosaries.
684. Par ghat uḍḍaṇ kāniā,
dukānī ghaṛiā. The sticks (arrows) made in shops flew with their
feathers.
685. Jiū tīr shaṛākē bhādarō,
bannh ḍhukkē jhaṛiā. The arrows whizzed creating a (sustained and violent)
shower of Bhadon.
686. Oh māraṇ sūrē sūrēā,
vichch zirāh na aṛiā. The brave shot them at the brave, (the arrows) could
not be stopped by the coats of mail.
687. Jiū mēkhā beṛi ṭhukkiā,
dhass gujjhā vaṛiā. And entered (the bodies) like spikes nailed into boats
and wedges rammed in.
688. Jiū pahāṛā de dā tō, sē
pēiā paṛiā. It looked as if hundreds of boulders had fallen from a
hill-side.
689. Par sūrē ḍhaṭṭhē nē bīr-
khēt, mall suttē nē raṛiā. The brave warriors fell in the battle-field and slept
occupying open ground.
690. Nēzē āē nē ḍhukk kē, jivē
pāṇī haṛh dē. The lances came in lines like flood waters.
691. Sir navāē barchheā, tasbiḥā
paṛhdē. The spears lowered their heads as if they were telling
rosaries.
692. Barchhē lēṇ bhavāliā, jiū
naṭ sūli chaṛhdē. The spears turned round and round like rope-dancers
climbing the gallows.
693. Lējādē barchhē āsanō, sē
parṇē paṛdē. The lances carried from their saddles hundreds of
riders who fell with a somersault.
694. Jivē kabūtar phaṛak kē, hō
loṭhā jhaṛdē. Like pigeons fluttering in the air and dropping dead.
695. Jiū kā baserā bāg vichch,
ghat ghēra vaṛdē. Like the crows flocking to roost in the garden.
696. Dhraḡgā diā dhrēvāṇā,
mārū vajjeā. The Māru sounded to the accompaniment of drums.
697. Juṛiā aṇ kādhārā, gajjan
sūrmē. The ranks closed in, the warriors bellowed.
698. Jēṭh kallār lashkāṛā, bhaṛ-
kaṇ bhaṭh jiū. (The battle raged) like the glare off *kallar* soil in the
month of Jeth and like the heated furnace.
699. Sēzatī talvārā, lishkaṇ bad-
liā. The valuable swords shone like lightning.
700. Khān Dōrā karē vigārā,
sadd sipāhiā. Khan Dauran rallied his soldiers.
701. Mujapphar chhōṛ asvārā,
raleā bīr khet. Muzaffar left his horsemen and entered the battlefield.

702. Jivé bāj peā vichch ḍārā,
raṇ Shaddād Khā. Shaddād¹ Khan flew like a hawk into a flight of birds.
703. Talvārī diā chhabkārā,
vassē mīh jīū. The flashes of the swords were like the fall of rain.
704. Do dhaṇ karaṇ bhādārā,
vahaṇ sarvāhiā. The Sarohis (swords) flew and cut bodies into two.
705. Jivē tīḍā lāh kumheārā,
dhariā chakk tō. As the potter takes earthen pots off his wheel.
706. Tivē siriā bēshumbārā,
ghaṭṭē ruldiā. So innumerable heads rolled in the dust.
707. Jīū tarbūz bazārā, dissan
ḍheriā. Like water melons seen piled in the streets.
708. Ōhnā kīti vāhḍ hatheārā,
saḍhē sat kōh. The arms wrought execution in seven and a half
kos.
709. Jīū khādhī bhāj kuffārā,
aggē Alī dē. Like the kafirs who suffered defeat at the hands of
Ali.
710. Jīū tuṭṭī kāg sesārā, paē
barēteā. Like the crocodiles which lie on sandy islands after
the high flood.
711. Kal tē Nārad gārā, chhappē
mōt thī. Even Kal and Narad hid themselves in caves for fear
of death.
712. Par Izrāil na sārā mūlē lad-
dhiā. Even Azrael (the Angel of death) could not take count
(of the dead).
713. Kātal Kulī sambhālī, bar-
chhi sār dī. Qatal Kuli poised his mighty spear,
714. Oh ghaṇī dokān valāyat,
dēṛh hazār dī. Which had been manufactured at a foreign shop and
was worth a thousand and a half;
715. Jīū seāh nāgan kāli, dāg
savārdī. It was like a black female snake preparing her fangs to
bite.
716. Kar zōr rakābādē mārī,
laggi nā kārdī. Rising in his stirrups he flung it, but it did not take
effect.
717. Saṭṭ baddhi barchhi tar gei,
phal lashkārdī. The spear in its force went past the mark with its
glittering head.
718. Jivé tārā tuṭṭā ambarō, rāt
gubār dī. Like a falling star (appearing) in the sky on a dark
night.
719. Jivé ghutthī kūhi kulāg tō,
mīr shikār dī. Like the falconer's small hawk missing the crane.

¹ The allusion may be to Shahdad Khan or Saadat Khan.

720. Mujapphar ghōrā chhēreā,
raṇ shēr variddhā. Muzaffar, a picked lion in the field, spurred his horse.
721. Ōs barchhā pagar sam-
bhāleā, tap gussē riddhā. He caught hold of and poised his lance, boiling with rage.
722. Ōs mārēā Kātal Kuli nū,
tak sinē siddhā. He thrust it at Qatal Kuli aiming straight at his chest.
723. Bhanu hā kalējā bukkiā, lē
lukmā thiddhā. It smashed the heart, liver and kidneys, thus eating a greasy morsel.
724. Muṛg jivē kabābiā, chā
sikhī viddhā. As a kabab-maker skewers a chicken before roasting it.
725. Sir fōj pājāh hazār dā,
Mujapphar giddhā. Muzaffar thus accounted for the head of fifty thousand troops.
726. Shāh Tavāchā āyā, raṇ
médān vichch. Shah Tawacha then entered the lists.
727. Ōs nēzā dast ṭikāyā, kisē
kamēt dā. He poised in his hand his famous lance,
728. Mel dhātā ahrāṇ pāyā
khāk lapēṭeā. Which had been manufactured of mixed metals placed on the anvil wrapped in earth.
729. Ghatt kōlē kaū gharāyā,
lambā chuṭṭiā. Heated and beaten in blazing fire of olive charcoal.
730. Ōhnū shakkar sāṇ charhā-
yā, vādhā dittiā. (The head) was placed on a sweet grindstone and given blades.
731. Ghar munnā hath vadhāyā,
shakal karṭār dī. It was beaten into a length of over a foot in the shape of a katār (dagger).
732. Ōlmū chhar dē nāl jarāyā,
suttā jāgeā. It was fixed on to the shaft and as it were woke up from sleep.
733. Jiū savāṇ phaniar āyā,
dāg ulēr kē. It came like a cobra in the month of Sawan, with its head poised.
734. Targash tunē lāyā, mohḍē
chhoh geā. It hit the top of the quiver and just grazed the shoulder.
735. Par Mujapphar rabb ba-
chāyā, gaṛē tufān thī. But God saved Muzaffar from the calamity.
736. Mujapphar ghōrā chhēreā,
muṛ dujji vāri. Muzaffar spurred his horse again a second time.
737. Ōs dhrūh meānō kaḍḍhiā,
muḷ bēshumbārī. He pulled out of its sheath his invaluable (sword).
738. Ōhdi vādhā vā nālō patli,
ustād savārī. With a blade finer than the wind—which had been made by a past-master.

739. Oh aṛē na zīrah tē bak^h-
tarā, rat pīvaṇ hārī. It never stuck at coats of mail and was accustomed
to drink blood.
740. Oh Shāh Tavāchē nū chhā-
dīā, sir laggi kārī. He aimed a blow at Shah Tawacha which took effect
on his head.
741. Ōs judā kīti vaḍḍh kōparī,
saṇ magh^z utārī. It cut off the skull with brain and all.
742. Jivē hāḍī tuṭṭī khīr dī, digg
hatthō bhārī. Like a heavy pot of khir (pudding) dropping from the
hand and breaking into pieces.
743. Jivē maṭkī bhannī gujjārī,
chā dahī khalārī. Like a milkmaid breaking her pitcher and scattering
the curds.
744. Dōvē divē vissavē, shōh
peī gubārī. Both his lamps (eyes) were extinguished and supreme
darkness supervened.
745. Pār mār leā Mujāpphar
Khā umbrā, raṇ haft
hazārī. Muzaffar Khan thus killed in the battlefield a chief
with a following of seven thousand.
746. Āyā Shāh Gizālī, dast
kamān lē. (Then) came Shah Ghizali bow in hand.
747. Ōs kānī pag^hhar sambhālī,
kaḍḍhī targashō. He pulled out an arrow from his quiver.
748. Ōs chillē ghatt javālī, pur
kar chhaḍḍīā. He placed it against the string and discharged it pull-
ing it with full force.
749. Jivē khādhī girh^j bhāvālī,
tuṭṭī mār tē. It hit the mark like a vulture sweeping down on its
prey.
750. Oh lahū dī hājālī, bhukkhī
bhūtani. It was hankering after blood, the hungry demoness.
751. Phal dēdī sur^kh vikhālī,
kitt nihāetē. Its head was seen absolutely red.
752. Jiū dēoh chaṛḍhē pēhlī lālī,
sūhē rāg dī. Like the red-coloured dawn of a rising morn.
753. Mujāpphar āsanō khālī,
jhareā ghōreō. Muzaffar was knocked out of his saddle and dropped
from his horse.
754. Machh peā vichch jālī, taṛ-
phē sūrmā. The brave warrior convulsed in agony like an alligator
fallen into a net.
755. Karkē nimak halālī, geā
Chagatteā. But he died having proved true to the salt of the
Chughattas.
756. Par rasam shahīdā vālī,
kharā bihisht vichch. And according to the rule of martyrdom stood in
paradise.
757. Ākal tubak vajjuttīā, bhar
vajan sambhālī. Aqil levelled his musket and fired it.

758. Ōhnū dīādh alambē atashō,
blukh bhūtē jāli. It emitted flames of fire in its hunger to consume the living.
759. Ōhdā karak peālā uṭṭheā,
bhanh gei henālī. Its firing cup produced the crack and it smashed the chest (of the enemy).
760. Ōs durō dīṭṭhā āvdā, phir
Shāh Gizālī. It saw Shah Ghizali coming from a distance.
761. Ōs lagdi babbar boleā, jivē
khoṛi thālī. It hit him and ripped open his upper body like a broken plate.
762. Jivē lātū tuṭṭā dōr tō, khāh
gird bhāvālī. He fell going round and round like a top breaking from the string.
763. Aggē thōṛi thōṛi sulakdi,
phēr Ākāl bālī. The fire which had been smouldering was rekindled by Aqil.
764. Par Khān Dōrā dā nimak
sī, kar geā halālī. But he had eaten Khan Dauran's salt and proved true to it.
765. Phēr aeā turā nachādā,
Aziz Khān Kādhārī. Then came Aziz Khan Kandhari flying the tail of his turban.
766. Ōs rakh kavāed sajjeō,
barchhī purkārī. He flung his spear forcibly, from the right,
767. Ōs karkē siddhī sāhnaṇi,
Ākal nū mārī. In the correct manner, aiming it straight at Aqil.
768. Oh barchhī ghutthī Ākalō,
bannh gei tatārī. The spear missed Aqil and flew straight away.
769. Jiū jōsh rakābā dē chha-
dḍeā, chā bāj shakārī. As a hawk is flung by a falconer standing in his stirrups.
770. Shikrā ghutthā shatūṇiō,
bannh geā uḍārī. And the hawk misses and the bird flies far away.
771. Jiū khiḍārī rakkhīā, kar
chhakkē sārī. Or like the gambler who stakes his all on the dice.
772. Pāsā pavē na dā dā, kī
karē khiḍārī. But if the dice will not help him what can the gambler do?
773. Jadō barā māgē tē trē paē,
phēr askar hārī. When he wants twelve the dice show three: he must therefore lose.
774. Par Ākal tubak vajuttiā,
muṛ dujji vārī. Aqil then fired his musket a second time.
775. Ākal tubak vajjuttīā, kaho
kēhī āhī. Aqil fired his musket—what a fine musket it was!
776. Oh dārū dī khādī ikk lap,
goli sarāshī. It took a handful of powder and a bullet weighing a sarsahi.

777. Ōhdā karak peāla uṭṭheā,
vichch garā ilāhī. Its firing cup produced the cracking noise, inside it
there was the vengeance of God.
778. Os Aziz Khā Kādhārī nū
mārī ā, pī rat misāhī. He fired it at Aziz Khan Kandhari; it drank his
blood at one sip.
779. Diggā ōh palāg tō, pī kēf
manāhī. He fell as it were from his charpoy drinking a cup
of the prohibited drink.
780. Sūrē āsan chhaḍḍeā, jīd
hōiō-sū rāhī. The warrior dropped from his seat and his life de-
parted.
781. Par haft hazārī sūrmā, mār
geā sipāhī. Thus a valiant officer commanding seven thousand
troops was killed by a soldier.
782. Āyā ikk marvānī, nā sū
Badar Bēg. Then came a Marwani named Badar Beg.
783. Oh kaḍḍhaṇ hārā jānī.
vāgar rāshkā. He was accustomed to taking life like the demons.
784. Ōs dhrū lei karvāni, suddhē
sār dī. He drew his sword of true steel.
785. Os karkē fikar insānī, Akal
nū chhāḍeā. He watched his opportunity and aimed a blow at
Aqil.
786. Os pal vichch kitā fanī, ēs
jahān tō. He obliterated him from this world in an instant.
787. Jiū ṭuṭṭī rassī kārvinī,
lōthā ḍhaṭṭhiā. As dead bodies drop when the string of a caravan
breaks.
788. Jivē takhtē chiraṇ sānī,
suṭṭē tāk tē. As sawyers saw planks and throw them down.
789. Par Ākal bhī kurbānī, nām
Chagatteā. But Aqil also sacrificed himself on the name of the
Chughattas.
790. Āeā Mirzā Nūr Bēg, ikk
mughal ēranī. Then came Mirza Nur Beg, a Persian Mughal.
791. Paṭē bhulatthē nēzeō, bāz
ziram kamānī. Expert in fencing, practised with the lance and a
dexterous archer.
792. Oh jamdliar, chhurī, katā-
riō, roshan mēdānī. He was known in the battlefield for his skill in the use
of the short sword, knife and dagger.
793. Oh nārē kardā dalā vichch,
bal rustam sānī. He shouted in the crowds like a second Rustam.
794. Kar shēr kalāchā paghāreā-
sū, Badar Bēg marvānī. In his lion's grip he caught Badar Beg Marwani.
795. Ōhnū dabbkē kuṭṭhōsū latt
hēṭh, kaho kitt nishānī. He pressed him under his leg and slaughtered him in
a unique manner.

796. Oh tobā karē hazār vār,
pukār zabānī. He (Badar Beg) craved forgiveness a thousand times.
797. Jiū dittā hazrat Ibrahim,
nē dumbā kurbānī. (He was slaughtered) as if the Prophet Abraham had sacrificed a sheep.
798. Afsal Kulī mēdān vichch,
dōvē muchchh sāvārē. Afzal Kuli twisted his moustache in the battlefield.
799. Oh chheṛ arākī palkeā, kar-
dā lalkārē. He spurred his horse and charged shouting.
800. Hō sajjē mirzē Nūr Bēg
nā, ān pukārē. He came from the right side of Nur Beg and challenged him.
801. Khā gussā parteā Nūr Bēg,
dil phiri karārē. Nur Beg turned in rage with a plucky heart.
802. Jiū virdheā hōeā mārte, tar
shēr chā mārē. Like an angry tiger jumping at his kill.
803. Oh juṭṭ paē dō sūrmē, raṇ
ghāghe hārē. The two warriors closed with each other, roaring in the battlefield.
804. Jiū kar uttē āhraṇē, tā
dharē lohārē. Like a blacksmith placing heated iron on the anvil.
805. Oh māraṇ saṭṭ vadāṇ vāg,
hō pabbā bhārē. Standing tiptoe they delivered stroke after stroke of, as it were, the hammer.
806. Kar jhaṛ kaṛak kaṛak kaṛak,
dhālī balkhārē. With blows falling crack—crack, the shields of these warriors capable of using them,
807. Hatthē rahiā gadḍiā uḍḍ
gaē kanārē. Remained grasped in their hands while the rims were chipped off.
808. Phull dhālā dē jhaṛ paē,
kaḥo kitt hanārē. The knobs of the shields fell off, so terrible was the conflict.
809. Jiū ātashbāzā phūkea, phul
jhaṛi anārē. Like the firework-makers let off the sparkling fireworks.
810. Oh chappā chal nahī jāṇdē,
hēn vaḍḍē hāē seārē. Neither gave an inch of ground, so brave were they both.
811. Par vēkh razā khudā di,
kōṇ jittē kōṇ hārē. Victory and defeat rested merely on the will of God.
812. Khān Dōrā di asvārī, āhi
lujjh tē. Khan Dauran's retinue was magnificent.
813. Balak Ilāf Bukhārī, turē
valāetī. Men from Balkh, Iraq and Bukhara with foreign turbans.
814. Arbī tē kādharī, phirē
mēdān vichch. Arabs and Kandharis paraded the field.

815. Lê jamdhar, chhuri, kaṭārī,
dahē Kasūrīē. With the short sword, knife and dagger, set to work
(the Pathans) of Kasur.
816. Tē vassē chhajjī, khārī,
lōhā mīh vāg. Iron rained by the ton like a shower of rain.
817. Tāg lahū dē tāri, mōreā
Hanfiē. The Hanafi (the Prophet) set back (Nadir Shah) with
his horse swimming girth-deep in blood.
818. Par bāji āhi hārī, Nājar
Shāh nē. Nadir Shah had practically lost the game.
819. Mansūr Ali, tē Kamar dīn,
bēh pachchhōtādē. Mansur Ali and Kamar Din sat and repented and said,
820. Tē sēi gāuṇ sōhilē, vivāh
jinhā dē. Let those sing songs who have to celebrate a marriage.
821. Bhalkē jiū laggaṇ ēt fikar,
eh fikar asādē. How are we to face this anxiety to-morrow? This is
what makes us anxious.
822. Par eh gal nāhī mukkdī,
jēchir jiūdē jādē. But this thing will not end till they (the other party)
go alive.
823. Dohnī dalī mukābalē, da-
mamā vāheā. The two armies met (again) in conflict and the drum
sounded.
824. Tōfā kaṭkaṇ badliā, ghurṭāl
vājaeā. The cannons thundered like the clouds, and the gongs
rang.
825. Shaddād Khā hāthī peleā,
chir lashkar āeā. Shaddad Khan urged his elephant and came tearing
through the army.
826. Par sir hāthī dē nējā, Karāk
Bēg chalāeā. Karak Beg levelled a lance at the head of the elephant.
827. Mīr Sēd Gullū, ōs thā, ān
turā dhasāeā. Mir Said Gullu pushed himself in there.
828. Ōs jhalleā ān Karāk Bēg
nū, tōl barchhā lāeā. He stopped Karak Beg and aimed a well-poised blow
of the lance at him.
829. Mār barchhā Bēg Karāk
nū, bhan zikar chīghāeā. With the thrust of the lance he pierced Karak Beg's
heart and made him shriek.
830. Murg jivē kabābiā, chā
sikhī lāeā. As a kabab-maker skewers a chicken for roasting.
831. Jiū hazrat Muhammad
Hanfiē, Yazīd kuhāeā. As Hazrat Muhammad Hanafi had Yahid butchered.
832. Jiū hazrat Mūsā paghar kē,
Firaōn ḍubāeā. As Hazrat Musa had Pharaoh caught and drowned.
833. Ōs sēiyad hōr bhī kitnē-kū
māreō-sū, āp mūl nā āeā. That Sayyad killed several others, but did not himself
come to grief.

834. Donhī dalī mukābalē,
damāma karaē. In the contest of the two armies the drum beat fiercely.
835. Khān Dōrā ghoṛā chheṛēā,
jhāg lashkar vareā. Khan Dauran spurred his horse and forced his way through the army.
836. Tē khāḍā dhrūh meān tō,
hath sajjē phareā. He unsheathed his sword and caught it in his right hand.
837. Ōsgarmī khādhi ahraṇō, rat
māgē saṛēā. It had received the heat of the anvil and was scorched and thirsty for blood.
838. Aggē āhā Najār Shāh, lōh
bakhtar jareā. In front of him was Nadir Shah clad in steel armour.
839. Ōs satt sirōsir māriā, nā
rēhdā areā. He aimed seven blows at the latter, one after the other, and could not be kept off.
840. Lōhē nū lōhē jhalleā, phaṭṭ
karē na saṛēā. But steel deadened the blows of steel and the sword caused no wound.
841. Jiū tittar mūh bāzdē,
vichch chūgal areā. Like the partridge sticking his claw in the beak of the hawk.
842. Ghuss palāg nihāg dē, mūh
ādar phareā. Like the tiger caught in the mouth of the Dragon.
843. Par vāh hayātī shāh dī,
shukarānā paṛheā. But the King still had a span of life and offered thanks (to God).
844. Khalkat ākhē vāh vāh,
Khān Dōrā laṛēā. The people said bravo! well fought Khan Dauran!
845. Nādar tubak vajuttia, sār-
dānē ghaṛī firāg dī. Nadir fired his gun which was completely of European make.
846. Ōdhi mā Kal tē peō Nārad,
oh sakkī hē bhēṇ blujāg
dī. Its mother was Kal and father Narad, it was the full sister of the Dragon.
847. Oh are na zireā bakhtarā,
ratt pīdī mūl na sāgdī. It did not stick at coats of mail or armour and had no scruples at sucking blood.
848. Ōs dhar' tali tē chhaḍḍiā,
chhōṛ pīṭh gei-ā turāj dī. He placed it on his palm and fired it. It (the bullet) passed out of embroidery at the back.
849. Najābat gallā agliā, vaḍḍi
gōṭh māri shatrāj dī. Nijabat, these are old facts. He took the most important piece on the chess board.
850. Nājar Shah vājē fatah dē,
shadeānē vāhe. Nadir Shah had triumphal music sounded.
851. Mansūr Ali tē Kamar dīn,
sharre chhaḍḍē. Mansur Ali and Kamar Din let off fireworks.

852. Tubkā, tōfā, rêhkalē, dabb Guns, cannons, mortars fired a *jeu de joie*.
māsē lāē.
853. Burj bāzī shatrāj dī, mār The game of chess was won, the castles were knocked
rukḡ uḡāē. off.
854. Par dhrōhī Nājār Shāh dī, But the whole of India shook with Nadir Shah's
hīd sārī pāē. terror.

PRONUNCIATION.

The Panjabi text of the Ballad is written in the Roman character. The system of transliteration adopted is that laid down on page 1 of the Grammar Section of the Glossary of the Multani Language by Mr. E. O'Brien, revised by Messrs. J. Wilson and Harikishan Kaul. The vowel sounds are represented as follows:—

Short vowels.	Pronounced like vowel sound in English word.	Example.	Long vowels.	Pronounced like vowel sound in English word.	Example.
a	sun, rub	Rabb (God).	ā	far, tar.	tār (wire).
e	take	mārea (struck).	ē	they, tale.	tēl (oil).
è	tell, men	lèh (descend)	ê	Jamaica.	ḏhê (fall).
i	till, sin	piṛ (threshing-floor).	ī	steal, mean.	pīṛ (pain).
o	post	gohīra (lizard).	ō	toll.	sōna (gold).
ò	hot	pòhta (reached).	ô	tall, awe.	vôhuṛ (young bull).
u	full	unn (wool).	ū	fool, moor.	kūṛ (lie).

The diphthongs used are:—

Diphthong.	Sound as in English word.	Example.
ei	fine, tile.	geī (gone).
ai	my, sigh.	bāith (sixty-two).
au	now, owl.	kaū (olive).

The nasal sound following a short or long vowel is represented by a circumflex accent ^ placed over the vowel, thus:—

ā	in	chāgā (good).
ā̃	in	bāh (arm), bānā̃ (wearing apparel).
ē	in	jīvē (may you live).
ē̃	in	dēde (giving).
ī	in	ḏīga (crooked).
ī̃	in	nīh (rain).
ō	in	dhōda (washing).
ō̃	in	gōd (gum).
ō̃̃	in	shō̃k (eagerness).
ū	in	kūḏā (hasp).
ū̃	in	nū (to).

I have discarded the use of an *n* to represent a nasal following a short vowel or followed by a consonant, and have adopted a uniform system of nasalization. Thus, I have written ḏīgā instead of ḏīngā and dēdā instead of dendā.

The only peculiarity about the consonants is the occasional use of the lingual l and r written as ʎ and ɾ respectively, besides the linguals ʈ, ʈh, ɖ, ɖh and ɳ and that of the Arabic aspirates kh and gh.



Nāsr o'dīn Mahommed Shah
Present Emperor of Hindostan.
From an Original



Blackey delin :

Major sculpt.

Nadir Shah

Some Notes on Ancient Kulu Politics.

By G. C. L. HOWELL, I.C.S.

I. *The Ancient Trade Routes.*—Geography makes history all the world over, and nowhere is this more palpably true than in the Himalaya. Kulu history is based on evidences which are meagre, and, more especially in the case of the so-called "chronicle" of the Rajas of Kulu, often unreliable. But from the legends of an untutored mountain race, and the record inscribed on the face of the slowly changing ranges, it is sometimes possible to reconstruct something of a picture of what life was like before the advent of the British.

The position of the valley, it has always seemed to me, is peculiar. Here is no backwater like the neighbouring State of Chamba, in which an ancient Rajput line has been sheltered to maintain an unbroken rule from a period preceding the dawn of civilization in Europe. Kulu and Lahul lie full in a channel through which have ebbed and flowed for ages the tides of racial and religious antagonisms.

The people have acknowledged many masters—Aryan and Mongolian. But through it all Indian markets have always demanded salt, and wool, and borax, to say nothing of the more precious merchandise of Central Asia. And while armies marched and fought, the hungry Tibetans would still risk much to get the wheat of the plains, and the incomparable barley of Lahul. The trade therefore went on. It was quite by chance that I discovered the ancient trade route. One must remember that the Beas was nowhere bridged, and nearly everywhere an impassable torrent; that there were no mule roads, so that all the trade must be packed on sheep; that every height was crowned with a post, with a garrison of marauders; that the Kulu farmer then as now regarded travelling sheep as "fair game"; that there was a customs barrier for the Rohtang Pass below Rolla, at the *Cañon* still known as the "Customs House" (*Zagāt Khāna*), where (no doubt) a foreigner's life was made a burden to him; and that there would be endless bickering and bargaining at every halt before a caravan of laden sheep could get any grazing. All this is plain to anyone who can imagine the Kulu people set free from the restraint which the British Raj imposes.

So the trade avoided the Hamta Pass, and the Rohtang and the (comparatively) broad paths which led to destruction in the valley. Arrived at the summit of the Bāralātse Pass the Tibetans turned sharp to their left, and followed down the left bank of the Chandra River. Here was pasturage—and to spare—of the finest fattening grass in the world, wherever they chose to halt. There were no torrents which were not easily fordable in the morning. And there was little fear of molestation in an uninhabited and (to the Indian mind) most undesirable region. Past the

beautiful Chandra Lake the trade sheep marched and grazed to the plain near "Split Rock" (Phuta Runi), still known as the "Plain of the Kanauris." There the middle men from Kanaur in Bashahr—and perhaps from Kothi Kanaur at the head of the Parbati glen—met them. The big 50 lb. packs of salt and other merchandise were unpacked. The big Tibetan sheep were shorn. For a week or so the trading went on. And finally the little Bashahri sheep moved off, not laden so heavily as the Tibetan *biangis* or trade sheep; while the latter returned with new packs to Rudok and Leh.

But the Kanauris had no thought of moving through Kulu. They went up the valley which is now blocked by the Shigri Glacier, across the head of the Parbati Valley, along the old mountain sheep route, which is still known though very seldom used, always through uninhabited safety,¹ to the Sutlej Valley at Rampur. There they met (and let us hope were a match for) the wily trader of the plains.

In 1836, tradition says, the Shigri Glacier, bursting some obstruction on the hill tops, overwhelmed the Chandra Valley, dammed the Chandra River, till it rose within measurable distance of the Kunzam² Pass, and finally destroyed the old trade route.

There are however some landmarks on the old road, which was, I suspect, abandoned much more gradually than tradition relates. The Kanauris, who speak a Tibeto-Burmese language closely allied to those of Lahul³ and Malāna, have left their name on the "Kanauri Plain" near the modern camping ground of Phuta Runi; and the whole of the Upper Parbati Valley is known to this day as Kothi Kanaur, while its inhabitants, though they have forgotten their language and are rapidly becoming assimilated to the Kulu people, are still regarded as "foreigners" and often show markedly Mongolian features. Probably they are Kanauris who gave up trade for farming generations before the road was abandoned. But they still know the road (one day I hope to explore it with them) from Phulga to Rampur.

I have never been able to understand why the mighty glaciers, and especially the great "Samundar Tap" glacier discharging into the Chandra (right bank) between the Bāralātse and Phuta Runi, have never been explored by sportsmen. The Gaddis all maintain that they abound in fine ibex. But in this respect Indian sportsmen resemble sheep, and flock year after year into their predecessors' footsteps. This has however nothing to do with ancient Kulu—so to our muttons.

II. Tibetans in Kulu.—There are three invasions of Kulu recorded in the chronicles of Ladakh (A. H. Francke, "History of Western Tibet," pp. 63 *et seq.*). The first was somewhere between 1125 and 1150 A.D. At this time, Mr. Francke has told me, Kulu was probably part of the Kingdom of Ladakh, and the "ruler" who was made to pay a tribute of half-bred yaks (dzos) and iron to the King of Ladakh was quite possibly a Tibetan. Secondly in 1440–1470 a "Kashmiri" Buddhist army took the town of Kuluta. The third invasion was somewhere between 1530 and 1560,

¹ Over the Gānwi Pass?

² The Spiti people had pickets out at the summit to warn them in case the river headed up high enough to flood the pass and flow down to Losar!

³ All these are, as Mr. Francke has shown, allied to the Mundāri (aboriginal) language spoken by the "Kol" aborigines.

shortly after Sidh Singh Badāni had himself declared Raja at Nast (Jagat Sukh). Tradition points fairly clearly to a definite occupation by Tibetans at any rate of the higher positions of Kulu proper. And this is corroborated in several ways.

An interesting incident occurred during the time of Thakur Hari Chand of Lahul ("Jo" or Governor of Kailang). Some time within the last 20 years a monk came down with credentials from Lhassa addressed to the Thakur. He had in his pocket an ancient map of Manali, and of an old Tibetan monastery which once stood there. The monks had been driven out of the valley in a hurry; but had hidden their library in a cave which they had closed in—hiding the mouth with a pile of deodar logs, and sealing it for ever with a horrid curse calculated to scare the boldest Kulu man from interfering with the logs. The monk and his plans reached Manali. He went straight to the pile of logs in front of the Manali temple; and was at once confronted with a curse more secure than any Chubb's lock! Most unfortunately Thakur Hari Chand made no notes; and did not communicate with the Assistant Commissioner, who would no doubt have explained that credentials from Lhassa annulled the curse—and acted accordingly. The mystery remains unsolved. But the incident shows that monastic chronicles confirm the general tradition of a Tibetan occupation. And perhaps one day Lhassa will make another attempt.

At the head of all the valleys remain Tibetan place names like Solang in Kulu proper; Pangchi Pass between Rupī and Inner Seraj; Shungchu and Tung (Inner Seraj). These two latter instances, it must be noted, show Tibetan influences flanking the ancient Bashahr trade route which I have described.

At the beginning of the 16th century A.D. certain forts above the Kulu Valley were undoubtedly held by Tibetan¹ officers. The most unpopular of these was the Piti Thakur (this is probably a description rather than a name), the remains of whose fort are plainly traceable on a spur above Jagat Sukh. His place of worship was the Prīni temple of the Great God Jamlu at the foot of the approach to the Hamta. In this temple to this day—alone of all the temples in Kulu—the Spiti men go to make offerings; all other races must take their shoes off in the temple precincts, but Lamaists go in fully shod; and when he is inspired the local prophet at the shrine speaks a language which he claims (and a not hypercritical congregation allows) to be Tibetan. He always maintains that the god came from *Bhutant* (Tibet) *Chin* (China) or "*Panga Padul Mansarowar*." Incidentally this is an interesting commentary on the (partially) Tibetan origin of the Malana people—the disciples and incarnations of Jamlu. They certainly represent one of the advanced posts of Tibetan influence flanking (be it noted) the ancient trade route, and even by tradition protecting a minor trade route, which I always failed to explore, from the Malāna Glen to the Chandra Valley. Possibly the glacier at the head of the glen was once less formidable than it is now—though it is still passable for sheep.

But to return to Piti Thakur. He may have been devout. But, unless he is hideously maligned, he was a ruffian, for he preferred human milk to every other

¹ The Lahula "Jos" or Thakurs of Gondla are descended from a Tibetan Captain who held the fort of Kolang in Chota Bagāhal, and who was driven out by the Rajput Raja of Bagāhal.

kind of drink, and used to perform human sacrifice. Personally I doubt the story. He belonged to a race constitutionally averse to teetotalism, and his "sacrifices" were possibly well merited executions. He had lieutenants (of evil memory) in the Barnar, Dirot, Diābangi and Guwāri Forts and also in several forts in the Chakki Nallah. In fact the Tibetans held the left bank of the Beās with the approaches to the Hamta and Chandar Kanni passes, and all the by-paths by which these could have been turned. But above Jagat Sukh, the Rājput Jinna Rāna held both banks of the Beās, which is here generally easy to cross. It is clear that service in these outlying forts must have been very irksome to the Tibetans. They never liked coming below an altitude of 10,000; in winter they were cut off from all relief across the passes; and they were in the midst of extremely treacherous and hostile people. But that they were, and are, a more humane and hospitable (and infinitely more civilized) race than the Kulu men, there is no doubt. Their "forward policy" was no doubt a sheer necessity, if they were to protect their trade.

For the time, however, the tide had begun to turn. The adventurer Sidh Singh cut off their outposts in the Kulu Valley, founded the 'Badāni' dynasty, and in spite of the fact that King Tsewang Namgyal (1530-1560) of Ladākh made the chief of Kulu "feel the weight of his arm" on his way back from Nepal, Sidh Singh's descendants were within the next 200 years to make themselves overlords of the Ladākhi Province of Lahul, as the kingdom of Western Tibet decayed.

III. *The Rānas.*—When Sidh Singh made himself Rāja of Nast (Jagat Sukh) about 1500 A.D., the north of the Kulu Valley was ruled by Jinna Rāna.¹ He was almost certainly a Rājput, as his story will show. His capital town was Manāli. He was apparently on good terms with the Piti Thākur, and left him to protect the approaches from the left bank of the Beas. The right bank he held with the Manāli Fort commanding the lower road up the river, and the great fortress of Mandan Kote on a fine spur high above Manāli town in the jaws of the Manāli Nallah. It is well known that Manāli Fort was once besieged by a "Gaddi Army" and very nearly fell. It is hard to imagine the peaceful Gaddi shepherds as men of war! But perhaps the legend records an attack from Chamba, or the old Bara² Bagāhal State: and it is quite certain that a force containing Gaddis would prefer marching along the heights with their enemy below them, and the building of Mandan Kote was doubtless intended to prevent the outflanking of the Manāli Fort from the top of the Manāli Nallah. However there was Jinna Rana, a ruler whose memory is loved by the Manāli people to this day. All was well until the appearance of Sidh Singh Badāni, and the expulsion of the Tibetans. The "Badāni" evidently could not endure a rival in Manāli, and he proceeded to plot against him. The legend of the plot is told in great detail, and the details vary, but the pith of it is as follows:—

The Rāna had a (Dāgi) low caste groom called (Muchiāni) "Whiskers," who had grown a beard nine hands long. To this beard the Rāna objected. He said that

¹ The downfall of Jinna Rana of Manali.

² Bara Bagāhal was apparently never conquered by Tibetans as Chota Bagāhal was. It had no value as an "outpost of Empire."

Dāgis had no right to grow beards like this. But the groom refused to shave it, saying that servants should shave only when their master died. Now Muchiāni was a particularly good bow-man. The beard question became acute, and one day, in the course of an argument, the Rāna pointed to a *mynah* sitting on the back of a cow. "Kill that mynah and your beard remains: miss it and I shave you: wound the cow and I shave you first and kill you afterwards." The mynah was killed and the beard remained. And that was an end of all good feeling between the Rāna and his groom. Both sides had been severely provoked. Here was an instrument to Sidh Singh's hand. He sent for Muchiāni and bribed him to kill the Rāna. The Rāna went out one day to look at his rice fields—still, after 400 years, known as the Kumānu and Rāambar fields—below Basisht. As he was riding back Muchiāni shot him. A stone pillar (ora) marks the place where the arrow pierced his thigh. Everyone knows the exact spot on which Muchiāni stood to make the shot. And the range is a good 300 yards! The Rāna rode off to Mandan Kote with the wound in his thigh—apparently he was a humble-minded ruler and had no escort except his groom—and at the spring of Baira Kuta he stopped to drink water, and there he died.

Meanwhile his ladies were all in Mandan Kote Fort. They heard a horse gallop up to the stable but there was no Rāna with him, and just then they heard the noise of drumming. This was the Muchiāni coming up to the Fort and drumming a dirge¹ on a winnowing sieve to announce the death of his master. At once the Rāni—like a true Rājputni—set fire to the Fort: and she and all her ladies were burnt, including the Muchiāni's wife.

Sidh Singh rewarded the Muchiāni with the Rāna's "Kumānu" rice lands: he founded a flourishing, but extremely unpopular family, to this day known as the "Whiskers"—every family in Kulu has a "surname"—and I regret to say they are mostly great sheep-stealers and many of them are bound over as "habitual bad characters." But even now they own the Rāna's rice fields in Basisht. During the earthquake in 1905 an enormous rock fell into their village at Burwa, and buried four whole households. But they still abound. So much for "history." Now to see how folk-lore has accrued to the story.

The Rāni after her *sati* turned into a Fairy (Jogin) with a shrine in the Mandan Kote ruins. It is always the principle in Manāli when your favourite divinity fails to send timely rain, to annoy him (or her) until the rain comes. The Rāni is in charge of the weather to this day. And when rain is needed, and negligence is considered proved, some Muchiānis are sent up with a cow skin which they burn near the shrine. This never fails to produce rain, for what Rajput lady could endure either the smell of burnt cow hide, or the proximity of her lord's murderers?

As for the Muchiānis they were cast "out of religion," and even now no village god will have one of them anywhere near him. But with the new State behind them the Muchiānis could afford to laugh at the Church. No sooner was the Rāni declared to be a Fairy, than they announced that the murderer's wife, who had

¹ Drumming is a great art in the hills and it is always easy to distinguish the beat for a death from one for a marriage or a battle drum.

perished with her, was a Fairy too. They built a beautiful little temple in her honour in the glen above Burwa, and there the family worship to this day. It is, so far as I know, the only Family Chapel in Kulu.

The Descendants of Jīnna Rāna.—Two miles below Manāli Rest House on the bank above the Hamta River is the little hamlet of Aleo fronting on a pretty Village Green. All round the edge of the Green stand a number of upright stones. I enquired one day what these meant and was told that they were memorial stones for the dead. Now the only families in the hills known to me to erect stones to the memory of their dead were the royal families of Suket and Mandi: and at one time similar stones were put up to the memory of Kulu Rajas at Naggar where they still remain. We found that the Aleo stones were erected by one family only—the Nuwānis. They were able to satisfy me as to their “Royal” descent. And this is something like their story as I wrote it down from the dictation of the head of the house:—

When Jīnna Rāna was murdered and his ladies decided to commit *sati* one of them was about to bear him a child. So the Rāni sent her out of the Fort before they fired it, and in due course a son was born in her father’s house. The child was herding cattle on the “Gaddis’ Plain” at Manāli—the place where the Gaddi army had encamped during the siege of Manāli, when Raja Sidh Singh came up to sacrifice a buffalo to the Goddess Hirma at Dhūngri Temple. The buffalo escaped—wounded and infuriated. He was pursued by the Rāja’s men. But as he ran the little boy either shot him, or, according to another version, caught him by the horns. The Rāja sent for him and found that he was Jīnna Rāna’s son. He said, “He must be given a place—let it be a place with the river in front and a precipice¹ behind.” This in Kulu is an idiom for “a tight fix.” And probably the Raja was hinting that the child might be removed conveniently. But everyone loved Jīnna Rāna; and no one wanted to kill his son. So Aleo was found for him—a place which literally answered to the Raja’s order—and the latter either relented or was afraid to kill him. There the boy grew up and founded the Nuwāni family. They have never forgotten their descent, and, though they have no status except as ordinary farmers, for four hundred years they have assumed the royal right to put up memorial stones; and have always nursed their hatred of the Badāni Rājas. Even now when the head of the Badāni house dies they assemble secretly: kill a goat; and hold a great feast.

In Kulu land is, and always has been, held from the Ruling Power on condition that the landholder does a certain amount of forced labour partly in lieu of rent. To exempt an individual from this obligation invariably raises a storm of protests from his neighbours whose burdens are thereby increased. In three years in Kulu I only once granted an exemption of this kind against which not a single objection was lodged. And that was when the head of the house of Jīnna Rāna was told that in future he need never carry loads for travellers. The hill men have their faults. But

¹ Age nogh pichhe dhog. Kulu Proverb.

they love their chiefs. And in the north of the valley the Badāni family are always remembered as the usurpers who had murdered the Chief—400 years ago. It is said that the Rāna's archives are still held in the Ġushāl temple in sacred trust—so sacred that the priest who handles them must blindfold himself. But this legend I have, for obvious reasons, never been able to verify, though there is, or was, almost certainly a mysterious bag in the temple which is strictly "tabu." The hills never forget.

Bhosal Rāna.—South of Manāli, and bounded by the Siunsa Nallah on the north and Bajaura on the south, there was at one time a small State (confined to the right bank of the Bias) ruled over by a Rāna. The capital city was Sangor immediately opposite Naggar: and the Rāna lived in the fortified palace of Gada Dheg immediately below the modern village of Baragrān. His main defence was the huge dressed stone fort of Baragarh. The dynasty I believe, for reasons which I need not here labour, to have come to an end in the thirteenth century A.D. The last of them was Bhosal Rāna who married a princess of Suket named Rūpni. She bore him a son called Tika Ghungru and a daughter named Dei Ghudari. The memories of him in his State are not nearly so vivid as those of Jinna Rāna in Manāli. It is always believed that the Badāni Rajas used the stones of the ruins of Sangor and Gada Dheg to build both the Castle and the Thākur Duāra Temple at Naggar. The legend of his fall is very like a story I have heard in Chamba, and another in Chamba Lahul. And I fear that there is no doubt that the old Rajput chiefs at times sought to improve their water supply by burying their wives alive. This is how the story was told to me :—

Bhosal Rāna was a fool. His wazir was a Brahman, Tita Mehta, who fell in love with the Rāni. But she would have none of him. Therefore he told the Rāna that the big watercourse which waters the rice of Baragarh would never run properly, unless the Rāni were buried alive beside it. So the Rāna gave the order. Now the mason who was to make the tomb was named Kālu and he was foster brother (dharin bhāi) to the Rāni. She pleaded with him. And he made the tomb so large that she could move about in it and even crouch down in it. She was entombed in a standing position. At night the wazir came to see his work. He found the Rāni alive and tried to catch her by the hair, but she eluded him, and crouched out of his way. So he threw great stones upon her; and she died. When the wazir came to the palace the children asked him "Where is our mother?" And he said, "Ask Kālu the mason." And when they asked Kālu he bade them "Go look at the horses in the stable: take horse, and tell Rup Chand her father in Suket." And they came to Suket. And the Tika (heir) threw his turban before his uncle.

Then Rup Chand came with an army. He flayed the wazir alive, and then sprinkled him with pepper: and cut him into small pieces which were smeared upon the leaves of the trees. The Rāna he could not kill, so sacrosanct was the person of a chief. — But he dressed him in a kilt woven from hemp, and a necklace of dried cowdung, and had him pelted with cowdung all the way to his boundary. His children were taken to Suket. And the Baragarh State was ruled from Suket until

it was taken by Raja Bidhi¹ Singh (in the seventeenth century A.D.). The whole garrison of Baragarh Fort went off to a Fair in the middle of May, and one of their women waved a red petticoat to signal to the Raja in Naggar that the Fort was empty. So he took the fort, and killed only the woman who had betrayed it. Her he threw over the rock on which it stands.

IV. Sidelights on the Kulu Rajas.—The Badāni Rajas, though they kept their State from 1500 A.D. to the middle of the 19th century, have left no records beyond the "copy" of an old chronicle, of which the original, if it ever existed, was quite certainly not historical. Its inaccuracy is proved by internal evidence, and by comparison with the chronicles of neighbouring states. The history of the dynasty as handed down is a sufficiently bald story. But again tradition steps in and throws a little light on what life was really like under the Badānis. For instance several learned archaeologists have deplored the lack of written chronicles in Kulu. All Kulu knows the reason.

The Loss of the Royal Archives.—The last of the Rajas, Jit Singh, 1807-1848, had two Chamberlains (Kāiths) called Huknu and Gohru, both belonging to the "Bhunhan" family. They were keepers of the archives. They fell under suspicion of the Raja and were summoned to Naggar from their home in Rupi. The Raja told them that he had a mind to kill them. "Slay us if you will, Sarkar, but we have left word that if we die our wives are to burn all the state papers." This was going too far. The Raja was perfectly furious, and with characteristic ineptitude he beheaded both the Chamberlains then and there. Then he sent off men to secure the State papers. But the news had already preceded his messengers, and they were met by two indignant wives, and a heap of smouldering ruins. In the fire were lost not only all the chronicles of the Badāni family, but all the formulae for their secret method of extracting silver from ore. Thus the Rupi silver mines were closed down, and though, when the Sikhs came to Kulu, General Ventura sent men to Lahore and elsewhere who brought back instructions of sorts, the new methods never paid as the old ones had done, and so the Chamberlains were avenged.

The great Liberal Institution of the "Dum."—This sounds like the record of an irresponsible tyranny. But it must not be thought that the hill men were a down-trodden race. The Hill State was in its way a democratic institution: and though the sacred person of the Chief was (and is) religiously respected, so long as he faced the² people, and though his ministers were given very great latitude in the matter of "pickings," there was a point beyond which they could not go. At this point the responsibility of the ministers was enforced in a manner which would appeal to many a British voter. When the Government became really unbearable it was (and is) the custom for the aggrieved subjects to concentrate, occupy the capital, and place all the Raja's advisers in chains; pending enquiry by the insurgents

¹ The forged chronicle of the Rajas says it was Sidh Singh. But the local tradition is more reliable.

² The quality which makes a successful ruler in the hills, according to hill ideas, is this "facing the people." A chief may be a drunkard and a tyrant, but he will be a "true king" if he only talks to the people himself. They know by bitter experience that the chief who "backs up his subordinates," ends in conniving at their exactions. There is no room for middlemen between chief and subject in the hills.

the "Cabinet" and the "Household" and their underlings (still fettered) did hard labour: and in the end a new, and for the time being chastened, ministry was generally appointed. Bloodshed was not very general. And the outgoing advisers were set free when they had disgorged some of their ill-gotten gains.

The following story of a "Dum" in Kulu will appeal as strangely familiar to those of my colleagues who have witnessed similar scenes in Mandi and elsewhere:—

Jit Singh Rāja (1807-1843) succeeded as a baby. His guardian and guide was Tulsu "Negi"¹ who lived at Barān near Katrain. The Rāja loved and trusted him, and leaned upon him more and more; and, thanks to Tulsu, he was in the end the slave of his ministers and officers. Now Sobhu Rām was Wazir of Kulu: and Kapūru was Wazir of Serāj. And Kapūru hated Tulsu—who knew this. So Tulsu sent for Kapūru to come and have audience at Sultanpur. He came. And pitched his camp where Kulu Tahsil now stands.² In the morning he was to have his audience, and by custom he would receive a salute from (arrabas) light guns. Now the Wazir of Kulu had arranged with Tulsu Negi that one of the saluting guns should be loaded and fired at the Wazir Kapūru. But he heard of their plan. So he dressed his body servant³ in his own robes and some jewels and set him in his *pālki*, and sent him off as though he were the Wazir come to have audience. As the servant came to the Porch of the Palace the salute was fired: and the servant was shot; and he died.

So Kapūru the Wazir fled into his own wazīri and called the Serājis together for a "Dum." And they assembled and all came together to the fair ground of Dhalpur⁴ and pitched their camp. First they came and saluted the Rāja with the royal salutation (Jai deya). And then they said, "Sarkār, deliver Tulsu Negi to us, and let him be cast out of Kulu." And the Rāja said, "I will deliver him"—for he was a weakling. But to Tulsu he only said, "Leave the palace: and go home: and I will make your son Negi in your place." Tulsu answered "Māharāj"—as though he would go. But he well knew that if he left the palace he would fall into the hands of the Serājis. So he went to his room, and fetched an axe, and said to the Rāja, "Sarkār, slay me with this axe but do not cast me out of the palace." The Rāja said, "Stay then, Negi, it is well." Next day the Serājis came and hailed the Rāja and said, "Māharāj—what of our prayer?" And the Rāja said, "Tulsu Negi I love as the bowels of my heart." Then the "Dum" returned to their camp to hold counsel. And Tulsu sent word to his wife and said, "Fly to Prīni, and there take sanctuary⁵ in the temple of Jamlu."

Next day the "Dum" marched past the palace to Barān and came to Tulsu Negi's house. And they seized his sheep and cattle and money and all his possessions and took them down to the island opposite Sultanpur (Akhāra) bazar, and threw the sheep and cattle into the river.

And others of them went to Prīni and caught Tulsu's women and dragged them from their sanctuary in Jamlu's temple (for the god of the Serājis is Sikirni), and

¹ Commandant of a fort or "territorial unit."

² About half a mile from the palace.

³ "Dheru,"

⁴ A suburb of Sultanpur where the big fairs are held.

⁵ Bālā hona.

pelted them with filth, and made them do hard labour¹ for them, but did not kill them.

So the Raja and Tulsu Negi fled away to Kotha Dhar—a fort in Inner Serāj. And the Dum set up his younger brother (Dothain) as Raja. But the Raja of Mandi came with an army and succoured Jit Singh, and broke up the Dum. And the “Dothain” they caught and imprisoned in a dungeon in Birkot Fort. And Kapūru fled. But he never made his peace with Jit Singh Raja: and it was Kapūru² who brought in the Sikhs to Kulu.

That was the story as told to me by an old man whose father knew Tulsu Negi. It is a typical piece of hill politics, and it is easy to reconstruct all the scenes. A vast amount of whistling and drumming³ and shouting and intrigue; tempers all rather highly strung: the two sides absolutely dominated by the two strong men Kapūru and Tulsu: and no great harm done to anybody.

Tulsu Negi's ill-gotten gains and much of Jit Singh's treasure were buried by, and still lie under, an immense landslip which overwhelmed his house. And as usual there is a modern sequel. For the curse of Jamlu lay on Serāj for his violated sanctuary: crops failed: cattle died: and babies faded away. Finally (some time in the eighties) it was decided that Sikirni—the god of the Serājis—must make amends to Jamlu. All Serāj regards Rai Hira Singh Chief of Shāngri as the rightful head of the Badāni family. So he went with a car for the god (who has no image), and all the children of the Dum, and a crowd of prophets and disciples and priests to make submission⁴ to Jamlu. They made little dolls of grass and birch bark with false pigtales (to represent the ancestors?) and tied them together, and chopped them into pieces before the god Jamlu. Thus Jamlu was appeased. And the curse was stayed. At least the Serājis think so, which is all that matters.

The Urdh Reg.—When Sidh Singh first came to Jagat Sukh he was in disguise as a potter. A Kashmiri Pandit saw him asleep on the Jagti Pat rock, and noticed the Urdh Reg in his foot. Thus the people know that he was a king's son.

The *Urdh Reg* is a line, like ‘the line of life’ in the hand, which runs along the sole of the foot from the toes to the heel. It is peculiar to Rajputs of royal birth. It is not a very easy phenomenon to enquire into, but the only ruling Chief whom I know well enough to ask about it pulled off his sock and showed the mark to me at once.

V. *The Raja's Petition Box.*—In 1909 by the help of Mr. H. M. Banon of Manali I was shown a collection of state papers in the keeping of two Brahman families in Basisht and Jagat Sukh, who had for generations been hereditary headmen under the Rajas. No one in Kulu could decipher them. But Dr. Hutchison of Chamba kindly had them transliterated and translated, and he will no doubt one day treat them scientifically and accurately as I can never hope to do.

¹ Mashakkat.

² His full name was Mian Kapur Singh.

³ Well drubbed “massed” drums and plenty of shrill whistling on the fingers puts an immense amount of

⁴ Dutch courage” into a hill mob, which, like Haji Baba's Persians, loves fighting as long as there is no killing.

⁵ Chidhru

They are written, not in the Kulu language but "in a kind of 'Lingua franca' " which was in use—as it still is for writing only—and is evidently well understood all "through the hills" (Hutchison). Evidently therefore it has always been necessary, even in the outer hills, to use a Court language for business purposes apart from the *patois* of the villages which varies in India with every few miles traversed. This is a rather interesting commentary on the agitation which crops up at intervals for the substitution of a real indigenous language like Panjabi for the bastard lingua franca in which public business is at present conducted in North India.

The oldest document of the 53 discovered dates from 1609 A.D., and they range down to the time of the unfortunate Jit Singh—the last of the line to exercise powers as a ruling chief. They record the petty details of everyday life in Kulu, and show that the Kulu man's joy and sorrows and interests have not changed appreciably in three hundred years. They contain some useful lessons for any one who sets forth to rule the valley—more especially if he has inherited the prerogatives of the Rajas of Kulu as Assistant Commissioner. Let me hasten to explain that in thus exalting a humble office I am running clean counter to "Authority," but giving the view of every native of a valley which is still unblessed with a knowledge of the fictions or facts of British Law!

In the first place the Rajas appear as owners of every field and house in Kulu. When a man died all property "escheated to the crown." And not until the Raja had passed orders in person had the heirs the least right or title. Nowadays the fact that one's name is entered in the Revenue papers as owner or cultivator confers no title, but only a "presumption" that the entry is correct. If a dispute arises the title cannot be decided by the Assistant Commissioner sitting as Collector, but by the same "Stunt" sitting as District Judge. "Save us all! Can I ever understand all this talk? One day the Sahib ordered that the land was mine, three months later he may order me to hand it over to my cousin. It was not thus in the "days of 'Dharm Raj': then an order was an order." That is the sort of complaint one hears every day in Kulu. And the lesson is that one must be just as careful in the summary mutation proceeding in Kulu as though it were a full fledged judicial trial.

Then again the Rajas well understood that the brains of their people worked slowly; it is well in an order to say the same thing three times; it is much better to repeat it five times. To write it once is waste of time and trouble. This is a hard lesson for a British mind to grasp.

Sometimes the order affords rather an amusing picture of the character of the ruler; thus in 1685 Raja Mān Singh wrote to "Birbal, Dalo, and Subarnu" in Basisht telling them to bring the lease of certain land to Court. "So you must both come and bring the paper with you, you, Dalo and Subarnu son of Basista, come as soon as you read this letter. Don't be careless as a dispute has been raised by Raja and Sukhya about it, and that is why you are summoned. Be not tardy, for the paper is required on Cheth the 17th."

That is a good strong terse order. But, as I have shown, the "King's writ"

never ran freely in the north of the valley which regarded the Badānis as usurpers of Jinna Rāna's throne, and it was quietly ignored.

On the 20th of Chet the Raja wrote, after explaining the claim of the other party, "In this case you, Birbal, Dalo, and Subarnu, must bring these papers and you must all three attend; and the suit will be decided according to law. But you must come with the papers. Three times has His Majesty summoned you and yet you have not appeared. What reason is there for this? This time you must attend, and at once; and the rent will be decided by law. *Dalo and Subarnu you must both come, or else Dalo you must come.*"

Alas! what a falling-off is here! I fear this particular "Majesty" is a poor creature who does not know his mind, and he is haunted by an ever-present fear of "Dums." That is not the way to govern Kulu; and the case probably "fizzled out."

But in Kulu the good grey mare was (and is) generally the better horse of the two. Here is an order (insufficiently dated as is the privilege of the sex) by a "Princess Royal." She indulges in no vain repetitions, and she has not the least idea of allowing the poor husband so much as to "show cause." She has made her mind up *ex parte* and intends to be obeyed:—

"This decree is granted to Bhagat Ram who dwells on the rice fields in Nast behind Jagat Sukh. Fakiri the daughter of Nandu was the wife of Sukhu, but he married another wife. So Fakiri went to live with her parents. Now she has graciously been bestowed upon Bhagat Ram. The wazir of Parole and the headman of Jagat Sukh will bring into the Palace any who object that Bhagat Ram should not possess her. The petition has been heard. Uchlahu and Tikru came to write it and wrote it. One rupee, one cocoanut, five oranges?" Subsequently Bhagat Ram was given a written promise, that the princess would punish anyone who gave him trouble in connection with his wife. The cream of the thing is that the princess almost certainly had no authority to constitute herself a matrimonial agency. And what are the rupee, the cocoanut and the oranges? Are they the petition-writer's fee? Or a present for the princess? Or (horrid thought) the "compensation" granted to the bereaved first husband?

The petitions show that at any rate in 1704 no one was allowed to adopt a son without the formal sanction of the Raja¹; and in 1825 Raja Jit Singh evidently at the instigation of Wazir Kapur Singh (who eventually led the "dum" against him), laid down that no money-lender should charge more than 25 % interest for ordinary loans or 11 % interest in the case of loans of seed grain; evidently a gift of land by a woman to a man required the sanction of Raja Bikramajit Singh in 1802²; in 1652 Jagat Singh gave his "Chaplain in ordinary" (Rāja guru) quite a large grant of rice land as a reward for a spell which the chaplain had woven for him, and contrary to custom this land was settled on the priest's sons and grandsons; there is a warrant to arrest a runaway lady from the royal *zenana* in 1799; in 1767 the

¹ A most wholesome provision to prevent subsequent litigation.

² A law which all hillmen would like to see revised now.

Raja made an appointment of a manager for Basisht Temple exactly as the Assistant Commissioner (by immemorial custom) makes all such appointments to-day; in 1753 the Raja kindly presented in marriage to one Ramesar the daughter of a Brahman subject; and in 1751 the same Raja Thedi Singh even personally visited the site of a house which was in dispute, before deciding the case. The latter Raja (Thedi Singh) was apparently tightening up the screws, for in 1744 he wrote to the priest of Basisht Temple (where he had no doubt been to bathe in the hot springs) that the temple was abominably dirty and must be cleaned up at once. At the same time the usual budget allotment for annual cleaning and temple services was on no account to be exceeded.

In 1756 he was much annoyed to find that the watchmen employed to guard the temple were quietly sleeping in their own houses instead of doing "Sentry go." A little later in 1761 he once again attacked the management of the same temple for cutting down the proper ritual and using shabby appointments. I confess to a very kindly feeling for the energetic Thedi Singh. All the eight earliest documents show that Raja Prithi Singh spent a good deal of time between 1609 and 1635 in endowing his chaplain (one Sodhi) with large grants of land.

But generally speaking the Raja's dak bag contained very much the same sort of matter as the Assistant Commissioner's does to-day. *Begar* (forced labour), runaway wives, grants of land, grazing rights, temple management—and again wives and *begar*.

These made up the daily round and common task and I have no doubt that if Jagat Singh were to meet the officer who is now wearing his mantle they would talk "shop" till all hours, and with complete mutual understanding. One thing is clear. It is impossible to rule Kulu and to remain "aloof" or "unsympathetic" or a "sun-dried bureaucrat." For the people to-day, as they did three hundred years ago, force one into their most intimate concerns. So imbued are they with the spirit of Paternal Government. May it be long before these happy relations are destroyed!

An Unpublished Diary of Sikh Times.

By SHAIKH ABDUL QADIR.

This paper is nothing more than a brief introduction to a voluminous manuscript Diary which I have had the privilege of glancing through.

As I dipped into its pages I was deeply interested to read the comments of its scholarly author on the men and things of his time. I felt that this find would be full of interest to the members of the Panjab Historical Society. It is a source of extreme gratification to me to be able to place the original manuscript before this learned Society and to point out what a remarkable record we possess in it. The Diary is in 20 volumes and covers a period upwards of forty years, from about A.D. 1819 to A.D. 1860. The dates used in the Diary are those of the Hindi Sambat and the Muhammadan era.

The Diary was commenced in the year A.H. 1236, and continued up to A.H. 1277, and is a monument of patience and industry and shows an amount of regularity and application on the part of its writer which is not only rare in these days of hurry and bustle but was by no means common even in olden times. It does not profess to be a chronicle of public events but is purely a private journal, kept by the writer as a favourite literary occupation and mainly for the enlightenment of his progeny. This fact makes the regular expenditure of so much talent and energy upon it all the more noteworthy. The entries relate mostly to personal and family matters, and mention incidentally the important events of the day, and occasionally what people thought and said about them at the time. The journal is written in Persian and the writer seems to have had an easy command of the language. His style is simple and natural, and the remarks and reflections interspersed throughout the volumes give one an insight into the psychology of the writer and his times.

The author, Maulvi Ahmad Bakhsh Chishti, better known as *Yakdil* (his poetical *nom de plume*) was born in Lahore in A.H. 1212 and died in A.H. 1284 (corresponding roughly to A.D. 1795 and A.D. 1867). It may be noted that we are more familiar with the name of a distinguished son of *Yakdil*, namely Maulvi Nur Ahmad Chishti, the well-known author of the *Tahqiqat-i-Chishti*. He was the eldest son of *Yakdil* and himself a ripe scholar who has left behind more than one work of historical value. The volumes of the Diary have remained in the custody of my esteemed friend Maulvi Hamid Ali Chishti to whom we are indebted for the careful preservation of this useful record, and I must take this opportunity of expressing my obligation to him for allowing me to inspect these manuscripts and for consenting to bring them to the meeting of the Society.

He has taken great pains to preserve the volumes as a precious souvenir of his

grandfather, of whom he saw something in his childhood. He has prepared an index to the Diary and has marked certain pages in the volumes, which contain passages of public interest. I propose to quote a few extracts from the Diary to give some idea of its contents. I feel, however, that these or any other extracts that one might choose can do but scant justice to the whole, which requires complete leisure and long and close application to bring out all the wealth of information and thought that is to be found in it. I venture to think it would be worth while to ask some members of the Society, who may be eager to do so, to go through these volumes with their custodian, Maulvi Hamid Ali Chishti, and to make selections of passages of historic and public interest, which, I believe, would give us a decent volume embodying valuable material on the history of the Panjab in Sikh times. I hope the Society will easily be able to find some one who will feel sufficiently interested in the idea and will arrange to co-operate with Maulvi Hamid Ali in bringing out a carefully edited and abridged edition of those portions of the Diary that relate to public matters.

Before proceeding to lay before you the promised extracts, I have to make one or two general observations. I have already stated that the Diary was a private chronicle. The writer is, therefore, very frank in expressing his opinions. Some of his expressions would have to be expurgated in selections. One also comes across opinions which may express the sentiments of a century ago, but with which no one will find himself in accord to-day. The reader must therefore make due allowance for all the circumstances under which the work was done.

The Diary reminds one of similar writings in English, notably the well-known Diary of Samuel Pepys, which was written as a private journal and not published till long afterwards. The great difference, however, between the two works is that Samuel Pepys wrote a sort of shorthand which was deciphered with considerable difficulty, while Maulvi Ahmad Bakhsh wrote his notes in full, without any attempt at concealment. The reason probably why Pepys chose to write in cypher was that he held office in the State, while *Yakdil* though enjoying opportunities of intimate touch with some of the leading State officials of his period, was himself unfettered by any official restraints or responsibilities.

It is a matter for deep regret that one important volume of the series is missing, *viz.*, that dealing with the most momentous period in the modern history of this country. What is now the twentieth volume of the book should really be called the 21st, for the 20th volume is wanting. That volume dealt with the period A.H. 1270-74 (A.D. 1853-57) and contained, among other things, a record of the period of the Mutiny. It would have been very interesting and instructive to read what people said and thought at that time. Maulvi Hamid Ali, who is responsible for the preservation of the Diary, has not seen the missing volume. He has heard, however, that his uncle Maulvi Nur Ahmad destroyed it soon after the year of the Mutiny. Maulvi Hamid Ali was an infant at that time, for he was only 11 when his grandfather died in A.D. 1867. He remembers, however, the lasting regret which the author felt over the tragic loss. The author, it seems, was of the opinion that there was hardly anything in his record of that period which it would have been necessary to suppress and

was naturally reluctant that the result of four years of his labour should perish, but the son destroyed the volume considering that the times were troubled and as he probably felt uncertain in what light even an innocent record of such events might be taken.

The 41 years which the record covers are marked off in the volumes as follows :—

Volume I	(A.H. 1236 to A.H. 1248).
„ II	(A.H. 1249 to A.H. 1250).
„ III	(A.H. 1251 to A.H. 1253).
„ IV	(A.H. 1253).
„ V	(A.H. 1253 to A.H. 1255).
„ VI	(A.H. 1255 to A.H. 1257).
„ VII	(A.H. 1258 to A.H. 1259).
„ VIII	(A.H. 1260).
„ IX	(A.H. 1261).
„ X	(A.H. 1261 to A.H. 1262).
„ XI	(A.H. 1262 to A.H. 1263).
„ XII	(A.H. 1263 to A.H. 1264).
„ XIII	(A.H. 1264 to A.H. 1265).
„ XIV	(A.H. 1265).
„ XV	(A.H. 1265 to A.H. 1266).
„ XVI	(A.H. 1266 to A.H. 1267).
„ XVII	(A.H. 1268).
„ XVIII	(A.H. 1269).
„ XIX	(A.H. 1270).
	(Here one volume is missing.)
„ XX	(A.H. 1274 to A.H. 1277).

The extracts that I have made refer to the death of Maharaja Ranjit Singh and certain events that followed the death of the great Sikh ruler. They are taken from Volumes VI and VII.

Referring to the death of the Maharaja, the Chronicler writes :—

Thursday, the 15th of Har, Sambat 1896=14th Rabiur Sani A.H. 1255.—‘To-day the Maharaja passed away in the afternoon. He was suffering from a combination of ailments. Raja Dhyan Singh has taken steps for the well-being of the town and the population.

It is proposed to cremate the body of the Maharaja in Badami Bagh.

I hear that seven women, namely Kadan and Hardevi and others, were burnt with the Maharaja. A few teardrops fell from the eyes of the clouds at the time as if to bewail the loss of the lives of so many fair women.

“Do not be inferior to a Hindu woman in love, O Yakdil !
She burns herself alive for the man whom she loved.”

One can hardly realize that less than eighty years ago a generation of the citizens of Lahore, that passed away not long ago, witnessed the ceremony of *Sati* or widow-

burning. Sir Lepel Griffin in his admirable little book on Ranjit Singh, in the Rulers of India series, refers to this incident. He says: "When Maharaja Ranjit Singh died, one of his wives, Mahtab Devi, was burnt with him and three ladies of his zenana of the rank of Rani." There are two other passages in the Diary, besides the one quoted above, relating to the *Satis*, and the number of women said to have been burnt with Ranjit Singh varies according to each account. One account puts the number at four, thus supporting the version adopted by Sir Lepel Griffin, and the other puts it as high as 15—4 wives and 11 concubines.

The Diary of the 18th *Har* gives briefly the author's estimate of the Maharaja: "Ranjit Singh had taken Lahore on the 15th *Har*, Sambat 1856. He died on the 15th *Har*, 1896, thus reigning full forty years. He had a jolly disposition, was fond of pleasures of all kinds, and was extremely generous. He was God-fearing, and so far as he could help it was free from religious prejudice."

The Diary indicates the situation more than a year after the death of Ranjit Singh in the following terse passages:—

14th *Katak*, 1897. "The condition of the Sikhs is going from bad to worse. Kharak Singh is ill. Raja Dhyan Singh is inclined to be restive. The Faqir, the Raja and the Diwan are one. The Bhais have no support. Naunihal Singh is too young and foolish."

On the 22nd *Katak* is recorded the tragedy of Naunihal Singh and Kharak Singh, both passing away on one day. The words *Siharagah rozi panjshamba bist wa doem Katak* give, according to the numerical value of the letters, the year 1897, the Sambat in which the two deaths took place.

The next year, Sambat 1898, records the celebration of Dasehra by Sher Singh on a right royal scale near the Shalamar gardens, at which all the nobles, great and small, assembled, with a large show of elephants and horses.

In 1899 we find a brief allusion to the visit paid by Sher Singh to the *Jangi Lāt* (the Commander-in-Chief of the British Forces in India).

In Sambat 1900 there is a note which may be interesting from an astrological and possibly an astronomic point of view. The Diary of the 14th *Chet*, Sambat 1900, records as follows:—"To-day a streak of light, resembling a flag, has been observed in the sky. The Brahmans say that the same appeared seventeen hundred years ago."

On the 1st of Asuj, Sambat 1900, is recorded the tragic story of the brutal murder of Sher Singh. The following are the observations of the writer of the Diary on this incident and the ensuing event of the murder of Raja Dhyan Singh:—"After Raja Ranjit Singh, Kharak Singh reigned for a year and Naunihal Singh departed from this world with him. Chand Kaur ruled for two months and a half. Sher Singh came to the throne on the 6th of Magh, Sambat 1897, and was killed on the 18th of Asuj, Sambat 1900. Naunihal Singh died by the decree of Providence and Chand Kaur was murdered by slave girls. Now they say Dhyan Singh has been killed inside the Fort by the Sandhanwalias.

It was announced a short while ago by beat of drum that Dalip Singh, son of

Ranjit Singh, was to succeed to the throne with Raja Dhyan Singh as Minister. It is said the Sandhanwalias were incensed at this and have murdered Dhyan Singh."

The confusion in the city caused by these incidents is thus portrayed :—" People have buried their belongings out of fear and are very shaky. When the news of the murder of Dhyan Singh spread, there was great consternation in Lahore. Hindus and Muhammadans were all bewailing his death. The thieves and the rogues began to threaten the people and to fire guns The whole of our household is very uneasy. Had it not been for Raja Hira Singh, the country would have been looted. There was gun-firing at night. Beli Ram and Gurmukh were both trying to keep order at night. I was up the whole night with the men of my neighbourhood and we were keeping a watch. Some *burchhas* (*badmashes*) looted Dabbi Bazar and the bazars of the Ilāqa bands and shoe merchants."

It is a characteristic feature of the Diary that the writer gives various versions of an event for what they are worth. Three versions are given of the events of the day which witnessed the cold-blooded and treacherous murder of Sher Singh. One of them is reproduced below :—

"Sher Singh was at Shah Balawal on the Sangrant day. The Sandhanwalias Ajit Singh and Lehna Singh, in conspiracy with Mehr Ghasita, decided to kill him. Ajit Singh came to Sher Singh with a *karabin* (fire-arm) with four bullets in it. He brought with him a hundred men armed with rifles and said that the day being a sacred one, it was his duty to offer some presents, and he presented the *karabin*. Sher Singh looked at the fire-arm and was going to stretch his hand towards it when the trigger was pulled and the bullet mortally wounded Sher Singh. The armed men then fell on the Maharaja and on his companions Nikka Singh and Budh Singh, who were all killed there and then. *Ashraf*, the *farash*, was also killed. Diwan Dina Nath had a narrow escape with the help of Shaikh Aminul Mulk. Many other persons were killed. Lehna Singh Sandhanwalia after this killed Partap Singh, the son of Sher Singh, in the garden of Teja Singh. The Sandhanwalias then left for the fort with the heads of the Maharaja and his son."

They killed Dhyan Singh after this, a reference to which murder has already been made. The rapidity with which blood-curdling events succeeded one another in these days is illustrated by another passage in the Diary, where we are told that Hira Singh avenged these murderers. Ajit Singh and Lehna Singh were both killed and the dead bodies of both were dragged through the streets of Lahore and were hung up outside the Delhi and Kashmiri gates, respectively. The story as to how two such desperate men, who had successfully manœuvred to bring about a revolution, were killed, is thus given in the Diary :—

"Ajit Singh and Lehna Singh occupied the fort, and sending for the officers of the State began to bestow rewards. It was very unwise of them to do so at that critical moment. They made a mistake first in killing Raja Dhyan Singh, and as they had done so, the best policy for them would have been to march out into the town with ten elephants laden with ten lakhs of rupees and with Prince Dalip Singh at the head of the procession and to go about bestowing *bakhshish*. They could have then

issued orders for the arrest of Raja Hira Singh, and it would not have been surprising if the Sikhs had helped in his arrest out of greed for money. But it was not good for them to sit comfortably inside the fort as they did. When the news of the murder of Raja Dhyān Singh reached the army, Raja Hira Singh worked upon the feelings of the troops and said that if they helped him in avenging his father's death he would forever be beholden to them, and they all decided to stand up for him. They succeeded in winning a victory over the Sandhanwalias in about 24 hours. Ajit Singh fled from the fort and was caught scaling a wall and beheaded. Lehna Singh was struck with a bullet and fell as he reached his sleeping-room. They were both killed and met with their deserts."

The writer's sympathies seem to have been decidedly with the Maharaja and his minister. He mentions a reward of Rs. 200 that he had recently received from Maharaja Sher Singh, through the kind offices of Diwan Dina Nath, when he presented a poem of eulogy. Moreover as a peace-loving citizen and as a man of learning he was in favour of the established order of things. His sentiments found fit expression in a beautiful line, which gives also the date of the tragedies alluded to above (Sambat 1900):—

Ba shauq sagān shikar-i-sherān kardand.

A passage in the Diary explains the subtle beauties of expression which are to be found in this line, and may be quoted in original.

Diary Vol. VII, fol. 95 :—

چون امروز تاریخ شاه یعنی شیر سنگه و شهزاده یعنی پرتاب سنگه و وزیر اعظم یعنی راجه دهیان سنگه
 بخوبی مقرر شده با شوق سگان شکار شیوان کردند و این بسیار موافق شده سگان یعنی اجیت سنگه
 و لهناسنگه شکار یعنی سر بردن و کشتن شیوان کردند یعنی شیر سنگه چه تلمیح است و بعد ازان پرتاب سنگه
 اینهم شیر که بچه شیر نیز شیر می باشد و بعد ازان راجه دهیان سنگه که اینهم از شیر سنگه در سلطنت
 جمون و مبالغ و جمعیت اتواب و اضواب کم نبود نمودند *

The writer in a line connected with the verse quoted above deplors in feeling terms this ruinous civil war among the Sikhs, saying :—

سنگهان چو جفا بحال سنگهان کردند در اصل ز خویش خانه ویران کردند

"The Sikhs by thus cruelly treating the Sikhs have, in reality, ruined themselves with their own hands." How true and prophetic this reflection was, has been abundantly proved by what happened afterwards.

Influence of the Indian King upon the Growth of Caste.

By THE HON'BLE MR. H. J. MAYNARD, C.S.I.

The philosophical justification of caste rests upon a conception as old as the literature of the Brahmanas--the differentiation of social functions and their mutually complementary character. Brahman is that which knows: Kshatram that which acts. Both alike rest upon Viś, which is unchanging while they are perishable. In the story of the origin of the classes the Kshatriyas, rulers and warriors, are put first. Yet Brahman is the source of Kshatram: and again, Kshatram arises from Viś. So, the Vaiśya, the subject, though only fit to bring tribute to those above it, is the root from which the greatest springs. When the Arab traveller Albiruni put his questions to the Indian Pandits, they told him that inequality was the basis of the social system and quoted a passage from a now lost scripture which set forth the mutually complementary character of the functions of the different classes.

The differentiation of duties is an essential feature of Indian ethics, so that which is virtue in one order, or at one stage of life, may be sin in another order or at another stage. What the duties are is stated in general terms alike in the Epics, the Law books, and the works upon government. It is for the Brāhman to study, to teach, to perform sacrifice, to officiate at the sacrifices of others, to give and to receive gifts: for the Kshatriya to study, to perform sacrifice, to make gifts, to fight, and to protect: for the Vaiśya to study, to perform sacrifice, to make gifts, and to follow agriculture, cattle-tending and trade: for the Śūdra to serve the higher orders of men. In order to adjust the facts to the literary theory, and bring the whole of society within the Brahmanical cadre, certain classes, which obviously belonged to none of these four, were explained to owe their origin to intermarriages between the different orders.

From this general and simple statement of the divisions of men and their complementary duties (whether actual or ideal, it is no part of the present writer's essay to determine) to the caste-system as we know it, there are many and long steps to be taken. The modern observer sees a multitude of social subdivisions, characteristically endogamous, each having an organization with a governing assembly and a head. Each has its own rules regarding food and drink, and requires its members to abstain from eating with outsiders. And though an occupation is often common to many of the groups, each group observes rules as to the occupations which its members may or may not follow, and tends to follow a single occupation. In certain matters, more particularly those connected with marriage, the food and drink rules, and the rules regarding occupation, there is a disciplinary jurisdiction, extending to fine and even exclusion from the brotherhood.

So far as the writer of this paper is aware, the theories regarding the process by which the institution of caste has reached its present form have one point in common. They assume that the growth is spontaneous and due, in so far as it is not due to Brahmanical teaching, to the development of social ideas working from within: and they do not take account of the commands and policies of rulers as factors in the shaping of the social constitution. Yet there are more than a few indications in Indian tradition and Indian history of the influence of ancient regulations in forming modern habits: and the writer of this paper hopes to be able to suggest some reasons for the belief that the Indian caste-system has experienced a similar influence, with important consequences to its characteristic features.

The notion that kings should seek to make their subjects virtuous and to secure their happiness in this world and the next, goes back very far in the history of Indian thought. We see it plainly in the edicts of Asoka, which are largely preoccupied with this idea. But its full development, and the definition of the specific forms which this king-supported virtue ought to take, are the work of the great counter-reformation which succeeded to the temporary triumph of Buddhism. That religion has its root in a great act of renunciation. A prince leaves the world and the duties of royalty, to seek the path of the soul's enfranchisement. It is not long before we hear of five hundred Śākyas, men of the royal clan, who are recorded to have left their families and done reverence to a certain Śūdra who had been a barber. Worldly duties were neglected, the distinctions between the orders of mankind were ignored, and with them, as it must have seemed to the champions of social conservatism, the whole fabric of society was shaken. It was this breaking up of the social order that brought upon Buddhism the hatred and suspicion of the orthodox. That the outraged communal pride of the Brāhman contributed to the bitterness of these feelings, a knowledge of the motives which most strongly actuate human nature forbids us to doubt. But there was another and less ignoble side to the distrust awakened by Buddhism and the ancient but hitherto less definite philosophical principles out of which it sprang. If kings might leave the task of governing, if common men might leave work and family, to follow a religious ideal, if the distinction between Brāhman and Śūdra were valueless and unmeaning and the prescribed task of all orders of men one and the same, then the new religion was an enemy, busied in the destruction of what seemed the one alternative to social chaos and the anarchy which Indian history has given such good cause to dread.

It is not wonderful, then, that this counter-reformation emphasized the social duties and laid a new stress upon the ancient principle of their differentiation and their mutually complementary character. But it did more than this. In the share which kings had taken in what appeared the collapse of the social order, in Śākya Muni's desertion of his royal duties, in Asoka's assumption of the monkish robe, it desecrated the need of a new system of political ethics, defining the place of the king as the keystone of society, and establishing a special royal duty of keeping all the orders and classes of men to their proper functions.

Henceforth this obligation of the king, to keep all men to their duties, duties

differentiated and complementary, becomes a commonplace of Indian literature. The Kauṭilyasastra, that interesting manual of practical government and politics, which some scholars place in the time of the great Chandragupta Maurya and none (I believe) later than 100 B.C., recites in the conventional form the duties of the four great orders, and then proceeds as follows: "The observance of duty leads a man to bliss. When it is violated the world will come to an end owing to the *confusion of castes and duties*. Hence the king shall never allow people to swerve from their duties"—a precept which is applied equally to the duties of the different classes, and to the duties of each of the four orders of man's life from studentship to retirement from the world.

"Even a father, mother, teacher or priest must be punished if they do not keep within their duty," says Manu.¹ Before the date of Manu, Baudhāyana and Viṣṇu, and after him Yājñavalkya and Nārada, among the law-books, prescribe slavery for the Brāhman who neglects his prescribed duty and way of life, and it is the king who is to enforce the rule. The king, says Manu again, must keep the different castes to their lawful occupations: and he must cause the Vaiśya and Śūdra to perform their duties: for, if these two were to deviate from them, they would cause the whole universe to tremble. "Every caste should practise the duties *that have been mentioned as belonging to it and that have been practised by ancestors*," says the² Śukranīti, "and would otherwise be punished by kings." "It is the prince," says Kāmandaki's Nīṭisāra,³ "who causes all this world to move according to the prescribed order; for, lacking the prince, there is disinclination to the observance of duty, and, lacking duty, the world goes to ruin. The prince who enforces the customs of the castes and of the stages of life, knows the distinctions, and exercises protection, becomes a participator of the heaven of Indra." In Bāṇa's poetical life of the great King Harshavardhana of Thanesar, the king is described as one who carries out all the rules for the castes and orders like Manu, and bears the rod of punishment as visibly as Yama.

From this royal function of compelling each class to follow its own duties, there naturally springs another of the fundamental functions of the Hindu kings: to prevent confusion among the castes. That horror of anarchy, which so often finds expression in Indian writings, explains itself in a great measure by the detestation of breaches of the social order, which bring with them the intermingling of barbarian and Aryan blood and outrages upon the laws of marriage. According to the teaching of the Mahābhārata it becomes lawful for a man of any class to take up arms, and even to seize the royal power, when robbers raise their heads and an intermixture of the orders begins to take place: and Manu places the royal function of preventing such confusion, side by side with the protection of the weak and the taking of the king's just due, as a means by which the king may attain prosperity in this world and the next. It is this which explains the view taken of breaches of the marriage laws as occasions for the exercise of the royal punitive jurisdiction. The ordinary

¹ Mānava-dharma-sāstra, VIII, 335.

² Śukranīti, Ch. IV, Section IV, 82-83.

³ Nīṭisāra of Kāmandaki: translated into Italian by Professor Formichi. II, 34-35.

rule¹ was that the king and his servants must not cause a lawsuit to be begun: take cognizance on their own initiative as we should say. But these offences against marriage, with certain others, were an exception.

We find then that the Hindu king was bound by a religious obligation to keep each class to its duties and to prevent the confusion of castes. What would be likely to happen when a practical administrator set to work to give effect to such an obligation as this? He is to keep each class to its duties. When the enforcement of this principle in a concrete case is undertaken, a mere general notion of duties, as prescribed for the four great orders of men, will obviously not suffice. So and so is a Śūdra and his function is to serve the twice born. But what is the particular piece of work which this particular individual ought to do? In practice, no doubt, the question will present itself as one affecting not individuals but groups of men. Which is to work in leather: to catch fish: to fashion weapons: to herd cattle: to till the soil? In deciding such questions as this, the natural course is to follow the line of least resistance and to pass the order which will most easily and naturally be carried out. A father sets his children to do that which he has done himself, not only because he wants their help in his work, but because in primitive conditions he is virtually incapable of imagining any other vocation for them than his own. The ruler, engaged in enforcing the duties of all classes, will normally make heredity the basis of occupations. In so doing he will apparently be creating nothing new. He will be merely emphasising and enforcing an inevitable natural tendency. But in the process of emphasis and enforcement the fixity of the occupation, and the hereditary bond in the group which is bound to follow it, is necessarily asserted. The Indian king never made a caste, any more than he ever made a law; but, in his dealings with the occupational group, it is suggested that he inevitably tended to give that definiteness and that fixity which distinguish caste as we now know it.

Let us recall at this point that the Indian ruler, as we see him depicted in the works on government, was a considerable employer of labour, and that the ancient fiscal system provides not only for the payment of a share of the produce of land and for certain other dues but also for personal service: each man being bound to give to the State so many days of labour in each year. The custom survives to this day in many States still under Indian Government, and the accounts of the labour rendered are kept as strictly as those of money paid or produce delivered. If we turn once more to that ancient manual of Indian politics and administration, the Kauṭilyaśāstra, we get a glimpse of the manner in which this labour, and other labour more permanently employed by the early kings, was made use of. There are royal forests, and there are crown lands. There are trades worked by a royal monopoly. Of the latter, mineral working, goldsmith's work and coining, weapon-making, weaving, the manufacture and sale of intoxicating liquor, the catching and keeping of elephants, are mentioned in the Kauṭilyaśāstra. But apart from these

¹ Mānava-dharma-śāstra, VIII, 43. *Vide* also Jolly, *Recht und Sitte*. § 40, pp. 123-124. The Mānava-dharma-śāstra, VIII, 353, explains that the evil of adultery is that it causes a mixture of castes, whence follows sin, which cuts up even the roots.

special royal employments, the extensive practice of paying taxes in kind, whether grain or other produce or merchandise, so that the royal storehouses might be filled, emphasized the administrative importance of requiring each to fulfil his customary duties. When the defection of a group may mean that State lands lie uncultivated, or that State elephants and State horses lack fodder, or that royal storehouses lack oil or sugar or charcoal, or that the supply of weapons runs short, the ruler himself is touched very nearly and has the most powerful and direct of motives to reinforce the religious obligation of keeping each to his proper task. For such things are not to be bought or transported from a distance under economic and social conditions such as those which we are considering, and the immobility of labour makes it virtually impossible to employ on one task men who regard themselves as traditionally devoted to another. There is a tale of a too generous king to whom his servants one day brought a plate of curds without the customary sugar. "Where is the sugar?" said the king. "Ann-dātā, giver of sustenance," said the servant: "you gave away the village whose duty it was to provide the sugar." "Just," said the king: and ate his curds without sugar.

In this precise distribution of duties, this levying of dues in kind or in personal service, adjusted to the needs of the ruler and his administration, we catch a glimpse of the reasons which make the emigration of subjects, and the solemn closing of shops by way of protest against misgovernment, such sinister threats to the indigenous ruler. But the object immediately in view is to suggest the process by which administrative necessities reinforced religious obligation in the formation and stereotyping of hereditary groups each bound to a particular occupation, and so in the creation of this institution of caste as we know it to-day. Up to this point I have assumed that caste has always involved, as it now involves, the hereditary bond. But there are traces, both in tradition and in literary theory, of something different. It is fairly certain that certain castes originated in fortuitous collections of men who adopted a particular calling. This was particularly the case with the soldier castes, of whom the Bhaṭṭis of the southern Panjab may be taken as an example. Again we have stories of the attainment of the Brāhman status by austerities; and the Śukraniti¹ plainly states that virtue, and not birth, is that which separates the four orders of men. The founder of an important modern sect, very widely established among the educated Hindus of northern India, has returned to this theory of merit as determining caste and has even proposed that the ruling power should hold examinations to determine to which caste each person should be assigned. A fancy such as this has its interest in the fact that it is a reversion to an ancient conception of the royal functions in relation to caste. This is the conception that the king may, and sometimes does, determine the caste status both of individuals and of groups. This power, or the vestiges of it which we now discover, appears to have been subject to question and to discredit, if exercised capriciously or without due regard for the fitness of things, and to have met with passive resistance when too

Śukraniti. Ch. I, 75-76.

sudden promotions were attempted. Hunter has recorded for us the tradition that certain rulers in Orissa, finding themselves in need of Brāhmans, created them wholesale by the promotion of large groups. In this case the rights of commensality and intermarriage were not conceded to the new Brāhmans by the old: but this fact is not, by itself, conclusive of the failure of the attempt at caste promotion, since there are everywhere to be found classes of Brāhmans who are not admitted to equality of status with their caste-fellows generally. Again, it is within the present writer's own experience that the Raja of Lambagraon (who lost his political powers when the Sikhs over-ran the Kangra hills, and was not restored to them when the British annexed the tract), readmitted to the twice-born status certain Kolis who had been ousted from it more than a century earlier by the Raja of Kangra, as a punishment for disrespectful behaviour. The Rajas of Chamba used similarly to confer the right to wear the sacred thread, with a step in social rank, in return for gifts or special services. In both these cases the royal power is virtually used to make certain persons or groups into Vaiśyas.¹

In the dénouement of the drama of the "Toy Cart," we have an interesting example of the king's authority in the elevation of the courtesan heroine to the status of lawful wife to the Brāhman hero Chārudatta. On the other hand, the Kautilyaśāstra shows us how a similar attempt might be made and fail. Among devices for testing the character of ministers, it is suggested that the king should employ, as an agent of provocation, a priest whom he has ostensibly offended. The suggested method of giving ostensible offence is that the king should require the priest to teach the Vedas to an outcaste person, or to officiate in a sacrifice undertaken by such a person. Evidently there was verisimilitude in such a situation, or these particular methods of fabricating a quarrel with a Brāhman would not have been suggested.

From the occasional character of these royal interventions for the determination of caste status, and the imperfect effect which some of the royal orders took, it will justly be deduced that the exceptions to the hereditary rule were not in the normal course of things. It does not seem possible however to attribute these interventions to the caprice or encroachment of particular rulers, and it is natural to associate them with that royal authority for the restoration of outcastes to their caste, and for the conferring of honorary distinction and precedence upon particular castes, to which reference will be made below. The function of declaring status merged, by a transition unperceived in the broad tolerance of Hindu thought, into a function of creating it. But the triumph of the hereditary principle was along the line of least resistance, and was, in the long run, complete.

¹ In the discussion which followed upon the reading of the lectures, other instances of the promotion of groups and individuals to higher caste status were cited by the speakers. Sir Sankaran Nair mentioned that a servile caste, the Charmas, had been raised to the status of Nairs (who are the military caste), by the Maharaja of Cochin, as a reward for assisting him and his allies the Portuguese to repel the attack of the Zamorin of Calicut, and also that when the accounts of some of the large Zamindars in Southern India were examined for the purposes of revenue assessment, they were found to include receipts on account of the privilege conferred by them on certain persons to wear the sacred thread.

Throughout this paper I am conscious of the danger of employing language tinged by ideas which are not Indian in origin. The Indian ruler never, avowedly or consciously, *made* or *changed* a law. He searched the scriptures, with the help of Brāhman advisers, and *found* the law, or examined the customs of the folk and *ascertained*, with the same help, those which were lawful. He never, avowedly or consciously, made or changed an institution. The institutions were there, by fiction, at least, immemorial. He recognized them, supported them, enforced their continuance. But the finding of the law is sometimes very like the making of it, and the recognition and enforcement of an institution is sometimes very like the creation of it. All that has been and that will be said of the Indian ruler's influence upon the growth of caste must be read subject to this understanding. Caste, vague, inchoate, undefined, and therefore not yet caste at all, came into existence out of impulses independent of the ruler's will: the ruler, unconscious of his own work, gave to it the limits and the fixity which make it what it is.

I now turn from the influences which brought into existence a multitude of hereditary groups, each tied to a particular occupation, to certain other incidents of modern caste. Caste has its organization, its council, and its head, and its disciplinary jurisdiction extending to fine and expulsion. There is no trace of all this in the literary depictions of the four great orders of men. Whence then are we to believe that these characteristic features have been derived?

Let us begin by trying to place ourselves in the position of the Hindu ruler who, under pressure of his religious obligation to keep all men to their duties and of his administrative necessity to provide himself and his army and court with all things requisite, has imperceptibly stereotyped a multitude of social subdivisions hereditary in character and bound to particular occupations. By what method is he to conduct his relations with these bodies, to convey to them his commands, and to ensure that they shall be obeyed? It is inevitable that he should recognize, if not himself create, an organization and authority of some sort in each group, and allow to a headman or governing body the exercise of disciplinary powers over the individuals who make up the group. And this we shall now see is what the Hindu ruler actually did. That he proceeded rather by recognizing that which appeared to come spontaneously into existence, than by formal creation of it, will surprise no one who realizes how violently the instincts of all societies, except those which have grown out of the legislating Roman world, are outraged by deliberate innovation.

So far as the appointment of the office-bearers of caste is concerned, there is virtually no trace of the exercise of royal authority. There is indeed one passage, in the "Toy Cart," where the king bestows as a favour upon a supporter the disposal of the caste offices: and an inscription of the year 1088 A.D., found 76 miles to the south-west of Gwalior, records that the king has conferred the rank of guildmaster (*śreshṭhin*) on two Jain traders: but the present writer is aware of nothing else to the same effect. On the other hand references to the bestowal of honorary titles and insignia on similar functionaries are frequent enough. It is permissible to conclude that the ruler did not normally appoint the office-bearers of the castes (as he appoin-

ted village headman and the governors of towns), but that he increased their importance and added to their authority by his recognition. The practical administrator knows how great a power may be conferred upon an individual by requiring him to furnish labour or supplies, or to pay revenue, on behalf of a group.

So much for the royal recognition and support of the office-bearers of caste. We turn now to the royal attitude towards the authority which they or the caste assembly exercised. And in the first place we note that the books of the law direct the king to maintain and support the laws of families, castes, and localities (or of castes, districts, guilds and localities, as the series is elsewhere stated). What these laws were, we shall see a little later. Sometimes it would seem they were social customs of the community, sometimes perhaps rather what we should call regulations for the conduct of its members. The important point is that it was a traditional principle of policy that the king should respect these laws.

The books of the law also show us a number of communal jurisdictions subordinate to the royal courts, and constituting, as we might say in modern language, an ascending series of appellate instances. There is a jurisdiction of the family : next above that, the jurisdiction of the guild, which was evidently an occupational group : and next above that the jurisdiction of an institution which is variously interpreted as a local committee or a caste-union and certainly included men of different occupations. We hear of jurisdictions for the disposal of the internal disputes of forest dwellers, robbers, companies of merchants and heretics, each of whom evidently dealt with certain offences committed by their own members : and it was evidently a traditional policy to recognize an internal authority of this kind in the various groups and subdivisions into which the Indian social organism divided itself. Subject to what will be said below regarding the peculiar jurisdiction for the punishment of breaches of internal discipline in the community, there is no mention in the ancient law-books, or Dharmaśāstras, of a similar jurisdiction exercised by the caste : because, as I venture to think, caste had not, at the time when the law-books were compiled, reached that stage of organization at which the jurisdiction came into existence. The point is of little consequence : for, as will appear from what I have next to say, the traditional policy which conceded an internal jurisdiction to other social groups conceded the same also to caste, as soon as caste in its modern sense came into existence.

Fortunately a historical record exists which shows us what a caste law was, and what was a caste jurisdiction, and in what manner the power of the king might be exercised to enforce the caste law and uphold the caste jurisdiction. It is an inscription¹ on a temple at Virinchipuram, of the fifteenth century of our era, in which a Brāhman caste assemblage determines for its own caste-fellows the law of marriage. The decision is that marriage by purchase shall henceforth be prohibited. The assembly provides that all who violate the rule "shall be liable to punishment by the king and shall be excluded from the community of Brāhmans." Here we have the

¹ Southern Indian Inscriptions, Vol. I, p. 84.

caste law, the caste jurisdiction, the provision of the penalty of outcasting and the appeal to royal power as the ultimate authority for enforcement.

Let us now see in what other forms the royal power intervened for the support and enforcement of caste authority over its members, and recognized the caste jurisdiction by taking cognizance of its decisions, whether upholding them or setting them aside or giving effect to them by executive action. For if we find that such interventions and recognitions were systematically practised till they became an essential feature of indigenous Indian polity, we shall have good reason for emphasizing the contribution which the Indian kings made to the organisation and authority of caste.

We hear much in the law-books of a class of misdemeanours which are described as breaches of agreements. The expression has a very modern ring about it, and is eminently suggestive of the law of contract. Fortunately we have in the *Kauṭilyaśāstra*, that remarkable ancient manual to which allusion has more than once been made, some very clear examples of what these so-called agreements were. The list¹ begins with a case which is perhaps really one of contract to labour, though this is not quite certain. "The fine levied on a cultivator who, arriving at a village for work, does not work, shall be taken by the village itself." The passage continues with the case of a person who does not co-operate in the work of preparation for a public show, by which apparently is meant either a public sacrifice or a religious spectacle similar to those representations of episodes from the *Rāmāyaṇa* which are still common to-day. It then lays down the rule that "if anyone refuses to give his aid in a work beneficial to all, he shall be compelled to pay double the value of the aid due from him. The order of any person attempting to do a work beneficial to all shall be obeyed. Disobedience in such a case shall be punished with fine." From examples given in the text it would appear that, in addition to public shows, the combined performance of sacrifices and the construction of works of public utility and adornment, are works of the kind contemplated. Vague though this may be, it is clear that some authority, whether a headman or a body of persons, arrived at decisions regarding work to be done by the members of a particular community, and that these decisions were enforced by punishment of the recusant. The author of the *Kauṭilyaśāstra* completes the passage by observing that "the above shall also apply to the non-performance of agreements among countries (*i.e.* territorial communities), *castes*, families, and assemblies."

In Ellis' lectures, cited in Borradaile's translation of the *Vyavahāra Mayūkha*, it is explained that the "non-performance of agreements" covers all transgressions against the discipline and peculiar customs of the tribe or family. Professor Jolly, who is probably the greatest living authority on ancient Indian statecraft and administration, says² that the matter has for its object the extension of the protection of the State to the laws of the corporations, particularly the religious corporations. But both these authorities might have defined the meaning in wider terms. The texts

¹ *Arthaśāstra of Chāṇakya (Kauṭilyaśāstra)*, Book III, Chapter X.

² Jolly, *Recht und Sitte*, p. 136

on the subject show that certain rules and customs of castes (and indeed of more than castes, *e.g.* villages, territorial units, associations of merchants and heretics) are equally included. The law-book of Yājñavalkya¹ is particularly interesting on the subject. Having instructed the king to erect buildings, for the accommodation of Brāhmins, this work directs him to exhort his Brāhmin guests in the following terms : All rights of the assembly or community which do not conflict with private duty or with the commands of kings must be observed. Whoever appropriates the common property of the assembly, or *disregards an agreement*, shall be deprived of his whole property and banished. *The word of those who speak for the assembly shall be executed by all.* The passage concludes by saying that this is the rule also for guilds, associations of citizens and heretics, and corporations. Manu² carries us further by saying that "the king shall punish, by banishment and fine, breaches of agreement by a man belonging to a corporation inhabiting a village or district. And he shall apply this law of fines in villages *and castes.*" We here see, as it appears to the writer, in no uncertain manner, how a caste authority might issue orders to its members for the performance of particular duties, and how the king might be called in to enforce, by fine or banishment, the order of the assembly or head.

The precise line of demarcation between this jurisdiction for the enforcement of internal communal discipline, and the control over the social conduct of the members of the communal group which figures so prominently among the functions of the modern caste authority, cannot be drawn with confidence. But the first, while it certainly covered the obligation to obey the common will in regard to contributions in labour, cash or kind,³ does not appear to have included matters of marriage, divorce or adoption.

The writer now turns to a personal experience of his own in a certain Rajput kingdom in the Panjab Himalayas, where it was his fortune, before long minorities under British Superintendents had obliterated the significance of ancient institutions, to be an eyewitness to the making of the royal jurisdiction for the enforcement of caste rules. The caste assemblage, constituted upon no rigidly defined principle, but ordinarily including all respected adult males of the caste in the locality, dealt with complaints of caste offences, and imposed fines for those of minor importance. If a heinous offence, such as the eating of forbidden food, or illicit relations with a woman

¹ Yājñavalkya, II, 185 sqq. (A work dating from the 4th century A.D., and having special authority in the country of Mithila).

² Mānava-dharmaśāstra, VIII, 219-221.

³ The inscriptions abound in instances of what may be termed self-taxation by castes or groups of castes, and, in some cases but not in all, reference is made to official authority as approving or sanctioning the impost. A great assemblage of different castes and trades, meeting in A.D. 1161, somewhere in the Bijapur District of Kanara, imposes contributions on all its constituent elements, so much oil from the oil-pressers, so much cloth from the weavers, so much fruit from the toddy-drawers, so many baskets from the basket-makers and mat-makers, with a cash impost on every marriage: and the record ends with a mandate to the people of the district and to the 300 of the caste of toddy-drawers to preserve this act as religion. In A.D. 1775, according to an inscription of the Yelandur Jagir in the Carnatic, the eighteen castes agree to an addition for religious purposes to the land tax and other taxes, payable by them, and declare that this is done with the consent of the authorities. These are specimens of the agreements, the breach of which was to be punished by the king.

of low caste, was established by the evidence of two witnesses, sentence of outcasting might be pronounced. It was then open to the outcasted person to go to the Raja and prove his innocence. If he did this to the Raja's satisfaction, he was restored by the Raja's order to the caste brotherhood. If he was proved guilty, he petitioned the Raja to have his offence expiated. The Raja then consulted a Brahman or Brahmins, and ascertained the proper penance. Orders were pronounced for its performance under the supervision of a royal official. When the official reported that the penance had been duly performed, the Raja passed orders for the offender's restoration to his caste.

In its essential features—the jurisdiction of the caste assembly, the expository and declaratory function of the Brahman, and the enforcing authority of the king—this institution appears to have been a general one in India. We catch a glimpse of it in the west, where (as Telang tells us) the Mahratta princes used to award penances for religious offences, of the kind with which the caste assemblage dealt. Hereditary Brahman functionaries existed, and perhaps still exist, in Kashmir and Nepal, having authority to determine the penances appropriate to breaches of caste regulations. Up to 1875,¹ at all events, it was the Maharaja of Kashmir who formulated for these Brahman expositors of the law the question on which their finding was sought, and enforced the performance of the penance declared by them to be appropriate.

In the ancient law-books or Dharmaśāstras, which, as we have seen, belong to epochs prior to the full development of the caste jurisdiction, we find evidence of the antiquity and general operation of these principles, though the decisions in religious matters which the king there appears as enforcing are, naturally, not those of caste assemblies, which had not yet begun to promulgate them. The law-book of Āpastamba, of date prior to the Mānava-dharmaśāstra and probably not later than 200 B.C., deals with the king's enforcement of penances. The offender² is to be sent to the Purohit, who will reduce Brāhmins to reason, while the king himself will punish other castes. In Hārīta,³ which is possibly antecedent to Manu, we are told that "the Guru punishes the pious, the king punishes the wicked: but secret sinners are punished by Yama Vaivasvata," a passage which implies that the king deals with those who decline to submit themselves, and apparently that his authority was called in only when the Brāhmins were unable to enforce their own. Manu⁴ refers to the function of the three or more learned Brāhmins who fix the penance: and Professor Bühler, dealing with this passage, and grounding his opinion upon the modern jurisdiction in Kashmir, observes that it must have been the king who put the question for their decision. When the castes obtained the jurisdiction which they now exercise in matters social and religious—at a date which we have no materials for determining, except that it must, apparently, have been later than the latest of the Dharmaśāstras, *i.e.* than the eighth century A.D.—they found already in existence

¹ Professor Bühler's Kashmir Report, p. 21.

² Āpastambīya-dharmaśāstra, II, 5, 10, and II, 5, 11. This work had special authority in the region between the Godavari and the Kistna.

³ Vyavahāradhyāya, from Hārīta's Dharmaśāstra, V, 1, 2

⁴ Mānava-dharmaśāstra, XI, 86.

a power, exercised by kings upon the advice of Brāhmanas, which confirmed their authority by taking cognizance of their findings and by enforcing the penances which their decisions made necessary.¹

There remains for consideration one more matter. The obligation to prevent confusion among castes, and to keep all men to their proper duties, involved, when translated into terms of everyday administrative routine, the necessity of measures for distinguishing men on sight. The precept of the Śukraniti² that the king should differentiate the castes and stages of life by separate marks of distinction, was in accordance with ordinary Indian practice which created an immense number of minute regulations surviving to the present day in the observance of local or communal habits and costumes. It is as though some energetic modern ruler, smitten with the idea of regulating the life of his subjects in every phase and of avoiding all waste default and overlapping by determining precisely what each is to do, should conceive the project of facilitating the enforcement of his plans by putting everyone into an appropriate uniform. But the Indian caste uniform, if the expression may be permitted, was not limited to the clothes which a man was permitted to wear. It extended to the house which he might live in and to the habits which he must observe: and when royal favour was so far extended to a particular group that an improvement of status was allowed to it, changes were made in the ordinances by which these matters were regulated.

When the Brāhman Chach conquered Sind, he made the Jats and Lohanas undertake to wear only mock swords: to foreswear saddles: to keep their heads and feet uncovered: as well as to undertake certain tasks such as the carrying of fuel and the providing of guides.³ A Tamil Inscription⁴ of the Coimbatore District gives permission to a certain class to blow conches and beat drums at marriages and funerals, to wear sandals, and to plaster their houses: and its editor observes that there is a similar inscription in favour of certain artisan groups recorded on another temple in the same district. A Carnatic Inscription⁵ of A.D. 1580 sets forth that certain privileges—the right to pare their toenails and to wear an upper cloth or coat as well as a loin-cloth—had been denied to the potters by the barbers and washermen, but successfully asserted in an ordeal which the potters underwent, and affirmed to them in a charter granted by a royal governor. Here we seem to see the official ascertaining and declaring the appropriate caste uniform, rather than determining it of his own authority. But Colonel Tod reports the tradition of a Rajput prince, who “regulated the dress of all, even to the tie of a turban.”

¹ In the discussion which followed upon the reading of the lecture, R. B. Pandit Hari Kishen Kaul, C.I.E., drew attention to paragraph 570 of his Panjab Census Report, 1912, in which further instances are given of the royal functions in relation to breaches of caste rules. It appears that, even under the Mughal Emperors, the Delhi Court was regarded as the head of all the Caste Panchāyats, and that questions affecting a caste over a wide area could not be settled except at Delhi, and under the guidance of the ruler for the time being. An inscription of A.D. 1280 in the Epigraphia Carnatica (Vol. XI, No 59 of Davanagere) gives to the paramount ruler the title: “head of all the castes.”

² Śukraniti, IV, 4, 84.

³ Elliott's Mahommedan Historians, Vol. I, pp. 145 sqq.

⁴ South Indian Inscriptions, Vol. III, Pt. I, p. 46.

⁵ Epigraphia Carnatica, Vol. IV, no 2, of the Yelandur Jagir.

Sometimes the rules regarding dress, ornaments and personal habits appear to have a sumptuary, rather than a distinguishing aim : and sometimes they are dictated by the ruler's jealousy of the assumption of emblems proper to royalty, or by his desire to make particular privileges rare enough to be valuable. But the leading, and, it is suggested, the original, object was to differentiate one caste from another by unmistakable external marks of distinction, and so practically to facilitate the task of keeping each group in its proper place, and exacting from each its proper traditional function : a task, in the performance of which the Indian king gave to the institution of caste, not indeed rigidity, for there is no real rigidity in it any more than in anything else that is Indian, but its apparently immutable status as the characteristic form of Indian Society.

History of Nurpur State.¹

By J. HUTCHISON AND J. PH. VOGEL.

The Nurpur State included the whole of the present Nurpur Tahsíl of Kāngra District, with the addition of Shāhpur and Kandi now in Gurdāspur, and also a small tract to the west of the Rāvi, called Lakhanpur, now in Jammu State.² Originally it also included Pathānkot, and a large tract on the plains.

The State was bounded on the north by Chambā, on the east by Kāngra and Guler, on the south by the Panjab plains, and on the west by the Rāvi. The original capital and nucleus was Paṭhānkot, of which the name in Mughal times was Paṭhān, an abbreviation of Pratiśṭhāna, meaning, "the firmly established place." There has been some uncertainty as to the origin of the name. Sir A. Cunningham was at first inclined to regard it as "a genuine Hindu word derived from *pathān*, meaning 'road,' as if intended to describe the first meeting of the roads which there takes place." This derivation, however, he afterwards abandoned in favour of Pratiśṭhāna, of which the abbreviated name, Paṭhān, is found both in the Āin-i-Akbari, and the Bādshāhnāmah. There is another Paṭhān on the Godāvari,³ the later capital of the Āndhras (B.C. 220 to A.D. 236), of which the Sanskrit name is known from the plates of Govinda III to be Pratiśṭhāna, and we may assume that the same is true of Paṭhān- (or Paṭhān) kot.⁴ There was a third Pratiśṭhāna on the left bank of the Ganges, not far from its junction with the Jamna, which is repeatedly mentioned in Sanskrit literature. The word was evidently, therefore, a not uncommon place-name in ancient times, and in its abbreviated form it has no association with the Pathāns of the North-West frontier. Parallels for the addition of 'kot' (fort) we find in many other place-names, for example, Siāl-kot, Nagar-kot, etc., the object probably being, as Sir A. Cunningham suggests, to indicate both the fort and the town.⁵

The clan name of the Nurpur Rajas is 'Paṭhānia,' and that it is derived from the place-name, Paṭhān, cannot in our opinion be doubted. This is fully in accordance with the common practice of the Hill Rajas, who in almost every instance took their clan name from the name of the country over which they exercised dominion. Sir Alexander Cunningham was the first to institute an inquiry into the history of the State. He was, however, unable to find any authoritative records, as all of them

¹ We desire to acknowledge our deep indebtedness to the late Mr. William Irvine, I.C.S. With great care and at the cost of much time and labour he translated and copied out for us numerous references to the Panjab Hill States in the Muhammadan histories, which are invaluable in the preparation of these papers.

² Kāngra Gazetteer, p. 28.

³ *Ancient India*. Rapson, p. 174.

⁴ Ep. Ind., Vol. III, p. 103.

⁵ Arch. Survey Report, 1872-3, Vol. V, pp. 145 ff.

were said to have been destroyed in the Muhammadan and Sikh wars. But he succeeded in obtaining a good deal of information from a very old Brahman, named Devī Shāh, who was acquainted with the history of the ruling house. Cunningham visited Nurpur in 1846, just after the First Sikh War, and Devī Shāh was then 95 years of age. He furnished a genealogical roll of the Rajas, which, on the whole, agrees well with the names which can be gathered from the Muhammadan historians.¹

An Urdu compilation by Miān Raghunāth Singh, of the Reh branch of the ruling family, has also been of considerable assistance in preparing this paper, but his genealogical roll varies a good deal, especially in the earlier portion, from that of Cunningham.

Paṭhānkot is probably one of the oldest sites in the Panjab and it must always have been a place of great importance. Situated as it is at the foot of the hills, between the Rāvi and the Biās, where they are only sixteen miles apart, its position is especially favourable as a mart for the interchange of merchandise between the hills and the plains. Of late years, since the opening of the branch railway from Amritsar, it has become the principal point of arrival and departure for all the trade of the Western Hills, between Kashmir and Kulu.

² That it is a place of great antiquity is shown by the fact that numerous ancient coins have been found, some of them belonging to the early centuries of the Christian era. Sir A. Cunningham says:—"Among the coins which I obtained at Paṭhānkot were a Greek Zoilus with specimens of the Indo-Scythian Kings; Venones, Kanishka, Huvishka and Gondophores, and one of the Satraps of Surāshtra. The Muhammadan coins ranged from Khusru the Ghaznvide down to Shāhjahān, and the coins of the Kāngra rājās from Piṭhama Chandra down to Trilōka. I was surprised to get only two specimens of the Hindu rājās of Kashmir, which are so abundant in the north-western districts of the Panjab, but this scarcity only confirms what we know from history, that the rule of Kashmir, even at its most flourishing period, did not extend to the east of the Rāvi. There was a single specimen of the Indo-Sassanian period with the name in Nāgri letters of Sri Vagamārīsa, which recalls the name of Barkamārīsa preserved by Rashīd-ud-dīn in the *Majmal-ut-Tawārīkh*. But the most curious and by far the most interesting coins discovered at Paṭhānkot were six early Hindu coins which certainly date as high as the beginning of the Christian era. As I have not found a single specimen of these coins elsewhere, I take them to be the ancient coinage of Paṭhānkot itself. These coins are thin pieces of copper, either square or oblong, with a temple on one face and an elephant on the other. Beside the temple are the symbols of Swāsti and Dharma and underneath is a snake. Before the elephant there is a tree surrounded by a Buddhist railing, with an Aryan legend on two sides, of which one half reads distinctly, Odumbara. It is possible that the inscription may refer to the tree which it accompanies, an *Udumbara* or *Ficus Glomerāta*, but I think it more probable that it must be the name of the town or district. We have several examples of such names being placed on coins, as Youdheya, Sebi,

¹ Arch. Survey Reports, Vol. XIV, 1878-9, pp. 115 ff.

² Do. do. Vol. V, 1872-3, pp. 153 ff.

Ujeniya and Mālavāna. We know also that Audumbara was actually used as the name of the province of Kachh, as early at least as the time of Pliny, who mentions the Odombeorso. But as Udumbara is also a name of copper it is quite possible that Audumbara may simply refer to the prevailing red colour of the hilly district of Nurpur. This suggestion receives some support from the fact that the old Hindu name of Nurpur was Darmeri or Dharmeri, which is a not improbable abbreviation of Audumbara. The name was changed to Nurpur by Jahāngīr in honour of his wife, Nur Jahān."

"According to Pāṇinī any country in which the *Udumbara* flourishes may be called Audumbara. This is true of the Nurpur district in which the glomerous fig tree is common. But the name itself is also to be found in Hindu books, as that of a country in the north-eastern Punjab. Thus Varāhamihira twice couples the Audumbaras with the Kapistholos, who are the Kambistholi of Arrian's *Indica*. In the *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa* they are joined with the Kapistholos and in the *Vishnu Purāṇa* they are coupled with the Traigarttas and Kulindas,² the former being the people of Kāngra and the latter of Kulū and the districts on the Satluj. I think, therefore, that the old name is most probably preserved in the present Dahmeri or Dahmahri, which I take to be only a corrupt survival of Audumbara."

"I can find no trace of the name in the historians of Alexander, but the quotations which I have given from Varāhamihira and the *Purāṇas* show that the name was well known before the Muhammadan invasions. Its next mention is by Abu Rihān (Alberuni A.D. 1030), who calls it "Dahmāla the capital of Jālandhara," from which I conclude that the district had been annexed by its more powerful neighbour of Traigartta or Kāngra. From that time down to the reign of Akbar I know of no mention of the district either as Audumbara or as Pathānya."

There is a reference to the tribe of the Audumbara in the *Mahābhārata* (Bombay Edition 2.52.13), where they are mentioned among various peoples who came to pay tribute to the Pāṇḍava King, Yudhisṭhira, together with the Kaśmīras, Daradas (Dards) and Trigartas. In Varāhamihira's *Bṛihat Saṃhitā* they are found among the nations of Central India, but the geographical data contained in Sanskrit works are usually vague and inaccurate.

Professor Rapson has the following note on the Audumbara coins:—"Audumbara, or the country of the Udumbaras, was situated in that region of the Punjab in which the two alphabets of ancient India, Brāhmi and Kharoshṭhi, were used concurrently. The coins are found in the neighbourhood of Paṭhānkot in the Gurdāspur District. They show the influence of the Greek type of coinage. In fabric and style they somewhat resemble the coins of Apollodotus, a prince of the house of Euthydemus, and they are sometimes found in association with them. Their date would seem to be about 100 B.C." (*Ancient India*. Rapson, pp. 154-5.)

From all this it seems probable that Audumbara was the ancient name of the

¹ Arch Survey Reports, Vol. XIV, 1878-9, pp. 115-119.

² As the ancient Sanskrit name of Kulū was Kulūta, the identification of the people of Kulū with the Kulindas cannot be upheld: nor can *Dhameri* be an abbreviation of *Audumbara*.

whole district in which were situated the two towns of Nurpur and Paṭhānkot, as known by their present names. It also seems probable that Praṭishṭhāna was the ancient capital of the district or State, of which the name of one Raja, Dharaghosha, has come down to us, on whose coin is found the following legend: *Mahadevasarāna Dharaghoshasa Odumbarisa*, meaning, “(Coin) of the Great Lord, King Dharaghosha Prince of Audumbara.” This legend occurs on both the obverse and reverse of the coin and in the Kharoshṭhi and Brāhmī characters, respectively, which were used concurrently in that region of the Panjab. The date of the coin according to Rapson is about B.C. 100.¹ The ruler referred to may possibly have been one of the Rānas, as indeed he calls himself, who are known to have held sway all over the Western Hills in ancient times. The name, *Audumbara*, probably continued in use as the name of the district down almost to the time of the Muhammadan invasions, after which Pratishṭhāna, or Paṭhān, came into prominence, as the original capital of the Nurpur, State. It is noteworthy that even as late as the reign of Shāhjahān, that State was still called “Mau and Paṭhān,” and not till a still later period was it designated by the name of Nurpur. The transfer of the capital from Paṭhānkot to Nurpur then called Dhameri, occurred in the time of Akbar, but there is no reason to believe that Nurpur was only then founded; on the contrary, as already suggested, it also probably was an ancient town and may have been one of the seats of the earlier dynasty already referred to. Its former name is spelt in many different ways of which the following are examples:—Dahmāl, Dahmāl, Dahmari, Dahmehri, Dhama-ri, Dhameri, Dhammeri. In the *Tūzuk-i-Jahāngīrī* it is Dhameri, a form which is reflected in the works of the old European travellers as ‘Temmery.’ As Dhameri it is well known in the district at the present day. As we have seen, Alberuni calls it Dahmāla. In the *Tārīkh-i-Alfi* (A.D. 1585) it is called Damāl, and is described as “situated on the summit of a high hill on the borders of Hindustan.” Sir A. Cunningham states that the fort was captured by Ibrāhīm Ghaznavi (A.D. 1058-89) after a long siege, but does not give his authority.

In the *Āin-i-Akbārī*, Dhameri is referred to as a *pargana* of the Bāri Doāb which yielded 1,600,000 *dams* and furnished 60 horse and 1,300 foot.

The Nurpur Fort, now partly demolished, was begun by Rājā Bāsu, A.D. 1580-1613, and added to by succeeding Rājās, as is evident from the existing portions of the work; an earlier fort may, however, have stood on the same site. The stronghold is situated on a plateau forming the western end of the ridge on which the town is built, with almost precipitous cliffs of sandstone on three sides, overlooking the Jabhar Khad, a tributary of the Chakki. The main gateway and some of the bastions and curtains are still extant, and present an imposing appearance when viewed from the west, on the approach from Pathānkot to Nurpur.

The principal structures in the fort to which reference may be made are: a ruined temple probably erected by Rājā Bāsu, and a Thākurdvāra, said to have been built by Rājā Māndhātā, grandson of Rājā Jagat Singh. The temple had become

¹ *Ancient India*, Rapson, p. 155.

² Arch. Survey Report, 1904-5, pp. 110 ff.

³ Arch. Survey Report, 1904-5.

completely covered up with debris, and its existence forgotten, when, in 1886, it was accidentally discovered, and excavated by the late Mr. C. J. Rodgers, Archæological Surveyor to the Panjab Government. Only the basement portion remains, which is profusely decorated with carvings of the mixed Hindu-Mughal style which was in vogue in the reign of Akbar. These carvings do not show any signs of great age, and their freshness and freedom from decay prove that the edifice must have had only a short term of existence before its demolition. It was probably destroyed after the rebellion of Suraj Mal in A.D. 1618. The popular belief, therefore, which attributes its demolition to Mahmud of Ghazni may be dismissed as unworthy of credit. The Thākurdvāra does not merit any special notice. It is in the shape of an audience-hall and the main feature is the fresco ornamentation representing scenes in Krishna's life, and a Hindu Raja in one of the spandrels, probably Māndhātā, the founder of the shrine. The image of Krishna, which the building contains, is of black marble and good workmanship. The town of Nurpur formerly enjoyed a considerable amount of prosperity as a centre of trade with Chamba, Kashmir and Ladakh, and also from the manufacture of shawls. After the Franco-Prussian War in 1870-1 the shawl trade declined, and since then Nurpur has become partly depopulated.

¹ Paṭhān is often mentioned in the rhyming Hindi poem of the capture of Kāngra by Firoz Tughlak (A.D. 1351-89), which was written soon after the accession of Akbar, but there seems to be no historical mention of the place under that name previous to this. The fort of Paṭhānkot is now a ruin about 600 feet square and 100 feet high. It was demolished after the annexation of the Panjab in 1849, the bricks being used at Madhopur in connection with the head works of the Bāri Doāb Canal. They are of large size—a certain proof, says Cunningham, of Hindu origin and great age. The original town of Paṭhānkot is said to have stood on the high ground to the east and north-east of the fort, where mounds still mark the site and ancient coins have been found. The present town is said to have been founded in the fifteenth century.

The Rajas of Paṭhānkot and Nurpur are called Pāndir or descendants of the Pāṇḍavas, a claim which they share with the royal families of Basohli, Kulu, Bhadu, Bhadrawāh, Mandī and Suket. They are, therefore, of the Chāndarbansi or Lunar Race of Rajputs. They claim descent from the Tunwar or Tomar Rajas of Delhi, whose line came to an end about A.D. 1176, with the accession of Prithī Rāj Chauhān, of Ajmer, to the throne of Delhi.

The early history of the State, from its foundation to the reign of Rājā Bakht Mal in the time of Akbar (A.D. 1558), is very uncertain and its chronology is purely conjectural. From the latter period, however, a great amount of historical material is at our disposal in the works of the Muḥammadan historians, and the date of each Raja's reign can be fixed, with a near approach to accuracy.

The two lists, one by Cunningham and the other by Raghunāth Singh, vary considerably in the early portion, both as regards the names of the Rajas and the order of their succession. It is impossible to decide which is correct, but from a chronologi-

¹ In the Āin-i-Akbārī, Paṭhān is the name of a *pargana* of the Bāri Doāb, which yielded a revenue of 7,297,015 *dam* (40 *dam*s = 1 Akbarī rupee), and furnished 250 horse and 2,000 foot.

cal point of view Cunningham's list seems the more reliable. In the other list a historical note occurs which, if authentic, helps us to arrive at an approximate date for the foundation of the State. It is to the effect that Rājā Jas Pāl, the fifteenth in descent from the founder, ruled in the time of Ala-ud-din Khilji of Delhi (A.D. 1295-1316). If, therefore, we allow an average of twenty years to each reign, we find that the State may have been founded about A.D. 1000. Cunningham places it at A.D. 1095.¹ The founder, named Jhet Pāl, is said to have been a younger brother of the reigning Rājā of Delhi, of the Tomar line of Rājputs. Leaving his home after what seems to have been the fashion of the time, he travelled northward in search of a kingdom, and crossed the Biās at a ford, called Bhet. For this reason, it is said, he acquired the name of Rāna Bhet. At that time Paṭhānkot is said to have been in the possession of a Pathān chief, whom Jhet Pāl expelled and named the place Paṭhān after its previous owner. This story we may safely assume to be purely fictitious. As already stated, the early Muhammadan historians, both in the *Āin-i-Akbari* and *Tūzuk-i-Jahāngiri* as well as the *Bādshāhnāmāh*, all call it Paṭhān. The Rājās who followed Jhet Pāl were: Khetr Pāl, Sukin Pāl, Jagat Pāl, Rām Pāl, Gopāl Pāl, Arjan Pāl, Varsha Pāl, Jatan Pāl, Vidurath Pāl, Jagan Pāl, Kirat Pāl, Kakho Pāl, and Jas Pāl. Of the reigns of these Rajas we know nothing, but the last-named, Jas Pāl, is said to have ruled from A.D. 1313 to 1353 and to have been a contemporary of Ala-ud-din Khilji.² This seems not at all improbable. He had nine sons, each of whom, according to the vernacular history, was the progenitor of a branch of the Paṭhānia family, which has twenty-two existing subdivisions, each with a subordinate *al* or family surname.

Kailās Pal, A.D. 1353-97. The succeeding Rājās for a considerable period are credited with long reigns, but this may simply be due to the fact that some names have dropped out of the *vansāvali* in the process of copying, a thing as we know of frequent occurrence in ancient times. Kalas or Kailās Pāl is accorded the credit of having defeated and wounded a famous Muhammadan general, named Tātār Khān, ruler or governor of Khorāsān, who invaded the Panjab; and as a reward received from the Delhi emperor a *mansab* of 5,000. More probably the tradition refers to some local conflict between the Paṭhānia chief and Tātār Khān, viceroy of the Punjab under Muhammad Tughlak (A.D. 1325-51). If so, it must have taken place previous to A.D. 1342, the year in which Tātār Khān was killed in battle with the Gakhars.³ A couplet commemorating the incident has come down to our own time⁴:—

*Jo mukh dekhān ārsi sise dīl-kananda
Mathe phat Tātār Khān Kailāse ānda.*

Free translation—

“When he looks at his face in the heart-rending mirror, Tātār Khān sees on his forehead the scar (of the wound) inflicted by Kailās.”

¹ A. S. Report, Vol. XIV, 1878-9, pp. 115-119.

³ *Perishta*, Briggs. Trans. 1928, Vol. I, p. 125.

² *Tawārikh Rajāgān Paṭhānia*, p. 56.

⁴ *Tawārikh Rajāgān Paṭhānia*.

This Raja is said to have constructed the *Rānki Kuhl* or irrigation channel from the Rāvi to Paṭhānkot, which is still in existence.

¹ *Nāg Pāl*, A.D. 1397-1438. He was the eldest son of Kailās Pāl and, as is alleged, received his name from the fact that a Nāg or snake was born along with him. The snake was ultimately put into a *baoli* or well, prepared for it, and is still regarded as the *Kulaj* or family deity of the Paṭhānia clan. Several branches of the family are said to be descended from Nāg Pāl.

Prithi or Phato Pal, A.D. 1438-73. This Raja's name is uncertain and we have no information of the events of his reign.

Bhil Pāl, A.D. 1473-1513. He was a contemporary of Sikandar Lodhi of Delhi (A.D. 1488-1516) and is said to have assisted him in his wars and received an accession of territory in reward. This is the first reference to the Muhammadans in the history, but we may safely assume that the State became subject to them at an early period. The Panjab came under Muhammadan rule from the time of its conquest by Mahmūd of Ghazni, and the States bordering on the plains would naturally be the first to suffer. Nagarkot or Kāngra was captured by Mahmūd himself in A.D. 1009, and again by Muhammad Tughlak in A.D. 1337 and by Firoz Tughlak about A.D. 1365. It probably remained in Muhammadan hands till about A.D. 1526, and, after being taken by the Hindus, was again recovered by Khwās Khān, the general of Sher Shāh, in A.D. 1540-41. Cunningham says that Nurpur Fort was captured by Ibrahīm Ghaznavi (A.D. 1058-89), but does not mention his authority for this statement.² In any case it seems probable that the Paṭhānia Rājās, realizing their danger, made it a part of their policy to keep on good terms with the new paramount power at Lahore and Delhi, and thus saved their country by timely submission. One result of this probably was that the State boundaries were greatly enlarged. Traditionally they are said to have extended far into the plains and in the opposite direction to the borders of Chamba and Kāngra.

Bakht Mal, A.D. 1513-58. With this Raja's reign we are brought into touch with contemporaneous history, for he is referred to in the Akbarnāmah. The original suffix of the Paṭhānia family was 'Pāl' and Cunningham assumed that this suffix continued in use down to the reign of Bakht Mal. This, however, is uncertain and some of the intermediate Rajas may have borne the suffix of 'Mal.' With Bakht Mal the old suffix was finally disused.

Bakht Mal's reign covered an eventful period in Indian history. Like his father he attached himself to the Lodhi dynasty. On the conquest of India by Babar in A.D. 1526 the State must have come under Mughal control, but on the flight of Humāyūn in A.D. 1540 and the accession of Sher Shāh, Bakht Mal transferred his allegiance to the Sur dynasty, to which he remained faithful to the end. From Ferishta we learn that the famous fortress of Maukot³ was erected within State territory.

¹ The dates from the vernacular history are only approximate.

² *Anc. Geog. of India*, Vol. I, p. 144.

³ "Salim Shāh Sur, younger son of Sher Shāh, completed the fort of Rohtas (near Jehlam) and founded Maukot in the Sawalakhs as a refuge for himself." *Vide* Ferishta, Briggs trans. Vol. II, 1909, p. 190. Cf. Akbarnāmah, p. 616, para. 337.

by Salīm Shāh Sūr (A.D. 1545-53), that is, during the reign of Bakht Mal. Ferishta also says that Salīm Shāh Sūr had a narrow escape at Maukot from being assassinated. While ascending the hill by a narrow path, a man suddenly rushed upon him with a drawn sword, but was cut down. It was then found that the sword had been presented some time before to one of his own officers.¹ The fortress of Maukot stood on the summit of the Mau range of low hills, running parallel to the Chakki and to the east of that river, about half way between Paṭhānkot and Nurpur. It is frequently referred to by the Muhammadan historians, and figures prominently in the history of the State, till the time of Shāhjahān when it was completely demolished.

The first mention of the fort is in the Akbarnāmah. In A.D. 1553 Mīrzā Kāmrān, younger brother of Humāyūn, on being driven out of Kābul retired to India and sought an asylum with Salīm Shāh Sūr. He was detained as a prisoner but succeeded in making his escape and fled to Rājā Bakhu, whose State is not named. Possibly the name is a misspelling for Bakhtu, that is Rājā Bakht Mal of Paṭhān. Being pursued he retired to Gahlur (? Kahlur) and then to Jammu. The Raja of Jammu refused him shelter and he made his way to Maukot in disguise. There too he found himself in danger and escaped to the Gakhars by whom he was surrendered to Humāyūn and blinded.

On the return of Humāyūn in A.D. 1555 he was opposed at Sirhind by Sikandar Shāh Sūr, who was defeated and fled to the Sawālakhs hills. In A.D. 1557 he left his retreat in the Sawālakhs, and advanced as far as Kalānaur now in the Gurdāspur District, but on the approach of Akbar he again retired and took refuge in the fortress of Maukot.² Bakht Mal supported Sikandar Sūr and assisted in the defence of the fort, which was besieged for six or eight months by the Mughals. On the surrender of the fort in July of the same year Sikandar Sūr was permitted to retire to Bengal where a *jāgīr* was assigned him, and Bakht Mal was taken as a prisoner to Lahore and there put to death by Bahram Khān in the following year, A.D. 1558.³ The passage in the Ma'āsir-ul-Umarā referring to this incident is as follows: "At the time when the sudden death of Humāyūn (A.D. 1556) plunged the world in grief, and sleeping quarrels awoke again in every corner and quarter, Sultān Sikandar Sūr raised his head to give trouble. Sikandar had taken refuge in the difficult hill country to wait there till Fortune was more favourable. At that time Bakht Mal held power over this country and was notorious for being unequalled in fostering strife and trouble. Bakht Mal allied himself with Sultān Sikandar and took measures to further his cause. In the same year of Akbar (A.D. 1557) Sikandar was invested in the fort of Maukot and daily the signs of misfortune and destruction became more evident on the face of the circumstances of the invested garrison. It is the practice of most *Zamindars* (petty chiefs) in Hindustān not to adhere to one another, but to look about on every side and ally themselves with whatever side they see is winning, or is most capable of continuing the struggle. Thus at this point, by means of zamindār-like wiles, he (Bakht Mal) came in and joined the imperial camp. When that fort

¹ Ferishta trans., Vol. II, 1909, pp. 135.

² Ferishta trans., Vol. II, 1909, pp. 190-1.

³ Ms'āsir-ul-Umarā, II. 157.

(Maukot) had been reduced and the affair with Sultān Sikandar had been finished, the victorious standards took up their position at the City of Lahore. Now it is not considered a laudable practice to injure those who have submitted of their own accord, even if it has occurred under compulsion of necessity. But having regard to his (Bakht Mal's) habit of stirring up strife, and his stubborn disposition, Bahrām Khān considered it good policy to suppress him and he was rendered helpless (killed). His brother Takht Mal was put in his place." From this it is clear that Bakht Mal only deserted Sikandar Sūr, when the latter's cause was absolutely hopeless, and we can hardly blame him for doing so:

Bakht Mal is said to have built the fort of Shāhpur on the Rāvi, naming it after the Shāh Sūr family. It is still a picturesque ruin, having been demolished only after our annexation of the Panjab. One of the bastions overlooking the Rāvi is still in use as a rest-house for Government Officers on tour.

Pahāri Mal, A.D. 1558-80. He is called Bihāri Mal by Cunningham and Takht Mal in the Muhammadan histories, and was a brother of the previous Raja. Their names are often reversed by the historians, but the order in which they are here given seems the more likely. Of Takht Mal's reign we have few details, and it seems to have been uneventful. Things had settled down into comparative quiet during Akbar's reign, and the Paṭhānia Chief probably found it to his advantage to give as little trouble as possible. Realizing the danger of having his capital at Paṭhānkot, so near the plains, he is said to have formed the design of moving it to Nurpur then called Dhameri, but died before this change could be carried into effect.

Bās Dev, A.D. 1580-1613. He is also called Bāsu and in the Akbarnāmah is designated as "Zamindār of Mau and Paṭhān."¹ Soon after his accession he carried his father's design into execution by transferring the capital to Dhameri, which his son, Jagat Singh, renamed Nurpur in honour of the Emperor Jahāngir, whose name was Nur-ud-dīn. The true origin of the name is confirmed by a statement to this effect in the Tūzuk-i-Jahāngirī and the Bādshāhnāmah. Cunningham is, therefore, incorrect in saying that the name was given in honour of Nūr Jahān Begam.² From the Tūzuk-i-Jahāngirī and Shāsh Fath-i-Kāngra we learn further that the name was given on the occasion of the Emperor's visit, in A.D. 1622, on his way back from Kāngra.

The first mention of Rājā Bāsu in the Mughal annals is in the reign of Akbar. Bāsu had then been only a few years on the *gaddi* during which he seems to have been wholly submissive, but in A.D. 1585 he rebelled.³ The reference is as follows: "When the rule of that country (Paṭhān) descended to Raja Bāsu he followed continuously the high road of loyalty and submission and performed good service. After the death of Mirzā Muhammad Hakīm (Akbar's younger brother) and the conquest of Zabulistān (Ghazni), Akbar considered it advisable to make a stay in the Panjab Province. At that time out of shortsightedness and want of intelligence

¹ Also in Ma'āsir-ul-Umarā and Bādshāhnāmah.

² Bādshāhnāmah, Vol. II, p. 287, and Tūzuk-i-Jahāngirī trans., II. 226.

³ Ma'āsir-ul-Umarā. Vol. II, 159.

Raja Bāsu raised his head in rebellion. For this reason, in the 31st year of Akbar (A.D. 1585), Hasan Beg Shaikh Umari was told off to march against him, and if he did not submit he was to be attacked and punished. When the imperial force reached Paiṭhān, he was awakened from his dream of forgetfulness by a letter from Raja Todar Mal, and accompanied Hasan Beg to press the forehead of submissiveness on the imperial threshold.”

Such rebellions were of frequent occurrence among the Panjab Hill Chiefs, and in the 35th year of Akbar (A.D. 1589-90), there seems to have been a general and concerted rising, in which no fewer than thirteen hill chiefs are said to have been involved. Zain Khān Kokah, Akbar's foster-brother, was sent to suppress the revolt, in which he was successful. The Āin-i-Akbari says: “Most of them, as Raja Budi (Bidli) Chand of Nagarkot, Rai Partāp of Mankot, Raja Parasrām of Mount Jamu, Raja Bāsu of Mau, Rai Balbhadar of Lakhimpur, etc., submitted and accompanied Zain Khān to Court, though they had an army of 10,000 horse and a lakh of foot soldiers.”² A few years later Raja Bāsu was again in trouble in conjunction with some of the neighbouring chiefs, as will be seen from the following³: “Afterwards in the 41st year of Akbar (A.D. 1594-5), having made alliance with a number of the local rulers, he (Bāsu) once more through his evil disposition turned his head away from obedience to commands. Akbar therefore granted Paiṭhān and the neighbouring lands to Mirzā Rustam Qandahārī and sent him against that man forgetful of consequences. Āsaf Khān was ordered to join with reinforcements. Owing to disagreement between the two leaders, the work of the State was not performed. Mirzā Rustam was recalled and replaced by Jagat Singh, son of Raja Mān Singh (of Amber). The imperial Commanders acted in unison and resolved on performing their duty. They surrounded the fort of Mau, the dwelling of that overproud one (Bāsu). It is famed for its strength and the difficulty of reducing it. For two months they proved the quality of their valour by vigorous attacks. In the end, the fort was surrendered to them.”⁴

Rājā Bāsu seems again to have been pardoned on his submission but the Paṭhān-kot *pargana* was permanently annexed by Akbar. In the 47th year of Akbar (A.D. 1602-3), reports were once more received that he was in rebellion, and a force was despatched against him. He had probably again taken refuge in the fortress of Mau, though this is not stated, and Jamīl Beg, son of Tāj Khān, was killed by his men. Afterwards the Raja “laid hold of the skirts of supplication and finally on the petition of the Prince (Jahāngīr) the pen of forgiveness was drawn across his offences.”⁵

But even then Raja Bāsu's turbulent spirit was not completely quelled and in the 49th year (A.D. 1603-4), he seems to have been again in revolt. We read that “when the Prince (Salīm) for the second time attended on his exalted father he

Anc. Geog. of India, p. 143.

² Āin-i-Akbari trans., I, p. 344.

³ Ma'āsir-ul-Umara. Vol. II, 167-170.

⁴ Raja Basu's stand against Akbar is the theme of a song or *bār* sung by the hill bards.

⁵ Ma'āsir-ul-Umara, II, 160.

(Bāsu) also came in his train in the hope of being pardoned, but from excess of fear he drew up on the other side of the river (at Lahore). Before the Prince could open his mouth to beg for Bāsu's pardon, Akbar sent Mādhu Singh Kushwāha to seize him, but the Raja being put upon his guard escaped.'''¹

Bāsu had enjoyed a *mansab* of 1,500 under Akbar, and when Jahāngīr came to the throne it was increased to 3,500. He seems to have been in special favour with Jahāngīr and supported him against Akbar. Possibly some of the rebellions to which reference has been made were stirred up by Jahāngīr, for we know that at a later time Shāhjahān pursued the same policy when in revolt against his father.

² In A.D. 1611 Lahore was visited by William Finch in connection with certain transactions in indigo in which he was interested. Finch must have seen Raja Bāsu, whom he calls a "minion" of Jahangir's, and he makes the following reference to the State: "Alongst the Ravee Easterly lyeth the land of Rajaw Bassow whose chief seat is Temmery 50 c. from Lahore. He is a mighty Prince now subject to the Mogal, a great Minion of Shāh Selim. Out of this and the adjoining Regions come most of the Indian Drugges, growing on the Mountaines:—Spikenard, Turbith, Miras, Kebals, Gunlack, Turpentine, Costus, etc. This Raja confines the king's land Easterly." He also relates that 'Rajaw Bassow' was pictured among the nobles of Jahāngīr, and as standing on the king's left hand, in certain fresco paintings which he saw in the Lahore palace and which no longer exist.

³ The first reference to Bāsu in the Tūzuk-i-Jahāngīrī is in Zi-l-Qada A.H. 1014 (March A.D. 1606) and is as follows: "In those days many servants of the State obtained higher ranks, amongst them I raised Dilāwar Khān Afghān to 1,500 and I raised Raja Bāso, who was a landholder of the hill country of the Panjab, and who from the time I was prince till now has kept the way of service and sincerity towards me and held the rank of 1,500, to 3,500." The next mention is in connection with the flight of Khusru from Agra in March A.D. 1606 and his rebellion against his father. It runs thus: "In the evening of the day of Khusrau's flight I gave Rājā Bāso, who is a trusty Zamindār of the hill country of Lahore, leave to go to that frontier and wherever he heard news or trace of Khusrau to make every effort to capture him." Khusru was captured at the Sodhra ferry on the Chināb, a few miles above Wazīrābād, but what share, if any, Raja Bāsu had in the capture we do not know. There is yet another reference to Raja Bāsu as follows: "On the 27th Zi-l-Qada (March, A.D. 1607) Abdulla Khān brought Rām Chand Bandēlā in chains. I ordered them to take the fetters from his legs and bestowed on him a robe of honour (*khilat*) and handed him over to Raja Bāso, that he might take security and release him and a number of his relations who had been captured with him." It would appear that Rām Chand had for a long time been giving trouble in the province of Bandel-khand, and was at last captured. For a rebel he certainly received very generous treatment at the Emperor's hands.⁴

Raja Bāsu does not seem to have been employed on any military expeditions

¹ Ma'asir-ul-Umarā, II. 160.

² J.P.H.S., Vol. I, No. 2, pp. 126-130.

³ Tuzuk-i-Jahāngīrī trans., Vol. I, pp. 49 and 65.

⁴ Tūzuk-i-Jahāngīrī trans., Vol. I, p. 87.

during the reign of Akbar, at least we are not told of any. Hewas probably disqualified by his frequent rebellions. After the accession of Jahāngir he appears to have been much about the Court, but it was not till near the end of his own reign that he was deputed on active service. In A.D. 1611 an army was sent against the Rānā of Mewār (Udaipur) whom Jahāngir speaks of as "the rebel Rānā," and Raja Bāsu was put in command. The reference in the Memoirs is as follows: "As Abdullah Khān who had been appointed to command the army against the rebel Rānā promised to enter the province of the Dakhan from the direction of Gujarāt, I promoted him to be Subadār of that province, and at his request appointed Raja Bāso to the command of the army against the Rānā, increasing his rank by 500 horse."¹ In the following year a sword of honour as a special gift was sent by Jahāngir to Raja Bāsu who was still engaged in the campaign, and in A.D. 1613 he died in the *thāna* of Shāhābād, probably the town of that name in Jhalāwar State.² The news of his death reached Jahāngir on 2nd Mihr A.H. 1022 (September, A.D. 1613). The expedition against 'the rebel Rānā' was in the following year carried to a successful issue by Prince Khurram (Shāhjahān).

Raja Bāsu built or enlarged and strengthened the fort of Nurpur. He also planted a garden of mango trees four miles south of Nurpur near the fort of Maukot, which is referred to in the *Bādshāhnāmā* and still bears the name of "Rājā kā Bagh." He had three sons, named Suraj Mal, Mādhu Singh, and Jagat Singh.

Suraj Mal, A.D. 1613-18. On the death of Rājā Bāsu, Jahāngir had much hesitation in installing Suraj Mal as his successor. The young prince was of a wayward and unruly disposition, in consequence of which his father had become alienated from him, and on one occasion at least had committed him to prison. The other sons, too, had shown "no marks of nobility of character." As there was no help for it Jahāngir, "to provide for the continuance of the chieftainship and for protecting that region, conferred the title of Rājā on Suraj Mal and favoured him with the rank of 2,000, and granted to him without share or partner the *parganas* of the State, with all the money and goods that had been accumulated by his father in the course of many years."

As the siege of Kāngra Fort was then in progress Suraj Mal was ordered to join Murtazā Khān Shekh Farid, the Commander of the Mughal army, along with his contingent. He was, however, far from feeling grateful for the favours conferred upon him and soon began to stir up trouble in the Mughal camp. The siege had progressed favourably and it was evident that the surrender of the fortress could not be long delayed. This did not suit Suraj Mal's designs and he tried to hinder the operations and make them a failure. Thereupon Murtazā Khān sent a complaint to the Emperor that Suraj Mal was showing signs of disloyalty and he was summoned to Court. Realising that circumstances were against him he sent a petition to Shahjahan representing that Murtazā Khan had conceived a dislike for him and had

¹ Tuzuk-i Jahangiri trans., Vol. I, p. 200.

² Tuzuk-i Jahangiri trans., Vol. I, p. 252.

³ *Ma'asir ul Umara*, II, 176-177. Suraj Mal is called Chaupar Mal in the *Wāqiat-i-Jahāngiri*. Vide Elliot's *History of India*, Vol. VI, p. 374.

cast on him an unjust suspicion. He prayed that the Prince would intercede for him with the Emperor and save his life.

The matter seems to have been passed over and soon afterwards, in A.D. 1616, Murtazā Khān died at Pathānkot and the siege of Kāngra Fort was then abandoned. Suraj Mal was recalled to Court and received with favour and was appointed to Shāhjahān's army then about to march for the conquest of the Dakhan.

¹The reference in the Ma'āsir-ul-Umarā is as follows: "When by the exertions of the Shekh (Murtazā Khān) the besieged (Kāngra Fort) were reduced to extremities and he (Suraj Mal) saw that a victory could not be far off, he set to work to hinder the operations and make them a failure, bound round his waist the covering of erroneous conduct and raised arguments and opposition against the men of the said Khān. Murtazā Khān wrote to the imperial Court that Suraj Mal's actions betrayed signs of disloyalty and rebellion. Seeing that the presence in those hills of a capable commander such as Murtazā Khān, at the head of a large force, made his preparations for disturbance and disorder impossible, he was forced to apply to the Prince (Shāhjahān), sending to him a petition that Murtazā Khān, instigated by designing persons, had conceived a dislike to him, and casting on him the suspicion of turbulence and rebellion, was laying plans for uprooting him. He prayed that he (Shāhjahān) would act as the saviour of his life and the means of his deliverance, fortune having abandoned him, by causing him to be summoned to the imperial Court."

"At the time of these occurrences, early in the 11th year of Jahāngir (A.D. 1616), Murtazā Khān folded up the carpet of existence and the reduction of the fort was held in abeyance. He (Suraj Mal) in pursuance of a request made by the Prince (Shāhjahān) was recalled to the imperial Court and was received with favour. Shortly afterwards he was attached to the Prince's force, then about to proceed to the Dakhan. (October, A.D. 1616)."

²On Suraj Mal's return from the Dakhan in A.D. 1617 on the conclusion of the campaign, he addressed a letter to Prince Shāhjahān asking permission to re-invest the Kāngra Fort, and promising to capture it in the course of a year. The letter was submitted to the Emperor who ordered Shāhjahān to make inquiries as to the feasibility of the project, and, if satisfied, to send Suraj Mal to Court for orders. Accordingly on the 13th of Mīhr A.H. 1026 (September, A.D. 1617) Suraj Mal together with Shāh Qulī Khān Muhammad Taqi, the Bakhshi or paymaster of Shāhjahān, waited on the Emperor and, after stating their requirements for the siege, the engagement to perform the duty was approved. Prince Shāhjahān was entrusted with the charge of the expedition, which he placed under the joint command of Suraj Mal and Muhammad Taqi, but he himself did not accompany the force. Before his departure Suraj Mal was honoured with a standard and drums, he was also presented with a *khilat* or dress of honour, an elephant and a jewelled *khapwa* (dagger) and Muhammad Taqi with a *khilat*. They then received orders from the Emperor to start for Kāngra.³

¹ Ma'āsir-ul-Umarā, II. 176-177.

³ Tūzūk-i-Jahāngiri, I. 389, 392-3.

² Ma'āsir-ul-Umarā, II, 177-178.

⁴ Tūzūk-i-Jahāngiri, Vol. I, pp. 392-393.

Suraj Mal, however, was only playing a part, his purpose evidently being to find a pretext for getting back to the hills, in order to stir up trouble. This danger seems to have been realized at the time, for the historian remarks that "it was utterly opposed to the rules of care and caution to allow Suraj Mal to re-enter the hill country," but the undertaking having been committed to the charge of Prince Shāhjahān the selection for the command of the expedition rested with him, and no one could advise. Soon after reaching Kāngra, Suraj Mal began to quarrel with Shāh Qulī Khān Muhammad Taqī and wrote to Shāhjahān that the siege was being hindered by the incompetence of that officer, and requesting that some one more capable might be sent. Muhammad Taqī was in consequence recalled. Suraj Mal was thus left in sole command for the time being, and the more easily to carry out his designs he, on the pretext that their supplies were exhausted, ordered many of the imperialist contingents to return to their *jāgirs* for re-equipment, in anticipation of the arrival of the new commander. The Mughal army being thus greatly reduced in numbers, and incapable of making an effective resistance, Suraj Mal with his own troops began to raise a rebellion, and ravaged most of the *parganas* at the foot of the hills, which were in the *jāgīr* of Itimād-ud-daulā (father of Nūr Jahān Begam). He also carried off all he could lay hands on in the shape of cash and movables. A small Mughal force under Sayyid Safī Bārkhā made a brave stand but they were all dispersed or killed.

Jahāngīr was at Ahmadābād in Guzerāt when the news of this outbreak reached him, and he at once despatched Sundar Dās, Rāi Rāiān, afterwards known as Raja Vikramajit, with reinforcements to suppress it, followed by a second force under Abdul Aziz Khān. Jagat Singh, who was on bad terms with his brother, was also recalled in great haste from Bengal, and sent to join the Rāi Rāiān, with the promise that his father's territory would be granted to him if he remained loyal.

¹ On the approach of the Mughal army Suraj Mal tried by flattery and deceit to gain the favour of the Rāi Rāiān. Finding that this was of no avail he boldly attacked the imperialists and was defeated. He then took refuge in Maukot, which was captured by a *coup-de-main*, or as the historian has it, "without dismounting," and in the confusion Suraj Mal escaped and fled to Nurpur. Being unable to make a stand there also, he turned "the face of bewilderment" towards the fort of Isrāl, which was situated in the low hills to the north of Nurpur and within the Chambā State. This fort has not been definitely located, but it may have been the small fort of Perigarh near Isrāl kā Bāssā, in the Tundi *pargana*, not far from Kotla. In Elliot's History Tārāgarh is supposed to be the fort referred to, but it was not then founded. Being still pursued, Suraj Mal finally crossed the Dhaula Dhār and sought refuge in Chamba, where he soon afterwards died.

Meanwhile the Rāi Rāiān was engaged in laying siege to the smaller forts in the territory, all of which were speedily captured, the last to fall being that of Kotla,

¹ Ma'asir-ul-Umara, II. 174.

² Ma'asir-ul-Umara, II. 178. also Badshāhnamah. Cf. Chamba Gazetteer, p. 88. Kangra Gaz. App. I, ii. Kotla originally belonged to Guler State, but had been seized by Nurpur.

between Nurpur and Kāngra. It was held by Mādhu Singh, second son of Raja Bāsu, and was taken after three days' fighting. Mādhu Singh escaped and fled to Chamba, where he rejoined his brother. Kotla was probably annexed and added to the imperial demesne of Kāngra and the fort was garrisoned by imperial troops. After the whole territory had been subdued the Rāi Rāiān set out for Chambā, but hearing on the way of Suraj Mal's death, he despatched a peremptory order to the Chambā Chief to send back all the money and other property belonging to the deceased Raja. This order met with prompt compliance, and Mādhu Singh was also surrendered.

The rebellion being at an end the Rāi Rāiān laid siege to Kāngra Fort, in which he had the assistance of Jagat Singh, but it did not surrender till after more than fourteen months, during which the garrison was reduced to great straits.

Jagat Singh, A.D. 1619-46. Jagat Singh seems to have been the youngest son of Rājā Bāsu. His elder brother, Mādhu Singh, was probably passed over on account of his complicity in the rebellion of Suraj Mal. Early in his career Jagat Singh entered the Mughal service and was granted a *mansab* of 300 by Jahāngir and sent to Bengal. As has been mentioned, he was in Bengal at the time of his brother's rebellion and was recalled "in the greatest haste" by the Emperor, who conferred on him a *mansab* of 1,000 personal and 500 horse, with the title of Rājā, a present in cash of Rs. 20,000, also a jewelled dagger, a horse, and an elephant. He was then sent to the Rāi Rāiān, who was actively engaged in suppressing the revolt, and was afterwards ordered to assist in the siege of Kāngra Fort. On its capitulation, in November, A.D. 1620, he seems to have taken up his residence at Nurpur. In the spring of the year 1622, Jahāngir paid a visit to the Kāngra Valley, probably coming by Paṭhānkot and Nurpur, accompanied, it is said, by the Empress Nūr Jahān Begam. An amusing incident is related traditionally in connection with this visit.

So fascinated was the Empress with the beauties of Nurpur, so it is said, that she gave orders for the erection of a palace for herself. This, however, was not at all to Jagat Singh's liking, so he contrived a cunning device to turn Nūr Jahān from her purpose. Being in charge of the work he issued orders that only workmen of ugly appearance and suffering from goitre should be employed. That disease being very common in the district there was no difficulty in finding such workmen. On being apprised of the circumstance, Nūr Jahān enquired the reason and was told that it was the effect of the climate of Nurpur. The building operations were therefore abandoned.

This story is more or less corroborated by a statement in the *Tūzuk-i-Jahāngirī*, that when Jahāngir visited Dhameri on his return from Kāngra, in A.D. 1622, a considerable portion of the Fort had been built, and he was so pleased with the site that he granted a lakh of rupees from the Imperial Treasury for the construction of good mansions worthy of the place. This was probably done at the request of Nūr Jahān Begam. ² In A.D. 1623 Shāhjahān rebelled against his father and Jagat Singh, who had attached himself to the Prince, was sent to raise the petty chiefs of the Kāngra hills. Sādiq Khān, Viceroy of the Panjab, was ordered by Jahāngir to suppress the revolt,

¹ Ma'āsir-ul-Umarā, II, 238.

² *Tūzuk-i-Jahāngirī*, II, pp. 288 f.

and he conferred on Mādhu Singh, elder brother of Jagat Singh, the title of Raja and sent him to assist in the operations. He was probably encouraged to hope that the State would be made over to him. Jagat Singh fortified Maukot, but was soon forced to submit and was pardoned. Raja Rup Chand of Guler was engaged in the suppression of this rebellion, as we learn from the *Tūzuk-i-Jahāngīrī*, just as his son, Mān Singh, took part nearly twenty years later, in the siege of Mau and Tārāgarh, and it was through the intercession of Nūr Jahān Begam that Jagat Singh was forgiven. The reference, which confirms popular tradition of Jagat Singh's influence with the Empress, is as follows: "Helplessly he (Jagat Singh) then sought for patronage, and begged the protection of Nūr Jahān Begam, expressing shame and contrition, and sought a refuge in her mediation. In order to please and satisfy her, the pen of pardon was drawn through the record of his faults." Three years later he was again in revolt, but the affair seems to have been quietly settled.

It is probable that before his own accession Jagat Singh had formed the design of bringing all the surrounding hill States under the control of Nurpur. The records of the time fully bear out this conclusion. In the Chambā annals, for example, it is stated that there was war with Jagat Singh for twelve years, from about A.D. 1613 onwards. The war, however, cannot have been continuous, and may have been more of the nature of border forays than actual fighting. It ended in a final invasion of Chambā by Jagat Singh in A.D. 1623, assisted by Mughal troops, and a battle was fought at Dhalog near Dalhousie, in which the Chambā forces were defeated and the Raja's second son was killed. The Raja then on the *gaddi* was Balabhadra (A.D. 1589-1641), but he had been removed temporarily from power by his officials and his son Janārdan put in his place, most likely as regent, though bearing the title of Raja. Janārdan, who had fled from the capital on the approach of the Nurpur army, was persuaded to return, and invited to a conference in the palace on a promise of safe conduct by Jagat Singh. While they were engaged in discussion, Jagat Singh suddenly drew his dagger and plunged it into Janārdan's breast, inflicting a mortal wound. The State was then brought under Jagat Singh's control and is said to have been ruled by his officials for twenty years.¹

But Chambā was not the only hill State to suffer at Jagat Singh's hands. Unfriendly feeling had been aroused between him and Bhūpat Pāl of Basohli, and on a false accusation the latter, it is said, was arrested by Jahāngīr and cast into prison, where he languished for fourteen years. Jagat Singh then took possession of the Basohli State and placed it under the charge of his own officers. It is probable indeed that Basohli was the first to come under his control, as early as A.D. 1614-15. On the release of Bhūpat Pāl, probably about A.D. 1627, he returned to Basohli in disguise, and having collected a force from among his own people he expelled the Nurpur garrison and recovered the State. But this was not the end of it all. Some time afterwards Bhūpat Pāl went to Delhi to pay his respects to the Emperor, and Jagat Singh, it is said, had him assassinated.

The Rajas of Guler and Suket are also said to have been imprisoned by the Em-

¹ Chamba Gaz., pp. 88-89.

peror in consequence of false accusations brought against them by the Nurpur Chief, and this may have been the reason for the strong feeling which existed between him and Mān Singh of Guler who in the Bādshāhnāmāh is called "the mortal enemy of Jagat Singh."

The Mandi records state that Jagat Singh also planned to bring that State under his control by assassinating the Mandi Chief, who was his own son-in-law, while in Nurpur for his marriage. In this, however, he was unsuccessful, as the Mandi Rājā became aware of the plot and fled.

¹ Before Jahāngīr's death Jagat Singh had been raised to a *mansab* of 3,000 personal and two thousand horse. On the accession of Shāhjahān, in A.D. 1627, he was confirmed in his rank and in the eighth year (A.D. 1634) he was appointed Thānādār of Lower Bangash (Kurram) and two years later was sent to Kābul. There he distinguished himself by capturing Karīm Dād, the son of Jalālā the Tārīkī then in rebellion.² In the 11th year of Shāhjahān (A.D. 1637) Qandahār was betrayed to the Mughals by the Persian governor, Ali Mardān Khān; and Sa'id Khān was sent from Kābul to oppose the Persian forces. On this occasion, Jagat Singh was placed in command of the *harāval* or vanguard. On arriving at Qandahār he was sent to effect the conquest of Zamīn-i-Dāwar, and afterwards accompanied the Mughal army to Bust where he rendered good service. In the 12th year (A.D. 1638-9) he returned to Lahore, received presents from the Emperor and was appointed Faujdār or Governor of Lower and Upper Bangash (Kurram and Kohāt).

³ In the same year his elder son, Rāj rūp, who was in Nurpur, had been appointed Faujdār of the Koh-i-dāman of Kāngra and collector of the yearly *nazarāna* or tribute money from the hill chiefs of that district (including probably most of the states between the Rāvi and Satluj), which was valued at four lakhs of rupees.

While the father and son held these high offices of honour and trust, they were, for some reason not clearly known to us, engaged in plotting a rebellion against the Emperor. Court intrigues against him are hinted at by Jagat Singh in his petition to Shāhjahān, of which the substance has been preserved in the Bādshāhnāmāh. He doubtless had many enemies, some envious of his prestige and others actuated by feelings of revenge. But rebellion was no uncommon thing with the Paṭhānia Rajas, as we have already seen, and a high-spirited man like Jagat Singh would ill brook any real or imaginary insult.

⁴ In the summer of A.D. 1640, when the Emperor was in Kashmir, rumours began to reach the Court that Rāj rūp meditated an outbreak. When the matter became public, Jagat Singh who was still in Bangash, but was in secret league with his son, sent a petition to Shāhjahān asking to be appointed Faujdār of the Koh-i-Dāman of Kāngra, when he would punish Rāj rūp and send in the tribute money of the hill

¹ Ma'sir-ul-Umara, II. 239.

² Tārīkī (unenlightened), a nickname applied by Akbar to a heretical sect among the Yusufzai Afghans, in mockery of the name of *Roshanai* (enlightened) which they had assumed. The sect was founded by one Bayāzid, whose youngest son Jalālā took the lead on his father's death, and it continued to give trouble down to the reign of Shāhjahān. The famous Birbal was killed in an expedition against the Yusufzais. *Vide* Elphinstone, pp. 450-1-2-3.

³ Bādshāhnāmāh, II, p. 237.

⁴ Bādshāhnāmāh, II, p. 238 ff.

chiefs, which he estimated at four lakhs of rupees. His request was granted, but on reaching his native territory he began to show signs of disloyalty. A high officer was sent by the Emperor to make enquiries, and on receipt of his report, confirming the rumours of disaffection on the part of Jagat Singh, orders were at once given for the concentration of three army corps in the neighbourhood of Paithān (Paṭhānkot). Murād Baksh, the Emperor's youngest son—then in Kābul—was appointed to the supreme command of the expedition, and he was directed to proceed at once to Paithān by way of Siālkot. He accordingly reached Paithān in August A.D. 1641, and found the three armies assembled and awaiting his coming. Shāhjahān himself seems to have been in Lahore. As already mentioned, the Paṭhānkot *pargana*, including all the lands west of the Chakki river and between it and the Rāvi—excluding the *ilāqas* of Shāhpur, Kandi and Palāhi—had in the reign of Raja Bāsu been severed from Nurpur and annexed by Akbar. The Paṭhānkot Fort was, therefore, most probably held by Mughal troops.

Jagat Singh had long been preparing for this emergency and had strengthened the three principal forts in his territory, viz. Maukot, Nurpur and Tārāgarh, and furnished them with all available weapons of war. Maukot was nearest the plains, being situated a little more than half way from Paṭhānkot to Nurpur, on the summit of a range of low hills running to the east of the Chakki. It was really a fortified enclosure with dense jungle all around it, and was a place of great strength.¹ Few vestiges of the fortifications now remain, as it was completely demolished by order of Shāhjahān.² The Nurpur Fort, of which the massive ruins may still be seen, stood on a plateau (2,125 ft.) to the south-west of the town and had deep ravines on three sides. The main entrance was to the north. Tārāgarh was twelve miles north of Nurpur, within the Chamba State, and was built by Jagat Singh about A.D. 1625-30, "as a refuge for an evil day." It was a fortified hill of a conical shape, rising to 4,230 ft. with deep ravines all around it. On it there were three forts one above the other; the highest crowning the summit of the hill which is clearly visible from the cantonment of Bakloh.

³ Jagat Singh made a brave resistance to the overwhelming force sent against him. His first stand was at Maukot, which was under his personal command, while Nurpur seems, from the account in the Bādshāhnāmāh, to have been held by Rājrup. The siege of these forts was begun by separate divisions of the Mughal army in the early part of October, A.D. 1641, and by the middle of December the position at Maukot was untenable. Jagat Singh then escaped and fled with his two sons to Tārāgarh, and two days later, Nurpur Fort was also abandoned. After some delay Tārāgarh Fort was also invested by the Mughal army, and the siege was pressed so vigorously that in the middle of March Jagat Singh was reduced to extremities and compelled to capitulate. He then, along with his sons, submitted himself to the clemency of the

¹ The common idea of the strength of the fortress is reflected in the popular saying which has come down to our time:—*Mau ki muhim, yāro, mau ki nishāni hāi*. "The Mau expedition, friends, is a call to certain death."

² In the Ma'asir-ul-Umarā the two forts are called Mau and Mahri, the latter name evidently being a clerical error for Damarhi. It is also called Nurgarh.

³ Chamba Gazetteer, pp. 9-1-2; Kangra Gaz., App. I. iii.

Emperor, and after appearing in Darbar with halters round their necks they were forgiven and had all their honours restored. The site of the Mughal head-quarters near Tārāgarh, called Āmb-kā-Bāgh, is still pointed out by the people, and traditionally the siege is said to have lasted for twelve years. ¹ The Mughals are believed to have planted the mango trees and to have departed after eating the first fruit.

The Bādshāhnāmāh gives a full account of the rebellion, which is so interesting and graphic that we subjoin a free translation, retaining many of the quaint expressions of the original ² :—

“In the twelfth year of the blessed accession (of Shāhjahān) (A.D. 1638), when the capital of Lahore was embellished with the brilliance of the gilded crescent on the flag spears of prosperity, Raja Rāj rūp, eldest son of the ill-starred Jagat Singh, obtained an order appointing him Faujdār of Kāngra and Collector of the *nazarāna* from the *Zamīndārs* (petty chiefs) of those parts. In the third year of the cycle (A.D. 1640) when the court was in the pleasant country of Kashmir, owing to the secret conspiracy which the unworthy son had with the wicked father, the signs of rebellion were manifest. When the matter became public, the infamous Jagat Singh sent a petition through some servants of the imperial carpet to the effect that if the Faujdārī (of Kāngra) were conferred on him he would undertake to capture Rāj rūp, punish him for his misdeeds and collect the four lakhs of rupees from the *Zamīndārs* as *nazarāna*. When his petition had been granted and he had reached his native territory, Jagat Singh, trusting to the height of the mountains, the narrowness of the passes and the denseness of the forests, while outwardly professing obedience to the royal commands and prohibitions, was secretly busy preparing means for opposition and rebellion. He strengthened all his forts, especially that of Tārāgarh erected by him on the summit of a high mountain, which he had filled with arms and weapons of defence, preparing it in accordance with his foolish judgment as a refuge for an evil day; but like his brother, Suraj Mal, he only brought about his own fall and ruin.

When the news of this event reached the Emperor, an order was issued for his citation. As he forwarded a petition indicating certain reasons for non-attendance, and besides had never before been disobedient to the imperial commands, Shāhjahān sent Sundar Kabrai to make inquiries into his affairs. If he was nourishing the thought of rebellion from ignorance and misunderstanding he should be warned of the evil consequences of disloyalty. A second order was at the same time issued for his citation. After an interview with Jagat Singh, Sundar Dās reported as follows: ‘He pretends to be overcome with fear and begs that he may be allowed to stay for another year in his native territory and he will send Rāj rūp to beg pardon for his own and his father’s crimes, with orders to remain faithful to the sublime vestibule. But in reality he has deviated from the path of obedience and is trying to dispose the means of his own ruin.’

As the suspicion which had crept into the minds of the nobles of the Court

¹ The mango tree fruits for the first time in its twelfth year.

² Bādshāhnāmāh, Vol II, p. 237 ff.

proved to be true, three armies under three competent and loyal commanders were appointed to root out that traveller in the desert of distraction.

The first army was under the command of Sayyid Khān Jahān Bārḥā, supported by Nazar Bahādur Kheshagi, and his son Shams-ud-din Zul-Fiqār Khān, Raja Amar Singh of Nārṡār, Sayyid Lutf-Ali, Jalāl-ud-din Mahmūd, Rao Dān Singh Bhadauriya, Mir Buzurg, Sarmast son of Itimād Rai, and a number of other officers (Mansabdārs), and Ahadis of archery and musketry and Zamindārs. The second army was commanded by Sa'id Khān Bahādur Zafar Jang, with his sons and relations, Raja Rai Singh, Iltifāt Khān Safavi, Gokal Dās Sisodia, Rai Singh Jhālā, Kripa Rām, Nād Ali and Chait Singh with other Mansabdārs and Ahadis of archery and musketry, and Mushki Beg, Bakhshi (paymaster) of the King's eldest son (Dāra Shikoh), with one thousand horsemen of the Prince's contingent.

The third army was under Asālat Khān with his brother Abdul Kafi; Muhammad Amin and Muhammad Mumin, sons of Shāh Quli Khān, other Mansabdārs and Ahadis, Khusru Beg the servant of Yamin-ud-Daulā (Āsaf Khān, Khān-i-Khānān, brother of Nūr Jahān and father of Mumtāz Mahal) with one thousand horsemen of Islām Khān, under his paymaster. The command of the three armies was conferred upon the high-born prince (Murād Bakhsh), and orders were issued that he with Raja Jai Singh, Rao Amar Singh, Jān Sipār Khān, Akbar Quli Sultān Gakhar, Hari Singh Rathor, Chandar Mān Bandelā, Daulat Khān Qiyām Khāni, Rai Kāshi Dās, Khizr Sultān Gakhar and Khalil Beg with 700 Ahadis, Nahir Solanki, Baba-i-Kheshagi and other mansabdārs should start from the province of Kābul to Paithān by way of Siālkot.

In dismissing the three armies on the 17th Jamād-ul-Awwal A.H. 1051 (14th August, 1641), the Emperor ordered Sayyid Khān Jahān and Sa'id Khān Bahādur Zafar Jang to assemble at Raipur and Bahrāmpur and await the arrival of the Prince. Asālat Khān was directed to hasten to Jammu and collect the Zamindāri contingents of that district. On the arrival of the Prince, all three were to proceed with him to Paithān and prosecute the campaign to the utmost of their ability. The Emperor presented Sayyid Khān Jahān with a *khilat*, two horses from the royal stable, one with a golden and the other with a gilt saddle, an elephant from his own enclosure with a female elephant, and one lākh of rupees in cash. Khān Bahādur Zafar Jang received a *khilat*, two horses from the royal stable, one with a golden and the other with a gilt saddle, and an elephant from his own enclosure with a female elephant. Asālat Khān, Raja Rai Singh, Iltifāt Khān, Nazar Bahādur Kheshagi, Zul-Fiqār Khān, Shams-ud-din son of Nazar Bahādur, Raja Amar Singh Nārṡār, Gokal Dās Sisodia and Rai Singh Jhālā each received a *khilat* and a horse, and some of the other officers a horse only. Sultān Nazar was appointed war reporter with the army of Sayyid Khān Jahān and Qāzi Nizāma with that of Sa'id Khān Bahādur Zafar Jang. When Prince Murād Bakhsh reached Paithān from Kābul he was met by the various commanders, who had till the end of the rainy season been awaiting his arrival to begin the campaign. Sa'id Khān, Raja Jai Singh and Asālat Khān were ordered to invest the fort of Mau, while Prince Murād Bakhsh remained at Paithān to forward supplies and other requisites for the army.

On the 2nd Jamād-us-sāni (29th August, 1641), Sayyid Khān Jahān, in accordance with orders, started from Raipur, where he had been encamped, towards Nurpur by way of the Balhavān hill, but on reaching the foot of the hill he found that Rājrup, the elder son of Jagat Singh, had blocked the way and was lying in ambush. Najābat Khān, the leader of the vanguard, engaged the enemy and routed them. The barricades which had been erected in the pass were torn down, and the hill having been captured, Khān Jahān moved on with all speed to the Machhi Bhawan hill. There too stockades had been erected to block the way, but a hillman pointed out an unknown and difficult path which had not been blocked, and by it the army on the 14th of Rajab (9th October, 1641) reached the summit of a hill, half a kos from Nurpur and commanding the fort. The houses outside the fort were looted, and next morning the army advanced to the foot of the fort. Khān Jahān then found that the place was strongly fortified and garrisoned with a force of 2,000 hill-men and fully equipped with the munitions of war. As it could not be taken without a siege, he distributed the sides of the fort among his officers and ordered them to erect batteries for the assault.

In the meantime Sa'id Khān had marched along the skirts of the Hārā hills, and Raja Jai Singh and Asālat Khān by the way of the Chakki river, and both met in the vicinity of Mau and encamped on a level spot near the garden of Raja Bāsu. The jungle around the fort was so dense that a bird could hardly spread its wings within it, and the paths were all blocked with barricades of wood and stone, on which bastions and fortifications had been erected, defended by musketeers and bowmen. Batteries had therefore to be erected and every means used to destroy the barricades, which were obstinately defended by the enemy.

On the 17th Rajab (12th October), Qilij Khān and Rustam Khān joined the Prince at Paithān, and in accordance with the Emperor's orders the former was sent to Mau and the latter to Nurpur. As it was reported to the Prince by some of the loyal Zamindārs (petty chiefs) that the occupation of an eminence near Rupar and commanding Mau would reduce the besieged to straitened circumstances, the question was referred to the Emperor (then at Lahore). He issued orders that Sa'id Khān Bahādur Zafar Jang should hasten in that direction and that, from the army at Nurpur, Nijābat Khān, Nazar Bahādur Kheshaqi, Akbar Quli Sultān Gakhar, and Raja Mān Gwāliāri (Guleria) should accompany him. Najābat Khān was appointed to the vanguard.

On receiving these orders Sa'id Khān started on the 15th Shabān (9th November, 1641) from the foot of the Nurpur hill, blocked up the Rupar path near Mau and sent his two sons, Sa'dullah and Abdullah, with a number of his own followers, to ascend on the right, and Zul Fiqār Khān with matchlockmen on the left, in order to fix a site for the camp. On reaching the summit they found that an encampment could be arranged only by cutting down the trees, and they sent a message to this effect to Sa'id Khān and awaited his orders. Taking advantage of this opportunity, the enemy to the number of four or five thousand came down from a neighbouring hill and attacked them. Sa'id Khān, hearing of this, at once despatched his son, Lutf

Ullah, with reinforcements; and after him, Shaikh Farid and Sarandaz Khan with more auxiliaries. Before reaching his brothers, Lutf Ullah was attacked by a body of rebels concealed in the forest, and received a sword wound in the right shoulder and a spear wound in the left arm. As they were about to disable his horse he was rescued by Khwaja Abdur Rahman, son of Abdul Aziz Khan Naqshbandi, and carried off the field. Zul Fiqar Khan and his comrades drove off the enemy and then retreated to Sa'id Khan, and soon after Sa'dullah and Abdullah also returned. Next day Sa'id Khan reached Rupar and began to clear the jungle for a large camp, which he fortified with a ditch and a thorn fence to guard against night attacks. The enemy then gathered in large numbers, in order to obstruct the path leading to the eminence commanding Maukot. For this purpose they erected strong fences and bastions. Sa'id Khan, therefore, resolved to clear the jungle by degrees and advance slowly. On the 21st of Shaban, Najabat Khan with the vanguard reached an eminence commanding the stockade erected by the rebels near Raja Basu's garden, which was attacked on one side by Zul Fiqar Khan and the imperial artillery, and on the other by Nazar Bahadur Kheshagi, Shaikh Farid, Akbar Quli Sultan Gakhar, Sarandaz Khan and Raja Man. A number of men of Najabat Khan's and Raja Man's forces, putting planks on their heads, instead of shields, ran forward and raised a wall of wood and planks opposite to the stockade, and showered bullets on the enemy. Many on both sides were killed and wounded.

On the night of the 29th Shaban (22nd-23rd November) Raja Man sent about a hundred footmen of his contingent to capture the fort of Chhat. On arriving at the fort they killed and wounded a considerable number of the enemy who had come out to engage them, including the commander of the fort, who with several of his relatives was slain. A small garrison was left in the fort and the remainder returned to the army.

On the same date a bastion of the Nurpur Fort was blown up. This happened as follows: Zulf-i-Ahūnzān and 'Aqa Hasan Rūmī had dug seven mines towards the sides of the fort, but the besieged discovered six of these mines and flooded them. The seventh mine, which started from the trenches of Sayyid Khan Jahān's troops, had been carried forward towards the base of the tower, only two or three yards remaining to be dug. But Sayyid Khan Jahān's son and his men, fearing that this mine also would be discovered, and thinking it sufficiently near the tower, filled it with powder and sent word to Khan Jahān that the mine was ready. The Khan then ordered all the men of the neighbouring trenches to be ready for the assault, which was to be made by scaling ladders through the breach, and then directed the mine to be fired. This was done in the early part of the Asr, or third prayer (that is, after 4 p.m.), but owing to the mine being incomplete only one side of the bastion was blown up, and the other sunk on the ground.

But the besieged had cunningly built a wall behind each tower, joined at each end to the main wall of the fort, with a passage at the top leading into the bastion. This wall was uninjured and so there was no way into the fort. Seeing this, Sayyid

Lutf 'Ali and Jalāl-ud-dīn Mahmūd, who had hurried forward with the assaulting party, called for pioneers to pull down the wall. The besieged, imagining that a breach had been made, retreated to the inner fort, but soon discovering the true state of matters they returned in force and began to shower down arrows and bullets from the wall on the besiegers. Some of the latter tasted the *sharbat* of martyrdom and a few beautified the cheeks of valour with the cosmetic of wounds; among the latter being Sayyid Lutf 'Ali who received a bullet wound in his hand. As night was now drawing on and all the efforts of the assailants to pull down the wall had failed, they had to retire.

In the end of Shabān, Bahādur Khān, acting under the orders of the Emperor, moved from Islāmpur¹ and joined the Prince at Paiṭhān. His army on being mustered for review was found to number nearly three thousand horse and as many foot.

On the last day of the same month, Damtāl was taken by Bahādur Khān, and Tihāri by Allah Viridi Khān. The Emperor also sent an order that Asālat Khān should hasten to Nurpur and take part in the siege, and Sayyid Khān Jahān, Rustam Khān, and others, with Bahādur Khān, who led the *harāwal* or vanguard, should proceed to the fort of Mau by way of Gangthal, and try to take it. If Mau were captured, Nurpur would soon follow. It was also ordered that the Prince should leave Rao Amar Singh and Mirzā Hasan Safavi at Paiṭhān and go to Mau, camping on the eminence which had formerly been occupied by Abdullah Khān Bahādur Firoz Jang, and should use every effort to take the fort.

In compliance with these orders the Prince on the 1st of Ramzān (24th November) set out from Paiṭhān for Mau. Jagat Singh, hearing of the arrival of these armies and of the Prince himself, became afraid and through the medium of Allah Viridi Khān sent the following message, requesting that his son Rāj rūp might be received in audience: "I am much abashed and ashamed at my rebellious conduct which was caused by loss of understanding and drowsiness of fortune. As, owing to the hatred of rivalry, some of the servants of the exalted Court had nothing in view but the destruction of my nation and family, and the ruin of my life and property, I was unwilling to fall an easy victim; hence according to my ability I did everything in the way of exertion and effort, to display my spirit as a Rajput and my sense of honour as a soldier. Now that the light of the eye of royalty (Prince Murād Baksh) had been entrusted with the task of bringing this war to an end, I see no remedy but to traverse the path of obedience to this awe-inspiring government. I hope therefore that you will release me, an ashamed criminal, from terror, and permit me to see you." An interview was granted under a safe-conduct and on 5th Ramzān (28th November) Rāj rūp came to the Prince as a penitent criminal without arms and a *fautah* (waist band) round his neck.

The Prince promised to intercede with the Emperor and accordingly a petition was submitted containing Jagat Singh's requests. As these were not acceptable and an unconditional surrender was demanded, Rāj rūp was sent back to Mau, and the siege was resumed. Sayyid Khān Jahān and Bahādur Khān with their forces were

¹ A place in Bandelkhand.

now sent by way of Gangthal to Mau. They were daily engaged in clearing the jungle and opening up a road and driving the enemy before them. But their advance was slow, as many barricades in the way had to be destroyed. When they came close to Mau, Jagat Singh advanced to oppose them and kept up the fight for five consecutive days, with the help of his family, clansmen and other people of the hills. Sayyid Khān Jahān, Bahādur Khān, and the other officers with their men paid no attention to the bullets and poisoned arrows of the enemy and even used the heaps of the slain as scaling ladders to reach the barricades. In these five days nearly 700 of Khān Jahān's men and as many belonging to the other commands were killed or wounded; while crowds of the enemy were "sent to hell." All the officers exerted themselves gallantly, but those deserving of special mention were Sayyid Khān Jahān and Bahādur Khān and Rustam Khān.

As the war was making slow progress, His Majesty issued an order that as Sayyid Khān Jahān and Bahādur Khān had attacked the fort and advanced like a flood as far as the foot of Mau, so, the other divisions should also exert themselves in a similar manner, and entering the jungle by force advance on their side and storm the fort. When the imperial commands reached him, the Prince (Murād Bakhsh) proceeded to put them into execution.

On the morning of the 20th Ramzān (13th December) he went up the eminence commanding most of the entrenchments and ordered the leaders of the imperial forces with their Bakhshis (paymasters) to make an assault. At the same time an order was sent to Sayyid Khān Jahān and Sa'id Khān that they too should advance from their side and storm the fort. Sa'id Khān delayed, but Sayyid Khān Jahān, being a man of energy, acted promptly and made brave exertions. His companions, Rustam Khān, Bahādur Khān and others displayed their valour by conspicuous deeds. They on one side and Rājā Jai Singh, Qilij Khān and Allah Viridi Khān on the other, had firmly resolved to capture the fort, and they gave their whole attention to it.

Rājā Jai Singh and Allah Viridi Khān went by the way of the pass, while Qilij Khān moved to the left, and others to the right, and entering the jungle succeeded in reaching the summit of the hill. During the five days of continuous fighting Sayyid Khān Jahān and Bahādur Khān had reduced the enemy to great straits, and Jagat Singh's army had become so weakened that he had to call in some of the troops which he had posted in certain places to resist the advance of the imperialists. For this reason, Rājā Jai Singh, Qilij Khān, Allah Viridi Khān and the others, being near the fort and finding the way into it easy owing to the smallness of the force opposed to them, reached the fort before the arrival of Sayyid Khān Jahān and Bahādur Khān. Jagat Singh had before this sent away his family and property to Tārāgarh and was alone at Mau. And now seeing the superiority of the imperial forces he took his sons and dependants who had escaped the sword and fled.

Two days later, 15th December, 1641, Asālat Khān reported to the Prince that the defenders of Nurpur Fort, on hearing of the fall of Mau, had at midnight evacuated the fort and escaped.

When the news of these events reached the Emperor he promoted Sayyid Khān

Jahān and Rājā Jai Singh by 1,000 each. The former reached the *mansab* (rank) of 6,000, with the actual command of 6,000, with two and three horses apiece. The latter attained to the *mansab* of 5,000, with the actual command of 5,000 horsemen, with two and three horses apiece. Bahādur Khān also received an increase of 1,000 in rank, making his *mansab* 5,000 with the actual command of 4,000 horsemen, with two and three horses apiece. Rājā Mān Singh Gwālīārī (Guleria), who had rendered distinguished service in the expedition, received a *khilat* (dress of honour), an inlaid dagger, a horse, and an elephant. In short, to every one who had taken part in the campaign the Emperor showed special favour.

¹On the 23rd Ramzān (16th December, 1641) the Prince by the Emperor's orders sent Prithi Chand, Zamindār of Champa, whose father had been killed by Jagat Singh, and who was at this time enrolled among the royal servants on the recommendation of the ministers of the State, to the royal threshold, along with Allah Viridi Khān and Mīr Buzurg who had gone to bring him. The charge of Mau Fort was given to Rājā Jai Singh, that of Tihāri to Qilij Khān, that of Damtāl to Gokal Dās Sisodia, and of Paithān to Mirzā Hasan Safavi; a number of other imperial servants with diggers and axemen were told off to cut down the jungle around Mau and widen the roads in the vicinity, and in other places.

Then the Prince in obedience to orders took with him Bahādur Khān and Asālat Khān and returned to Court. He had an audience of the Emperor on 29th Ramzān A.H. 1051 = 22nd December, 1641, and presented a *nazar* of 1,000 gold coins. On the 1st Shawāl (December 23rd, 1641) Prince Murād Baksh received a splendid *khilat*, from the Emperor's wardrobe and a *nādirī* (kind of cloth), two horses from the royal stables, one with an enamelled golden and the other with a plain golden saddle, and two lakhs of rupees in cash. He was then dismissed with orders to bring in Jagat Singh alive or dead, and to clear the hills by extirpating the root and cutting down the branch of that thorn-bush of sedition. Prithi Chand, the Zamindār of Champa, was honoured with a *khilat*, an inlaid dagger, the title of commander of one thousand and with the actual command of 400 horsemen, the title of Raja, and a horse. As the mountain on which Jagat Singh had built the fort of Tārāgarh was in Chamba, and had been taken by force; and as the back of the fort was contiguous to the above-mentioned territory, and had in that direction an eminence commanding it, the possession of which was essential to its capture, he was ordered to go home and collect his forces so as to seize the eminence and reduce the besieged to straitened circumstance.

On the 5th Shawāl (27th December, 1641) the Prince, along with Khān Jahān and other officers, reached Nurpur and encamped there. According to orders he sent Sa'id Khān and his sons to Jammu, and Bahādur Khān and Asālat Khān, with nearly 12,000 men, to lay siege to Tārāgarh. He also ordered Rājā Mān Singh,² the mortal enemy of Jagat Singh, to join Prithi Chand with his forces, and both together to take up a position on a hill at the back of Tārāgarh.

¹ Prithvi Singh of Chamba, *vide* Chamba Gaz., pp. 90-93.

² Rājā Mān Singh of Guler.

In spite of the height and impregnability of this fortress, the difficulty of the roads and the impossibility of entry and exit, all of which were such that the wisest would not undertake its reduction, yet the royal army, relying on God's aid and the Emperor's good fortune, bound up their loins firmly for the enterprise. The garrison on their part strengthened their defences and began to shower arrows and bullets on the troops in their passage. Some were sent to the fires of hell by the swords of the Ghāzis, while on the other side, a few obtained the high dignity of martyrdom. Among these was Khusru Beg, the Bakhshi (Paymaster) of Yamin-ud-Daula, Āsaf Khān, Khān-i-Khānān, who by the Emperor's orders had been sent with 1,000 horsemen to serve under the Prince. After Yamin-ud-Daula's death the Emperor raised Khusru Beg to an important rank, as he was brave and energetic and a native of Gurjistān (Georgia). The account of his martyrdom is as follows: On the 14th Shawāl, Bahādur Khān and Asālat Khān sent him on ahead with a force to acquire a knowledge of the country and fix a site for the camp, so that the army might advance next morning. The force broke up and each section took a separate direction. Seeing this the commanders sent a messenger to tell them to return, and on no account to go further. The others came back but Khusru Beg sent an answer that he could pass the night where he was. As he had only 300 or 400 men with him the leaders again sent an order to return. He started on his way back to the main army, but meanwhile the rebels had observed the smallness of his force and fell upon him. He held his ground and showed prodigies of valour, but after receiving fourteen wounds he attained to the dignity of martyrdom. About 100 of his men were also slain.

As Bahādur Khān, Asālat Khān and others on one side, and Rājā Prithi Chand, Zamindār of Champa and Rājā Mān Singh Gwālīārī, with their forces from the rear, had assaulted the fort and were determined to take it, Jagat Singh began to abandon his pride and feel ashamed. He began to reflect that although the capture of such a fortress was a difficult matter, yet to place reliance on a strong fortress and rebel against a patron who enjoyed the divine favour, was simply to deliver himself up to destruction. After all his territory had been occupied how was it possible for him to hold out longer. Forced by these reflections he resolved to make his submission and cast himself on the Emperor's clemency. He therefore made a communication to Khān Jahān and at his request the Prince held out hopes of pardon. As Jagat Singh knew that the servants of the dynasty were men of honour who never violated a covenant, he petitioned the Prince to obtain for him the pardon of his crimes and an order for the security of his life.

The Emperor, on hearing of the surrender, replied that as that misguided man now professed contrition for his offences and asked for pardon, this was accorded to him. But he must not act in the same way again, or he would be expelled from his territory. Tārāgarh must be evacuated and razed to the ground. Jagat Singh accepted these terms. The Prince, however, obtained an order that some of the houses in Tārāgarh might be left standing, for the use of Jagat Singh's family, and for his goods. The rest of the houses as well as the three forts were to be destroyed. The

Fort of Mau which was only a walled enclosure with trees around it, and the fort of Nurpur were also to be demolished as a warning to other Zamīndārs.

On receiving this order Jagat Singh submissively sent word to Sayyid Khān Jahān to come in person and destroy the forts of Tārāgarh. Sayyid Khān Jahān came to the fort and stayed two days. He appointed a body of men to demolish the enclosing wall and left his son-in-law, Sayyid Firoz, and his troops, with orders to throw down the *Sherhāji*¹ and the defences, and level them with the ground. He then returned to the Prince (at Nurpur), taking Jagat Singh with him, on the 19th Zul Hijjah = 11th March, 1642, and by the Emperor's orders the government of the hill country was entrusted to Najābat Khān.

The great gateway of Nurpur had ravines on three sides and was inaccessible on these sides. Jagat Singh had erected a strong wall here, and several yards in front of it he had made a *Sherhāji*¹ (out-work) with bastions and curtains. The Emperor ordered that the Prince should leave Bahādur Khān and Asālat Khān behind at Nurpur, to destroy the said wall and out-work down to the ground. The dwelling houses were to be left as they were. The Prince himself was directed to come to Court with Sayyid Khān Jahān and the remaining officers, and to bring with him Jagat Singh and his sons.

On the 25th Zul-Hijjah (17th March, 1642) Prince Murād Baksh, Sayyid Khān Jahān, Rājā Jai Singh, Rustam Khān, Rao Amar Singh, Rājā Rai Singh, Mīrzā Hasan Safavi, Nazar Bahādur Kheshagi, and other nobles and officers accompanying the Prince, were received in audience by the Emperor. The Prince presented 1,000 gold coins. He then brought in Jagat Singh and his two sons with their *fautah* (waist-bands) round their necks, and they prostrated themselves in all humility. The Emperor overlooked their offences. The Prince received a *khilat* and his *mansab* was raised from 10,000 personal and 8,000 horse to 12,000 personal and 8,000 horse; 2,000 of them to be two-horsed and three-horsed."

On 10th April 1642, Jagat Singh and his sons were restored to their former rank and reinstated in all their possessions, with a generosity of feeling which would hardly be practised in these later times. Rebellion was then more common and less thought of than now and the Mughal Emperor knew how to be generous to a brave soldier, whose services he valued.

² On November 23rd, A.D. 1642, Prince Dārā Shikoh was ordered by the Emperor to visit Nurpur, Tārāgarh and other places in the hills which had belonged to Jagat Singh, and inspect the forts and buildings. He was to rejoin the imperial camp at Gamo-Wahan. Qilij Khān, Asālat Khān, Jānsipār Khān and several other officers were to accompany him. On the 28th November the Prince rejoined the camp and reported to the Emperor what he had seen of the difficulties of the routes and the great strength of Tārāgarh. Najābat Khān was appointed Faujdār of the hill country of Kāngra.

¹ *Sherhāji*. The earth from the ditch thrown up on the inner side to a considerable height so as to form a protection for the foot of the wall, in place of a *glācis*.

² *Bādshāhnāmah*, II, p. 318.

Maukot, as already stated, was completely demolished and we hear no more of it in the history of the State. Nurpur and Tārāgarh cannot have been much damaged or they were afterwards repaired and restored. Tārāgarh was garrisoned by imperial troops either before or soon after the death of Jagat Singh, and on its evacuation by the Mughals it probably reverted to Chamba. Both Nurpur and Tārāgarh continued in use till after the Mutiny, when the former was disarmed by order of Government. Tārāgarh was held by State troops till 1863-4, and was not finally dismantled till 1872.

¹ Having given in his submission and been restored to favour, Jagat Singh was in the course of the same year (A.D. 1642) again given a military command; and was placed under the orders of Dārā Shikoh, the eldest son of the Emperor, with whom he marched to Qandahār. There he was appointed commandant of Fort Qalāt within the Qandahār Province. Two years later (A.D. 1644), when Sa'id Khān was made governor of Qandahār, Jagat Singh was transferred from Qalāt, as he and Sa'id Khān were not on friendly terms.

² In A.D. 1645 he was presented by the Emperor with a *khilat*, a sword with gold enamelled mountings, and a horse with silver-mounted saddle, and was appointed to reinforce the Amīr-ul-Umarā (Alī Mardān Khān) in his expedition for the conquest of Balkh and Badakhshān. It seems to have been at his own request that he was sent on this duty, and so eager was he to be of service that he raised more men than were required by the *mansab* he held, and gratified them by fixing their pay in cash. He then represented the matter to the Emperor, stating that he had summoned numbers of horsemen and infantry from his own country, and he prayed that support might be granted from imperial funds for the number recruited in excess. His requests were supported by the Amīr-ul-Umarā and were granted, and an order was issued on the treasury at Kābul for the pay of the troops.

³ Having completed his preparations Jagat Singh took leave of the Amīr-ul-Umarā and accompanied by his younger son, Bhao Singh, he advanced by the pass of Tul into Badakhshān. He then divided his force into two sections, one under his son he sent ahead as an advanced guard, the other he kept under his own command with the intention of attacking Khost.

When the leading men and chief inhabitants of Khost became aware of his purpose, they sent several deputations to him to express their peaceful intentions and feelings of loyalty. They said that if he built a strong fort and garrisoned it he would be able to control them if they were guilty of any disaffection. As the Rājā's only object was to obtain their submission and to introduce order into the country, he agreed to their suggestion, and gave them a promise of imperial favour. They then pointed out a site for the fort between Sarāb and Andarāb, saying that if it was built there, he would control both places as well as Khost.

Next day the Rājā marched on towards Sarāb, taking the Khost deputations with him. The leaders and representatives of Sarāb appeared and were reassured,

¹ Ma'asir-ul-Umara, II, p. 239 f.

² Bādshāhnāmah, Vol. II, p. 463.

³ This account of the campaign is a free translation from the Bādshāhnāmah.

and they then professed themselves obedient subjects and well-wishers of the Empire. Snow having fallen, there was a halt of three days, and on the fourth day they set out in the direction of *andarāb*. Half way between *Sarāb* and *Andarāb* a strong wooden fort was erected, wood being plentiful in that country. The bastions were built of stone and in the interior two great wells were dug.

Just then *Kafsh Qalmāq* and his men arrived, having been sent by *Nazar Muhammed Khān*, ruler of *Balkh*, to surround the *Rājā's* force. *Kafsh* had divided his force into three sections, two of cavalry and one of infantry. When the scouts brought word of this to the *Rājā*, he made a sally from the fort with his army, also in three sections. On both sides of the exit from the narrow valley, the only route by which the enemy could enter, he placed great timbers across the road, and fixed them in such a manner that it was difficult for a horseman to get through. Behind these obstacles he posted matchlockmen on foot and bowmen. On one side was posted his own force, and, on the other, that of *Bhao Singh*, his son. A third section of matchlockmen was sent off to repel the *Hazārah* infantry who had taken up their position on a hill.

When the *Uzbaks* arrived from three directions the *Rājā* and his son attacked them from two directions at once with arms and musketry. The *Uzbek* fighting men could not stand up against the valiant *Hindustanis*, and took to flight. The *Rājā's* matchlockmen on the top of the hill also fired on the *Uzbek* infantry, took their fort and drove them down the hill.

The *Uzbaks* then confronted the *Rājā* at a spot where the bullets could not reach them and made a bold stand. The *Rājā* recalled to his own standard the two sections of horse and infantry and led the whole force in a charge on the enemy, many of whom were killed and more wounded. On the *Rājā's* side also many offered up their lives for their sovereign. After this the *Uzbaks* made up their mind that further contest with such brave men was without profit and retreated to their homes. The *Rājā* reported this fighting to the *Amīr-ul-Umarā* and asked for reinforcements to garrison the fort, and also a supply of powder and lead. The *Amīr-ul-Umarā* sent the lead and gunpowder in charge of *Rāj rūp*, the *Rājā's* elder son. He also despatched 4,000 horsemen from the extra forces at *Kābul* and from the men in his own service, under the command of *Zilqadar Khān*, *Ali Beg*, *Ishāq Beg* and *Faridun*, his own slave.

On the 23rd *Ramzān* (November 12th, 1645), during the night, about 2,000 *Uzbek* horse and *Hazārah* infantry, under *Kafsh Qalmāq*, fell on the men left by the *Rājā* to guard the exit from the valley; some were killed on both sides, but once more under a thousand difficulties and dangers the *Uzbaks* were forced to retreat.

The *Rājā* having made the wooden fort secure and stocked it with food and other requisites for standing a siege, placed it in charge of several trusty *Rajputs* in his own employ, at the head of 500 matchlockmen and 400 *Rajputs*. The *Rājā* then left on the 25th *Ramzān* (November 14th, 1645) for *Panjshīr*, *viā* the *Parindah* pass. On the way the deep snow, wind, and snow-storms caused the loss of many men and horses. Owing to the quantity of snow the troops were unable to get through the pass; as there was no alternative, they halted and passed the night in the greatest

distress. At day-break they retraced their steps to a place where firewood was plentiful and there encamped.

At this point Faridūn (and probably Rājrup) joined the Rājā, having advanced more rapidly than the other reinforcements sent by the Amīr-ul-Umarā. The Uzbaks, ever on the watch for an opportunity, had heard that the pass was blocked and that the Rājā had retreated. They, therefore, collected with the intention of opposing him. The Rājā took up his position in the centre, placing his son, Rājrup, and Faridūn at the head of the vanguard. After much fighting many Uzbaks were laid low by the swords and spears of the imperialists. On the Rājā's side, too, many fell, more especially among the Rajputs serving under himself. The enemy could not withstand the onslaught and took to flight, and were pursued for one or two *kos*. The Uzbaks fearing that the garrison of the fort might bar their way and attack them in the rear and slay many, climbed the hills and escaped to their homes.

For that day the Rājā encamped at the foot of the fort and the following day took the route through Tul and pitched his camp at the foot of the pass. At day-break he entered the snow-covered hills, where the snow-fall had diminished and reached the frontier of Panjshīr. On his retirement he left Rājrup, his elder son, in charge of the fort. Bhao Singh, his younger son, most likely accompanied him.

¹ The expedition of Jagat Singh against the Uzbaks has received special mention from Elphinstone, the historian. He was under the impression that the Rājā of Kotah was referred to, but contemporaneous history and local tradition in the hills leave no doubt that Jagat Singh of Nurpur was the hero of the campaign. The reference is as follows: "Next year the enterprise (conquest of Balkh and Badakhshān) was attempted by Rājā Jagat Singh, whose chief strength lay in a body of 14,000 Rajputs, raised in his own country and paid by the Emperor. The spirit of the Rajputs never shone more brilliantly than in this unusual duty. They stormed mountain passes, made forced marches over snow, constructed redoubts by their own labour, the Rājā himself taking an axe like the rest, and bore up against the tempests of that frozen region as firmly as against the fierce and repeated attacks of the Uzbaks."

² Jagat Singh was then well advanced in years, and the hardships and exposure of such a campaign must have told severely on a frame already enfeebled by age. He reached Peshawar on his return journey but died there soon afterwards, in January A.D. 1646.

Under Jagat Singh the Nurpur State reached the zenith of its prosperity and his name is still a household word in the hills. He was in many respects a remarkable man, and his warlike exploits find honourable mention in the records of the time, and are still commemorated in song by the hill bards. They form the subject of a poem, *The Rhapsodies of Gambhīr Rāj*—the Nurpur Bard (A.D. 1650), written a few years after his death. His strong personality commended him to the favour of the Mughal Emperors, and he is said to have possessed great influence with Nūr Jahān Begam, whom he addressed as 'Betī' (daughter). His failings were characteristic of the age

¹ Elphinstone, *History of India*, 1857, p. 511.

² *Bādshāhnāmah*, Vol. II, p. 481.

in which he lived and were not peculiar to India. Many popular rhymes about him are still current in the hills, of which we subjoin the following as an example:—

*Jagata Rājā, bhagata Rājā, Bās Dev kā jāyā,
Sindu māre, sāgar māre, Himāchal dera pāyā,
Akas ko ārba kitā, tāñ Jagata kahāyā,*

“Jagata Raja, the devotee Raja, son of Bās Dev.

He conquered the country beyond the Indus, he pitched his camp
on the snow mountains, and pointed his guns towards heaven;
therefore was he called Jagata.”

¹ *The Rhapsodies of Gambhīr Rāi*, already referred to, consist of short stanzas, which are sung by the bards at feasts and festivals, and tell of the historical events with which the hero of the song was connected and of his warlike exploits.

The following extract will show the character of the Rhapsodies:—

² “Jagat Singh fought many battles in the world. He took Makhyāla and placed a king there. This event became known throughout the world. He was displeased with the Shāh, and sitting at Mau, shook the whole world, but was not shaken himself. Hearing it the people of Sarāj were terrified, and the inhabitants of Samarqand mortified. The fame of the Lord of Delhi spread throughout the world. The residents of Balkh and Bukhāra did not wink even in the night for fear. The soldiers had apprehensions of all sorts. Gambhīr Rāi says: May the son of Rājā Vāsudeva rule the world as long as there is a jewel in the head of Sesa. In no time he took Qandahār and conquered Khurāsān, and this news of the victory of Raja Jagata spread everywhere.” Half of the songs were composed by Raja Māndhātā, grandson of Jagat Singh. The Rhapsodies, which are of considerable philological and historical interest, were partly edited by the late Mr. J. Beames, I.C.S., in the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*.

³ *Rājrup Singh*, A.D. 1646-1661. On hearing of Jagat Singh's death Shāhjahān at once despatched a *khilat* to Rājrup and advanced his *mansab* to 1,500 personal and 1,000 horse. He also received the title of Raja and was reappointed to the command of the fort which had been entrusted to him by his father. Orders were at the same time given to pay from the Kābul treasury the charges of 500 horse and 2,000 foot, being the reinforcements already referred to as having been sent to Jagat Singh.

Meanwhile Prince Murād Bakhsh had been sent with a large army to complete the conquest of Balkh and Badakhshān, and Rājrup was given a command under him. On reaching Qandahār (probably a place in Balkh) he was appointed along with others to the charge of the garrison, and to enable him to discharge his duties he received two lakhs of rupees. His rank was also increased to 2,000 personal and 1,500-horse, with a gift of a jewelled dagger and a pearl *goshwārah* (ear-ring). He was frequently engaged during the campaign in skirmishing and fighting with the Uzbaks and Alamāns, and was successful in defeating them.

⁴ In A.D. 1647, Rājrup received a further addition to his rank, raising it to 2,000

¹ J.A.S.B., Vol. XLIV, 1875, pp. 192, 212.

² Arch. Survey Report, 1904-5, pp. 113-114.

³ Ma'āsir-ul-Umarā, Vol. II, 277.

⁴ Ma'āsir-ul-Umarā, Vol. II, p. 277 f.

personal and horse, and he was also granted kettle-drums. Soon afterwards he came from his post to Talagum to visit Qiliġ Khān and found that the Alamāns had gathered in great force and surrounded the place. One day he bravely attacked them, and there was a stiff encounter in which several of his men were killed and he himself was wounded in three places. In the end the enemy lost heart and fled. In the 22nd year of Shāhjahān (A.D. 1649) Rāj rūp reached the *mansab* of 2,500 personal and horse and was appointed to replace Khalīl Beg as commander of Kahmard Fort. In the 25th year (A.D. 1652), he received an additional 500 to his rank and was sent with Prince Aurangzeb, who had been placed by the Emperor in command of a large army, for the recovery of Qandahār, which had been retaken by the Persians in A.D. 1648. In the following year an army under Aurangzeb had failed to recover it and the second attempt under the same commander in A.D. 1652 was equally unsuccessful. On that occasion Rāj rūp was in charge of an entrenched battery and displayed great valour. On the siege being raised he was sent to join Sulaimān Shikoh, son of Dārā Shikoh, at Kābul. In A.D. 1653, Shāhjahān determined on making another attempt to recapture Qandahār and a still greater army was put under the command of Dārā Shikoh, to which Rāj rūp was attached. But all was in vain, and when the army was compelled to retreat Rāj rūp returned to his post at Kahmard. There he probably remained for the next three years, and in A.D. 1656 he received an order recalling him to court, after which he proceeded to Nurpur. He seems to have been absent from his State for more than ten years. ¹ He probably remained in Nurpur for a year, and there is a reference to him in a *farmān*, issued by Dārā Shikoh to Rājā Jagat Singh of Kulu, which must belong to this period. On the death of the Rājā of Lag in Kulu (the country around Sultānpur), Jagat Singh had seized the territory and imprisoned the Rājā's grandson and other relatives. An appeal was made to the Emperor and a *farmān* was sent to Jagat Singh, with the threat that "if from obstinacy and imprudence he deferred releasing Jog Chand's grandson and giving up the district, we would order Rājā Rāj rūp, Jahāngīr Quli Beg, and the Faujdār of Jammu that they should go up to the districts of his *Zamīndārī*, and annihilate him." Jagat Singh seems to have paid no attention to the *farmān*. It reached him on the eve of the outbreak of civil war, and he doubtless felt safe in disregarding it.

² In A.D. 1657, the serious illness of Shāhjahān precipitated a conflict among his four sons, which ended in the deposition of the Emperor and the accession of Aurangzeb to the throne. Dārā Shikoh was the eldest and had been recognized by his father as heir-apparent. Shujā was Viceroy of Bengal, Aurangzeb of the Dakhan and Murād Bakshī of Guzerāt.³ The two latter combined against Dārā Shikoh and advanced towards Agra with a large army. Dārā's elder son, Sulaimān Shikoh, had meanwhile gone to oppose Shujā who was also on the march towards Agra, and without waiting for his return Dārā confronted his other two brothers at Samugarh, one march from Agra, and was totally defeated. He then fled towards Delhi and Lahore and was met near Sirhind by Rāj rūp Singh, who had been recalled to court before the out-

¹ Arch. Survey Report, 1927-8, pp. 265-276.

² Ma'āsir-ul-Umara, Vol. II, p. 278. Elphinstone, *History*, p. 517 f.

³ Bernier, *Travels*, pp. 25 ff.

break of the civil war. Rāj rūp attached himself to Dārā and proceeded with him to Lahore, and a pathetic story, not very creditable to Rāj rūp, is related by Manucci, of the means adopted by the Prince to bind the Nurpur Chief to his cause. 'The quotation is as follows: "While these preparations were going on there came Raia Sarūp Singh (Rājā Sarūp Singh) who had been sent for by Dārā. He brought four thousand horse and ten thousand infantry. The territory of this Raia adjoins the mountains in the kingdom of Kashmir, and he has an army of fifteen thousand cavalry and three hundred thousand infantry, all of whom are Rajputs. Dārā with great entreaty had begged him to be so good as to do him the favour of coming at this time to join him with all his men. He would never forget it when the time came to reward and recompense him. To gain him more securely to his side he (Dārā) allowed his wife to send for the Rājā to her harem, where with soft words the princess once more begged for his aid and gave him many presents, the chief being a string of 211 pearls of great value that she threw over his neck. She addressed him as her son, and said she looked on him as in the place of her son, Sulaimān Shikoh. Then she did a thing never done before in the Mughal's Empire, that is to say, she offered him water to drink with which she had washed her breasts, not having milk in them, as a confirmation of her words. He drank with the greatest acceptance and swore he would be ever true, and never fail in the duties of a son. But he needed some money for expenses so as to enlist all the men he could, in addition to those he had already brought."

"Dārā believed in him and at once ordered them to give him a million of rupees (ten lakhs). He left for his own country, promising to return very soon, equipped in every way. When Aurangzeb learnt what the Rājā had done he wrote him a letter, which sufficed to make him disappoint Dārā. The latter, being informed that Aurangzeb was marching onwards, wrote letter after letter to Rāj rūp Singh, urging him to come and make no more delay, for the time when his aid was wanted was now drawing near. But he never answered and remained in his own country with the money he had received and the poor Prince beheld the hopes that he had in this man disappear."

² Rāj rūp's conduct, bad as it was, compares favourably with that of some others, Hindu and Muhammadan, who forsook Dārā in his hour of need, and we must not judge him too harshly. Soon afterwards he started for Delhi and on the banks of the Biās met Khalil Ullah Khān, who had been sent in pursuit of Dārā, by whom he was presented to Aurangzeb. His rank was then increased to 3,500 personal and horse. Rāj rūp was then sent to take charge of the armed post of Chāndi in Garhwāl, in order to intercept Sulaimān Shikoh, who had found an asylum with the ruler of that State. ³ After inflicting a defeat on his uncle, Shujā, in Bengal, Sulaimān Shikoh retraced his steps towards Agra, but was too late to take part in the battle of Samugarh. Finding his way of escape northward closed against him, he tried to reach the Panjab through the outer hills, in order to rejoin his father. This project was frus-

¹ Manucci. *Storia do Mogor*, Trans., W. Irvine, Vol. I, p. 310. *A Pepys of Mogul India*, pp. 50 ff.

² Ma'āsir-ul-Umarā, Vol. II, p. 278.

³ Bernier, *Travels*, trans., 1891, p. 58.

trated by Aurangzeb, who sent out detachments into the hills in the direction of Hardwār to intercept him, and Rāj rūp was placed in command of one of these detachments. The Prince was thus compelled to seek refuge with the Rājā of Garhwāl, who refused to give him up, though treating him as a prisoner, and there he remained from July A.D. 1658 to the end of 1660.

¹ Meanwhile Dārā Shikoh had continued his flight to Multān and Guzerāt. Gathering an army at Ahmadābād he advanced towards Ajmer, where in the spring of 1659 he took up and fortified a commanding position on the hills near that town, called Kokila Pahāri in the Ālamgīr-nāmah. Aurangzeb marched from Agra to oppose him, and Rāj rūp who had been recalled from Garhwāl held a command in the *farāh* or skirmishers, on the right wing of the vanguard. On approaching Dārā's position, Rāj rūp brought up his infantry, who were adapted to hill warfare, in the rear of Kokila Pahāri, with his cavalry in support; he was also aided by other imperialists. Seeing how few the assailants were, the force on the hill rushed down from their entrenched position to attack them, and the conflict raged for nine hours. The entrenchments were still intact when Dārā Shikoh's courage failed him and he took to flight. As is known, he was afterwards betrayed into Aurangzeb's hands, taken to Delhi and put to death as an apostate from Islām. His younger son, Sepehr Shikoh, who was captured with him, was sent to Gwālīor Fort, then the State prison. The capture of Sulaimān Shikoh next engaged Aurangzeb's attention and in this also Rāj rūp was assigned a part. The Ālamgīr-nāmah has the following: "In the 2nd year of Ālamgīr (A.D. 1659), Rāj rūp was sent at the head of a force into the hill country of Garhwāl to coerce Prithvi Pāl the Rājā of that country, who had declined to surrender Sulaimān Shikoh. He was ordered to ravage the country if the Rājā refused to comply with the imperial commands. As Prithvi Pāl was obstinate, other officers also were deputed on the same duty, and they reduced him to extremities. Finding no other alternative he addressed himself to the Mīrzā Rājā (Jai Singh of Jaipur) and betrayed Sulaimān Shikoh into his hands as a means of securing his own pardon."² Sulaimān Shikoh was sent to Delhi in January 1661, and after being identified in open darbar was imprisoned in Gwālīor Fort, where he and his brother soon afterwards died, not without suspicion of foul play.³

Rāj rūp's last appointment was that of Thānādār of Ghazni, where he was sent in the 4th year of Ālamgīr (A.D. 1661), and there he died soon after his arrival. The record concludes as follows: "Like his father he was not devoid of enterprise and valour, and possessed high courage in bearing up under fatigue and adverse circumstances."

Bhao Singh, younger son of Jagat Singh, did good service under his father in the campaign in Badakhshān, and after his father's death he still continued on service on the north-west frontier, and passed a long time in charge of the outpost at Ghorband,

¹ Ālamgīr-namah, pp. 199-199. The site of the battle is about 6 miles south-west of Ajmir, and is called *Shāhān Magri*, "the king's hillock."

² Ālamgīr-namah, pp. 199-199.

³ Sulaiman Shikoh tried to escape into Ladakh, but was pursued and brought back to Garhwāl.

west of Kābul. In A.D. 1650 he received from Shāhjahān, as a fief, the portion of the Nurpur State between the Chakki and the Ravi, including the *tālūqas* of Shāhpur, Palāhi and Kandi; but not Pathānkot, which had been annexed by Akbar in the reign of Rājā Bās Dev. The capital of the State was at Shāhpur on the Rāvi. In the 30th year of Ālamgīr (A.D. 1686) Bhao Singh embraced Islām, receiving from the Emperor the name of Murīd Khān which became a surname in his family, every one who succeeded as Rājā taking that name. This State was overturned by the Sikhs in 1781, and the descendants of the ruling family now reside at Sujānpur, near Mādhopur, in the enjoyment of a pension.

Māndhātā, A.D. 1661-1700. Cunningham states that Rājārūp died in A.H. 1077 = A.D. 1666-67. In the Ālamgīr-nāmā, however, the date given is the 4th year (of Ālamgīr), A.H. 1072 = A.D. 1661-2, which must be correct. On his decease his son, Māndhātā, was recognized as Rājā by the Emperor. The greater part of his reign was spent away from Nurpur discharging the duties assigned him. Though less distinguished than his father and grandfather, Māndhātā also held high offices under the Mughals, and in his father's lifetime was appointed to the charge of Bāmiān and Ghorband, on the western frontier of the Empire, and eight days' journey beyond the city of Kābul. Twenty years later he was again raised to the same position and his *mansab* was increased to 2,000 personal and horse. When not engaged in these duties he seems to have been much in attendance on the Emperor at Court. Half of the *Rhapsodies* in praise of his grandfather were written by him. He was the last of the Pathānia Rājās to hold office under the Mughal Emperors or to receive distinctions from them.

Dayadhātā, A.D. 1700-35. This Rājā had a long reign, but unfortunately no records have come down to us of the part played by Nurpur in the events of his time, Dayadhātā had four sons, named Prithvi Singh, Indar Singh, Mahān Singh and Sundar Singh, all by different *ranis*. The first two having been born at or about the same time, there was some uncertainty as to which of them should succeed to the *gaddi*. Indar Singh, however, married a daughter of the Kangra Rājā and settled in that State, becoming the ancestor of the Reh branch of the family, and Prithvi Singh was recognized as heir-apparent and became Rājā on his father's demise.

Prithvi Singh, A.D. 1735-70. Prithvi Singh's reign extended over a critical period in the history of the Panjab. The Mughal power was in the throes of dissolution and in 1752 the Panjab was ceded to Ahmad Shāh Durāni by his namesake the Emperor of Delhi. The hill country was included in the transfer, but in the case of the eastern group of hill States the Durāni rule was never more than nominal. Encouraged by the disorder on the plains the hill chiefs all asserted their independence and seized by force the territory of which they had been deprived under Mughal rule, leaving nothing to the Durānis but a shadowy suzerainty. On the Marātha invasion of the Panjab in 1758, Adina Beg Khān was appointed Viceroy, and for a short time he brought the whole of the hill States under his control. He, however, died in the same year and they again recovered their freedom. But it was not for long. About 1770 Jassa Singh Rāmgarhia succeeded in making several of them tributary, probably

including Kāngra, Nurpur and Chamba. On his defeat in 1775 the supremacy passed to Jai Singh Kanhiya, who retained it till 1785-6. Unfortunately our records tell us nothing about the happenings in Nurpur during this eventful period, but its proximity to the plains must have laid the country open to frequent invasion. According to one account Prithvi Singh died in 1770 and was succeeded by his son, Fateh Singh.

Fateh Singh, A.D. 1770. According to the vernacular history Fateh Singh predeceased his father, leaving a son, Bir Singh, who succeeded Prithvi Singh. Cunningham on the other hand gives Fateh Singh a long reign, though he does not state his authority other than the Brahman, Devi Shah, already referred to. After Rājrup the chronology of the State is again very uncertain and the dates here given are only approximate.

¹ An interesting reference to Nurpur is to be found in Forster's *Travels*. He travelled in 1783 through the outer hills from Nāhan to Jammu, *viā* Nurpur and Basohli, in the disguise of a Muhammadan trader. He remarks that Nurpur then "enjoyed a state of more internal quiet, was less molested by the Sikhs and governed more equitably than any of the adjacent territories." The revenue was then about four lakhs of rupees and the State boundary extended to the Rāvi. Unfortunately he does not mention the name of the ruling chief or give us any further details. The reference to the State boundary, however, is important. It will be remembered that the portion of the principality to the west of the Chakki river and between it and the Rāvi was severed from the State in the time of Rājā Rājrup; and erected into a separate chiefship in 1650 by Shāhjahān in favour of Bhao Singh, younger son of Jagat Singh, with the capital at Shāhpur on the Rāvi. Bhao Singh's descendants continued to rule the State for four generations till 1781. On the demise of the last Rājā, leaving two sons minors, the Palāhi and Kandi *tālūqas* were seized by two Sikh chieftains, Amar Singh and Tārā Singh, under Jai Singh Kanhéya; and Shāhpur *tālūqa*, including the country of the low hills as far as the Chamba border, was resumed by the Rājā of Nurpur. The Gurdāspur Gazetteer states that the resumption was made by Rājā Prithvi Singh, and if so he must have had a long reign.

² In 1785-6 another transfer of the supremacy over the hill States took place, in consequence of the defeat of Jai Singh Kanhéya on the plains and his retirement from the hills. Rājā Sansār Chand of Kāngra then acquired supreme power from the Satluj to the Rāvi, which he wielded for twenty years. Nurpur along with all the other hill States of the Kāngra group then became tributary to him. But documents exist in Chamba in the form of letters to the Chamba Rājās which prove that down to the end of the eighteenth century the Amirs of Kābul also claimed suzerainty over the hill States. About 1785 the small district of Kotla, which had formed a part of the Nurpur State, was seized by Dhiān Singh, Wazir of Guler State, who made himself independent. Kotla had been attached to the State for some time, down to the rebellion of Rājā Suraj Mal, when it seems to have been annexed by the Mughals and became a portion of the imperial demesne of Kāngra, the strong fort being

¹ Forster, *Travels*, Vol. I, pp. 218 and 283.

² Kāngra Settlement Report, p. 10, and J.P.H.S., Vol. III, No. 2, pp. 111-112.

garrisoned by imperial troops. Whether or not it reverted to Nurpur on the break-up of the Mughal power we cannot say, but this seems not improbable. Dhiān Singh continued to hold it till 1811, when it was captured by the Sikhs under Desa Singh Majithia, the first Sikh governor of the hills.¹ As some compensation for the loss of Kotla, Nurpur about the same time (1785) succeeded in acquiring from Basohli a portion of territory to the west of the Rāvi, called Lakhanpur, which was regarded as Nurpur territory down to 1846-7. It was then transferred to Rājā Gulāb Singh of Jammu in exchange for Chamba Cis-Rāvi, which had been ceded to him under the treaty of 16th March, 1846.²

Bīr Singh, A.D. 1805-46. The date of Bīr Singh's accession is uncertain. Cunningham gives 1805, but it is 1789 in *Chiefs and Families of Note in the Punjab*. The vernacular history states that he succeeded Prithvi Singh. Bīr Singh was fated to be the last ruling chief of Nurpur. Things seem to have gone on quietly in the State till the invasion of Kāngra by the Gurkhas in 1806, when all the hill chiefs combined against Sansār Chand and sent contingents to assist in his overthrow. After holding out for three years in Kāngra Fort Sansār Chand appealed to Ranjit Singh for help, and in 1809 the Maharajah advanced into the hills and compelled the Gurkhas to retire across the Satluj, receiving in return the Kāngra Fort and 66 villages in the valley, for the maintenance of the garrison. With the fort he also acquired the supremacy over all the hill States between the Rāvi and the Satluj. Soon afterwards Ranjit Singh began to disclose his hostile feelings towards the hill States. In 1811 Kotla was annexed, and in 1812 he came in person with an army to Dīnānagar to exact tribute from the hill Rājās, and Nurpur was called upon to pay Rs. 40,000.

³ But darker days were near at hand for Bīr Singh. In the autumn of 1815 Ranjit Singh summoned all his Sirdārs and feudatory chiefs to a great military assembly at Siālkot. The Rājās of Nurpur and Jaswān failed to attend and a fine was deliberately imposed upon each which it was impossible to pay. The Rājā of Jaswān quietly surrendered his State, receiving a small *jāgīr* in exchange. Bīr Singh did his utmost to meet the unjust demand, even to the mortgage and sale of his family idols and sacrificial vessels of silver and gold. But even this did not suffice, and he was sent back from Lahore under charge of a Sikh force and had to make over the State. A *jāgīr* was offered him which he indignantly declined. During the night he escaped into Chamba territory and his people rallied around him. In the skirmish which followed he was completely defeated by the disciplined battalions of the Sikhs, and fled in disguise by mountain paths into British territory to the east of the Satluj. In the latter part of 1816 he was at Ludhiāna, plotting with Shāh Shujā, the exiled Amir of Kābul, against Ranjit Singh. On a complaint being made to Government by the Maharaja, Bīr Singh was asked to go elsewhere. He then settled in Ārki, one of the Simla Hill States and there he lived for ten years. But all the time he was in

¹ Kāngra Settlement Report, p. 10. *Note*.—Dhiān Singh received a *jāgīr* of double the value, on the plains. Kotla seems to have been a bone of contention between Guler and Nurpur.

² Chamba Gaz., p. 108.

³ Kāngra Settlement Report, pp. 11-12. Cf. *History of the Punjab*, Latif, p. 406.

secret communication with his old officials, and in 1826 he returned to Nurpur in disguise. Again his faithful subjects rallied to his call and he laid siege to the fort. On the news of this revolt reaching Lahore a force was at once despatched under Desa Singh Majithia, and Bír Singh fled to Chamba. Fearing the consequences, the Chamba Chief delivered him up to Ranjít Singh and he was confined in Govindgarh Fort at Amritsar for seven years. Bír Singh had married a sister of Charat Singh of Chamba, and partly by her solicitations, and partly, it is said, out of compunction for his own conduct, the Chamba Rājā at length secured his release by the payment of a sum of Rs. 85,000. A *jāgīr* of Rs. 12,000 value at Kathlot, a fertile district on the Rāvi, was again offered him and again declined. Mr. Barnes refers to another offer of a *jāgīr* of Rs. 25,000 yearly value which was probably made about this time. The offer was made through Rājā Dhiān Singh of Jammu, Prime Minister of the Sikh kingdom. Mr. Barnes says: Dhiān Singh had a *sanad* or patent in his possession duly signed and sealed under the sign manual of the Maharaja, and before making it over he wished to extort from Bír Singh the coveted salutation of "Jaidiya," accorded to a ruling chief, the offering of which by Bír Singh would have been an acknowledgment of Dhiān Singh's regal status and of his own inferiority. This he refused to do. He was a Rājā by hereditary right, while Dhiān Singh held the title only by favour of Ranjít Singh, and the proud Rajput would not compromise his honour even for the sake of affluence, nor accord a salutation that would have involved a degradation of himself in the eyes of the brotherhood. He had therefore again to retire into exile and took up his residence at Dhamtāl on the edge of the plains, while his Rāni and infant son continued to reside in Chamba on an allowance from the Rājā of Rs. 500 a month.

¹Mr. Vigne, the traveller, visited Nurpur in June 1835, and again in the spring of 1839 on his way back from Chamba. Of Nurpur he tells us little; but he has much to say about Bír Singh whom he met in Chamba. He says: "I visited poor Bír Singh at Chamba and found him in a large building on the south side of the town. His anxiety to regain possession of his dominions was evident in every sentence that he uttered, and he continued to relate the history of his misfortunes and to request my assistance, although I assured him over and over again that I was not an employée either of the King or of the East India Company." "Reinstate me again at Nurpur," he exclaimed, "and promise that you will not interfere in my domestic affairs and I will do anything to show my gratitude to the English, and will commence by making a wide road for them throughout my dominions."

²Mr. Vigne's account of Bír Singh's misfortunes, as he heard the story from his own lips, is interesting: "Bír Singh is now an elderly man, short in stature, with a long face, large aquiline features, a countenance that would be remarkable anywhere and a good-natured, manly but very melancholy expression. Many years ago a Sikh General invaded his country by order of the Maharaja. He defended himself successfully for several days, but Ranjít Singh sent to request an interview, and Bír Singh repaired to Lahore. There, such is his own story, he was threatened with

annihilation from the mouth of a cannon if he did not agree to the Maharaja's terms. The Sikhs say that Ranjīt Singh demanded the evacuation of the castle of Nurpur, in order that it might be garrisoned by his own troops, and that he would allow the Rājā to keep possession of the country upon payment of a certain revenue, and that he was liberated on these conditions. However, when he had obtained his liberty he returned to Nurpur, collected a force and tried to retake the castle, upon which the Sikhs returned with a strong force and the Raja fled towards Chamba. But the Rājā of the latter place, whose sister he had married, fearing the resentment of Ranjīt refused to protect him, and he was again taken prisoner, confined for seven years at Amritsar and acquired his liberty only in a fit of compunction which seized Ranjīt when he supposed himself to be on his deathbed. Bīr Singh again came to Chamba and his brother-in-law, the Raja, purchased his freedom for a lakh of rupees. He has since passed many years at Simla and Sabāthu in the Company's territories, and his whole prayer night and day was for the death of Ranjīt, after which he expected that we should again reinstate him: and I am of opinion that it will some day be found necessary to do so."

The story of Bīr Singh's last effort to regain his kingdom is full of pathos. In the autumn of 1845 the Sikh army crossed the Satluj to invade British territory and in four hard-fought battles their power was broken. The news spread throughout the hills and Bīr Singh's hour had come. Once more his people rallied to his summons and he laid siege to the Nurpur Fort. But the strain was too great for one of his years, with a frame already enfeebled by privation and suffering, and he died before the walls. The only consolation granted him was that his enemies had been crushed and that to this extent at least his wrongs had been avenged.

On the conclusion of the First Sikh War the whole of the hill tracts between the Satluj and the Indus were ceded to the British Government, and the portion between the Satluj and the Rāvi was retained as British territory, the rest being disposed of to Maharaja Gulāb Singh of Jammu. The ruling Chiefs who had been ousted from their dominions by the Sikhs had long looked forward with eager expectation to our coming, in the belief that they would all be restored to power. Great then was their disappointment when they found that this was not to be and that Government meant to retain under its own control all that the Sikhs had annexed. They all became disaffected, and on being approached by the leaders of the revolt in 1848, they lent a willing ear, on the promise that if successful their possessions would be restored. Nurpur was the first to rise in rebellion. Bīr Singh had left a son, named Jaswant Singh, a minor, whose chief officer was Rām Singh, son of the last wazir of the State. Gathering a force from the Jammu hills, Rām Singh suddenly crossed the Rāvi and occupied Shāhpur Fort, where he proclaimed Jaswant Singh Rājā of Nurpur and himself as his wazir. On the arrival of a British force from Hoshiyārpur to invest the fort, Rām Singh and his followers vacated it by night and took up a position on a wooded range near Nurpur. This was stormed and Rām Singh then fled to the Sikh army in Gujrāt.¹

¹ Kangra Settlement Report, p. 14.

¹ In January 1849 Rām Singh returned to the Nurpur hills with two Sikh regiments from the army at Rasūl, each 500 strong, and took up a position on the Dalle ka Dhār, a rocky ridge of the Sawālakh area, north-east of Shāhpur and overhanging the Rāvi. The position was very strong, and being held by disciplined troops the assault was one of considerable difficulty. A force under Brigadier Wheeler was sent against it, and the place was captured with loss on both sides. Two young English officers were among the killed, one of them a nephew of Sir Robert Peel.

Rām Singh was soon afterwards taken in Kāngra, having been betrayed, it is said, for gold, by a Brahman, whom he trusted as a friend. He was banished to Singapur where he died, but his name is still remembered in these mountains, and his exploits are sung by the hill bards.

² Jaswant Singh, son of Bīr Singh, was then a boy of ten years old. When the question of a pension for the family came up in 1846, Sir Henry Lawrence, then the Agent to the Governor General at Lahore, was inclined to be generous in view of the gallant and obstinate resistance which Bīr Singh had offered to the Sikhs, and the fact that he had refused to accept a *jāgīr* from Ranjīt Singh. A *jāgīr* of Rs. 20,000 was offered to the young chief, on condition that he should not reside at Nurpur, which his officials foolishly declined. The offer was reduced to Rs. 5,000 by Sir John Lawrence, who was less sympathetic than his brother with the old chiefs, and this the Rājā had to accept a year later. This pension was continued to him after the outbreak, as, being a minor, he could not be held responsible for the acts of his officials. When the matter of family allowances was reconsidered in 1861, the pension was doubled, in consideration of the antecedents of the family, and the Rājā's loyal attitude during the Mutiny. Part of the sum was afterwards converted into a small *jāgīr* and the rest is paid in cash.

Gagan Singh, the present Rājā, a grandson of Bīr Singh, resides near the town of Nurpur and is the sixth Viceregal Darbāri in the Kāngra District. His brother is an Officer in the 29th Pūnjābis and is now a prisoner of war in Germany.

NOTE.

AMĪRS, MANSABDĀRS AND AHADIS.

The Mansabdārs were the Amirs or nobility of the Mughal Empire, the highest of whom, under the Princes of the blood, had the title of Amīr-ul-Umarā. In the reign of Akbar the *mansabs* were nominally 66 in number but only 33 seem to have been in actual existence, ranging from Ten to Ten Thousand. All above Five Thousand were reserved for the Princes of the ruling house. Later, in the time of Shāh-jahān the maximum rank was increased to Twenty Thousand, and some of the Amīrs held rank up to Ten Thousand, the higher ranks being reserved for the Princes. For example, Dara Shikoh had a *mansab* of 20,000, Shāh Shujā, 15,000, Aurangzeb, 15,000, and Murād Baksh, 12,000.

In the Ain-i-Akbari all the mansabdārs are classed as Amīrs, but Bernier makes

¹ Kāngra Settlement Report, p. 15.

² *Chiefs and Families of Note in the Punjab*, pp. 383-4.

a distinction in the time of Shāhjahān; according to him only the higher ranks were called *Amīrs*, the lower being simply called *Mansabdārs*. This distinction was probably made by Shāhjahān. The *Mansabdārs* proper drew smaller salaries than the *Amīrs*, but they might be promoted at any time to the higher grade, at the pleasure of the Emperor.

Each *mansab* was classed as "personal" (*zāt*) and "horse" (*suwār*), the first indicating the rank (corresponding to a title) and the second, the actual command. Each holder of a *mansab* was under obligation to maintain a contingent of cavalry for military service when called upon, the actual command being usually about one-third of the nominal rank. For this purpose he was granted an allowance from the State, either in cash or in the form of a *jāgīr* of a fixed value; according to his rank, and not to the actual command. There was thus a large surplus after defraying all expenses in connection with his contingent, which was regarded as his own salary. In this way some of them drew large emoluments from the State.

When each horseman of a contingent owned only one horse it was called *yakaspāh*, when more than one, *duaspāh*, *siaspāh*, etc., but the maintenance of the higher numbers was regarded as a privilege for which the Emperor's sanction was required, and the allowance was also increased in proportion. The extra horses were led horses for forced marches. On a campaign special allowances were often made to the *mansabdārs* from the imperial treasury, and any excess in the contingent over and above the number required by the Commander's rank was specially paid for.

Hindus as well as Muhammadans were eligible for *mansabs* at the pleasure of the Emperor, who could also increase or diminish the *mansab*, personal and horse, as he saw fit. It was forfeited by disloyalty, and cancelled along with the emoluments or *jāgīrs*, by the demise of the holder; and not being hereditary a family might in this way be reduced at a stroke from affluence to penury. The younger cadets had to begin at the bottom and work their way up as their fathers did before them. The governors of provinces and the officers for the higher commands in the Mughal army were usually selected from among the *Amīrs*.

In the reign of Shāhjahān there were 8,000 *mansabdārs*, whose aggregate contingents amounted to 185,000 cavalry; and these, with certain additions, constituted the standing army of the Mughal Empire. The rulers of the Native States, usually called *Zamīndārs*, were also under obligation for military service and they often received *mansabs* in the same way as the *Amīrs*, with an allowance in cash or a *jāgīr* for the upkeep of their contingent, in proportion to their rank.

The Ahadis were respectable men who enlisted into the imperial army one by one, of their own free will, and were not included in the contingents of the *mansabdārs*. Hence the name, from *Ahad* (one). They ranked beneath the *mansabdārs*, and had to provide their own horses on joining. They were employed on special duties and were sometimes given a command. They received their military allowances from a special *Diwān* or Department, and one of the great *Amīrs* was their chief. There were 7,000 Ahadis in the reign of Shāhjahān. The whole system of *mansabs* seems to have been peculiar to the Mughal Empire and was probably founded by one

of the early Emperors. Talboys Wheeler has the following pungent sentences on the subject: "Every noble and officer of the Mughals, from the lowest Ahadi to the highest Amīr, was entirely dependent upon the Padishah. Their lives and goods were at his disposal. They were his slaves. They could not possess land, all the land was the property of the Padishah. They could not leave their property to their wives and families, the Padishah inherited the property of all his nobles and officers. If the dead man had rendered good service to the Padishah whilst he was alive, a small pension might be given to his family or a small post might be given to his eldest son. Otherwise the family was reduced to beggary."—*History of India*, Vol. IV, Pt. I, p. 187.

Note.—The above account has been chiefly taken from the *Āin-i-Akbari*.

LITERATURE.

Archaeological Survey Reports.

Tārīkh-i-Alfi.

Āin-i-Akbari.

Akbarnāmah.

Ma'āsir-ul-Umarā.

Tūzuk-i-Jahāngīrī.

Bādshāh-nāmah.

Ālamgīr-nāmah.

Forster, *Travels*.

Journal, Panjab Historical Society.

Vigne, *Travels*.

History of the Punjab. Muhammad Latif.

Kāngra Gazetteer.

Chamba Gazetteer.

Gurdāspur Gazetteer.

Kāngra Settlement Report.

Ancient India. Rapson.

Ancient Coins. Rapson.

Ancient Geography of India. Cunningham.

Manucci, *Storia do Mogor*.

Bernier, *Travels*.

Chiefs and Families of Note. Lepel Griffin.

Antiquities of Chamba State. Vogel.

Tawārīkh Rājagān Pathānia. Raghunāth Singh.

Tawārīkh-i-Rājputān Mulk-i-Punjab. Kāhn Singh.

ADDENDUM TO HISTORY OF KASHTWĀR.

To be read as a separate paragraph after line 12, on page 409, Vol. IV, No. 1.

The conquest of Kashtwār by Dilāwar Khān is confirmed by a reference in the *Wāqiāt-i Jahāngīrī* as follows :—

“On Friday the 27th (Rabi’us-sāni, 1029 H. = 27th March, 1620 A.D.) I rode out to see the fountain of Virnāg, which is the source of the river Behāt. I went five kos in a boat and anchored near Mānpur. This day I received very sad news from Kishtiwār. When Dilāwar Khān after the conquest of that country, returned to Court, he left Nasr-ulla an Arab, with several other officers, for the protection of the country. This man committed two faults of judgment. He oppressed the *zamindārs* and the people, and he foolishly complied with the wishes of his troops, who petitioned him for leave to come to Court, with the hope of obtaining the reward of their services. Consequently, as very few men were left with him, the *zamindārs* who had long nourished revenge against him in their hearts, and were always lying in wait for him, took advantage of the opportunity, and having assembled from all sides, burnt the bridge, which was the only means of his receiving succour, and engaged openly in rebellion. Nasr-ulla Khān, having taken refuge in the fort, maintained his position for two or three days with great difficulty. As there were no provisions in the fort, and the enemy had cut off the supply of water, he resolved to die with the few men he had with him, and he gave proofs of the most determined courage. Many of his men were slain and many captured. When the news reached my ears I appointed Jalāl, son of Dilāwar Khān, in whose forehead shone the marks of intelligence and worth, and who had shown much enterprise in the conquest of Kishtiwār, to extirpate the wretched rebels : and having conferred on him the rank of 1,000 and the command of 600 horse, ordered the retainers of his father, who were enlisted among the special servants of the throne, together with part of the Kashmīr army, a large body of *zamindārs* and some matchlockmen, to reinforce him. Rājā Saug Ram, the *zamindār* of Jammu, was also ordered to attack with his force from the Jammu hills, and it was now hoped that the rebels would soon be punished.”

Nasr-ulla Khān was probably identical with Ibrāhīm Khān of the History and these events may have taken place while Gur Singh was a prisoner in Delhi. *Vide Elliot's History of India*, Vol. VI, p. 373.

Note on the Routes from the Panjab to Turkestan and China recorded by William Finch (1611).

By AUREL STEIN.

A reference recently made to me by my friend Mr. William Foster, C.I.E., the well-known authority on the early English records of India, has given me the welcome opportunity to examine what probably is the earliest English account of Kashmir and of the old trade routes which connected the Panjāb with Eastern Turkestan and westernmost China. It is contained in the travel-notes of William Finch which have been preserved for us in *Purchas His Pilgrimes*, and which Mr. Foster is about to re-edit for the Oxford University Press in a publication bearing on the earliest English travellers in India.

My examination has convinced me that Finch's description of those old trade routes to Central Asia is based upon carefully collected information and in several respects is of historical interest. It was in the *Journal of the Panjab Historical Society* that Finch's record, together with that of other early English visitors to the Panjāb, was first made readily accessible and annotated by Sir Edward Maclagan, K.C.I.E., C.S.I. (see Vol. I, pp. 123 seq.). So it affords me special gratification to be allowed to offer my comments on Finch's Central-Asian notes in the same place as a small supplement to the paper of the Society's President and my oldest Panjāb friend.

Finch's text, as far as it concerns us here (*Purchas His Pilgrimes*, Vol. I, bk. iv, ch. 4), reads as follows:—

"From Cabull to Cascar, with the caravan, is some two or three moneths journey. It is a great kingdome, and under the Tartar. A chiefe citie of trade in his territorie is Yar Chaun, whence comes much silke, purslane, muske, and rheubarb, with other merchandize: all which come from China, the gate or entrance whereof is some two or three moneths journey from hence. When they come to this entrance, they are forced to remaine under their tents, and by license send some ten or fiftene merchants at once to doe their businesse; which being returned, they may send as many more; but by no meanes can the whole caravan enter at once.

"From Lahor to Cassimere the way is as in Cabull way to Guzerat. From thence north (or somewhat easterly withall) 16 c. to Bimbar; to Joagek Hately 14 c.; to Chingesque Hately 10 c.; to Peckly 10 c.; to Conowa 12 c.; thence 8 c. you ascend a mountaine called Hast Caunk Gate, on the top of which is a goodly plaine, from whence to Cassimer is 12 c. thorew a goodly countrey. The city is strong, seated on the river Bahat. The countrie is a goodly plaine, lying on the mountaines some 150 c. in length, and 50 c. in breadth, abounding with fruits, graine, saffron, faire and white women. Heere are made the rich Pomberies which serve all the *Indians*. This countrey is cold, subject to frosts and great snowes; neare to Cascar, but seperated with such mountaines that there is no passage for caravans; yet there commeth oft-times musk, with silke and other merchandize, this way by men; and goods are

faine to be triced up and let downe often by engines and devices. Upon these mountaines keepes a small king called Tibbot, who of late sent one of his daughters to Sha Selim to make affinitie."

The information recorded by Finch about the routes to Kāshgar via Kābul and Kashmīr is remarkably accurate and clearly bears the impress of having been gathered from traders familiar with the ground. For the journey from Kābul to Kāshgar the allowance of two to three months would still hold good now, whether the caravan after crossing the Hindukush and Afghān Turkestan proceeded through the mountain tracts of Bokhāra and Farghāna or followed the shorter but more difficult route up the Oxus and across the Pāmirs, as Benedict Goës' caravan did in 1603. Yārkaṇḍ ('Yar Chaun') is still the chief mart in Chinese Turkestan as far as trade with India and Afghānistān is concerned. Silk, porcelain, musk, rhubarb are quite correctly described as coming from China proper, being still regular articles of export passing through Yārkaṇḍ.

By 'the gate or entrance' of China is undoubtedly meant the gate in the 'Great Wall' near Su-chou, on the border of Kan-su. Closely corresponding descriptions of this 'gate,' the present Chia-yü-kuan, and of the procedure there observed with merchants and others, are found in the narratives of Goës, of Hājī Muḥammad, the Persian trader whom Ramusio interviewed at Venice in 1566; of the Turkish Dervish, questioned by Gislen de Busbecq about 1560; of Shāh Rukh's embassy in 1400, etc.; see Yule, *Cathay*, i. pp. 273 seq., 291, 297; iv. pp. 241 seq. For a modern account of this famous 'gate', see Stein, *Ruins of Desert Cathay*, ii. pp. 273 seq.

The estimate of the distance from Kāshgar to the 'Gate' of China at "some two or three moneths' journey" is quite correct, as the aggregate of the marches done by me along the main caravan route from Su-chou to Kāshgar via An-hsi, Kumul, Turfān, Kuchā, Aksu in 1907-08 and in 1914-15 amounted to 74.

The account of the route from Lahore to Kashmīr leaves no doubt as to its being identical with the 'Imperial road' regularly used by the Mughal Emperors on their 'hot weather' migrations from the Panjāb plains to Kashmīr and still marked by the Sarais they maintained along it. Bernier in his eighth and ninth letter to M. de Merveilles (see *Bernier's Travels in the Moghul Empire*, ed. Constable, 1891, pp. 390 seq.) has given an early and classical description of it. This road, now usually designated as the 'Pir Panjāl Route,' leaves the high road to Peshāwar and Kābul at Gujrāt and leads via Bhimbar and Rājauri to the Pir Pantsāl Pass which gives the easiest access from the south to the great valley of Kashmīr. For the historical topography of this route, see Stein, *Rājatarāṅgiṇī*, translated, etc., II, pp. 394 seq., 291 seq.; also *J.A.S.B.*, 1895, pp. 381 seq.

Finch's distance of 16 kōs from 'Guzerat' to 'Bimbar' agrees well with the 28 miles reckoned by modern Kashmīr guide-books between Gujrāt and Bhimbar. 'Chingesque Hately'¹ has been correctly recognized by the late Mr. A. Constable in his note on Bernier's itinerary to Kashmīr² as identical with the present Chingas

¹ Blaeu's Atlas, Vol. XI, Amsterdam, 1663, in its map of *Magni Mogolis Imperium* reproduces this as *Tinguesq hatelij*, by an obvious graphic error.

² *Bernier's Travels*, p. 401.

Sarai, a regular stage below Rājauri. The distance of 24 kōs from Bhimbar closely corresponds to the 40 miles counted at present between the two places. 'Joagek Hately,' which I cannot trace at present, must represent a halting place between Sayyidābād (Samāni Sarai) and Naushēra, the two usual stages between Bhimbar and Chingas Sarai.

The word *Hately* which occurs in the designation of these two stages remains puzzling at present. An interpretation which would make it the equivalent of 'Sarai' or some similar term naturally suggests itself. But no fully convincing explanation has been found so far. All that may be asserted at present is that in the *-que* of *Chingesque* and in the *-k* of *Joagek* we probably have attempts to render the adjectival affix *-kī* governed by the feminine noun *Hately*. One difficulty about *Hately* is that we cannot determine whether the word which Finch intended to reproduce was sounded as a disyllabic or trisyllabic one. Sir George Grierson who was kind enough to go into the question believes that if Finch rhymed the *hate-* of 'Hately' with English 'hate' he must have meant *hēṭhlī*, a Hindī word "not uncommonly used with reference to low ground at the foot of a village on a height." The main hope of a solution seems to lie in local inquiry. So I call here attention to the point, hoping that some reader of this *Journal* may be able to investigate it on the spot,—needless to say, with due critical caution.

We are next taken to a clearly recognizable point, by the ascent which Finch mentions "to a mountaine called Hast Caunk Gate on the top of which is a goodly plaine." It appears to me certain that the Pir Pantsāl Pass is meant here. In the 'mountaine called Hast Caunk Gate' we have a reference, but slightly obscured by an error of transcription or record, to the conspicuous mountain ridge of *Hastivanj* overlooking the Pir Pantsāl Pass from the south. Its name is connected with a well-known local legend which is recorded already in Kalhaṇa's *Rājatarāṅgiṇī* and still survives to the present day in popular tradition (see Stein, *Rājat.* II, pp. 394 seq.). The term 'gate' (Sanskrit *dvāra*) has since ancient times been specifically applied in Kashmir to the frontier watch-stations guarding all regularly used passes which lead across the mountain ranges enclosing the valley (comp. Stein, *Rājat.* II, p. 391 and other passages quoted in Index s.v. *dvāra*).

The identification of Finch's 'mountaine' with the Pir Pantsāl Pass is made quite certain by the mention of the 'goodly plaine' on its top. His informant clearly meant here the wide and gently sloping upland which descends eastwards from the actual watershed on the pass (11,400 ft. above sea) for about $4\frac{1}{2}$ miles to the Mughal Sarai of 'Alīābād. On no other pass leading across the range from the south does one meet with an upland so easy, and traversed by a regular trade route. The steepness of the ascent from the Panjāb side makes this peculiar feature all the more noticeable.

It is at the foot of this ascent, marked by the little village of Pushiāna, the last inhabited place below the pass, that I should be inclined to locate Finch's stage of *Conowa*. I am unable to account for its name unless it be connected in some way with *Kambuwa* which Kalhaṇa, the author of the *Rājatarāṅgiṇī*, mentions as the

designation of an ancient watch-station on the route across the Pir Pantsāl Pass (see Stein, *Rājat.* III. 227). The distance, about 20 miles by the map or 23 by the guide-books, between Pushiāna and Hürpōr, the first permanently inhabited place on the Kashmīr side, might well correspond to the 8 kōs recorded by Finch for the stage following 'Conowa.' From Hürpōr a single long march would suffice to bring the mounted traveller to Srīnagar, the Kashmīr capital, the distance being about 37 miles (Finch's 12 kōs), but all over easy ground, "thorew a goodly countrey," as his informant quite correctly put it.

If the location of *Conowa* at or near Pushiāna is correct, we should have to look for *Peckly*, the intermediate stage from 'Chingesque Hately' in Finch's itinerary, at some point between Rājaurī and the usual modern halting place of 'Thāna-mandī, south of the outer range of the Rattan-pīr. The 'Suj Sarai' shown on the map would approximately correspond to the distances indicated, being about 21 miles (or 10 kōs) from Chingas Sarai and about 27 miles (or 12 kōs) from Pushiāna.

I cannot suggest at present a conclusive explanation for the name *Peckly*. But it has occurred to me that it might possibly have its origin in a misunderstanding of the information conveyed by Finch's authority. From Rājaurī, a small town on the Tohī River above Chingas Sarai, there diverges north-westwards a well-known route which leads through the territory of the hill-state of Pūnch to the Hāji-pīr Pass and thence joins the now much frequented main road ascending the valley of the Jehlam to the 'gate' of Bārāmūla and thence to the riverine plain of Kashmīr. This branch route, though far more circuitous, is used during the few winter months when the Pir Pantsāl Pass owing to heavy snow is closed or too difficult for traffic with laden animals. The route following the Jehlam valley below Bārāmūla is the main line of communication giving access to Kashmīr from the hill territory which has been known as *Pakhli* from Muhammadan times to the present day. Abū-l-Faḍl, in his detailed account of Kashmīr, written about twenty years before Finch's notes, defines it as comprising the whole of the hill region between Kashmīr in the east and the Indus in the west (see '*Āin-i-Akbārī*', transl. Blochmann, II. pp. 390 seq.). If we may assume that Finch, or his interpreter, misunderstood a reference made here by the original informant to a branch route leading from 'Chingesque Hately' to a junction with the route from *Pakhli* and thus on to Kashmīr, the mention of *Peckly*, though erroneous, could be accounted for. In any case the great distance, at least 150 miles by road, which would have to be covered on this branch route between Chingas Sarai and Srīnagar, would preclude its identification with the route intended in Finch's itinerary, even if the location of the latter's 'Hast Caunk Gate' on the Pir Pantsāl Pass could be contested.

The description which Finch gives of the position of the city of 'Cassimer' 'on the river Bahat' (*Vitastā* in Sanskrit, *Vyath* in Kashmīrī, the classical *Hydaspes*) and its natural strength is perfectly accurate. So is also his account of the climate and products of the country. The beauty and fair complexion of its women is commented upon also by Bernier and other old travellers.

The account given of the difficult mountain tracks by which alone Kāshgar

(Cascar) could then be gained from Kashmīr is of particular interest. It proves clearly that what trade then passed between Kashmīr and Chinese Turkestan had to be carried on through Baltistān and across the high glacier-crowned Kara-koram main range beyond it. That Baltistān or Little Tibet, to use a designation still current in Kashmīr, is meant by the territory "with such mountaines that there is no passage for caravans" becomes perfectly certain from the mention of the "small king called Tibbot," whose daughter was married to Shāh Salīm, i.e., the future Emperor Jahāngir. As Sir Edward Maclagan has rightly pointed out,¹ Abū-l-Faẓl records this union of Jahāngir with a daughter of 'Alī Rai, the chief of Skardo (Baltistān or Little Tibet), as having taken place in 1590-91 A.D.

In the graphic description of the way in which goods had to be carried by men across those mountains, we can trace first-hand information about the hazardous tracks leading along the precipices of the Braldo Valley and across the great glaciers of the old Muz-tāgh route. These difficulties have since caused that route which ran from the head of the Braldo Valley to the Yārkand River to be wholly abandoned. Bernier during his Kashmīr visit in 1665 collected interesting data about the political troubles which caused the trade with Kāshgar and 'Cathay' to be diverted from the route through Ladākh or Great Tibet to that far more difficult mountain region of 'Little Tibet' (see *Bernier's Travels*, ed. Constable, pp. 426 seq.). Finch's record proves that already at an earlier date similar conditions must have forced the Baltistān route into use in spite of its exceptional physical difficulties. It thus helps incidentally to illustrate how often the former use of naturally difficult mountain passes has been directly due to the troubles and dangers of human origin besetting the easier routes,—a fact which has scarcely received adequate attention as yet in the historical topography of Alpine routes and passes.

¹ *Journal of the Panjab Historical Society*, I, p. 130, note 2.

General Ventura.

By PT. SHEO NARAIN, R.B.

EARLY LIFE.

Of the early life of the subject of this paper very little is known except what is stated by Dr. Wolff and by the biographer of Avitabile in the *Calcutta Review*, or by Major Pearce in the appendix to his *Memoirs of Alexander Gardner*. "It is usually stated on the authority of Henry Prinsep," says Major Pearce, "that Ventura, an Italian by birth, had held the rank of colonel of infantry in the army of the Napoleonic empire, and there is no reason to doubt the fact. There is unfortunately no record in the French War Office of the service of individual members of the Italian contingent of the army of the First empire, nor can information on the subject be obtained from the War Office of the present Italian army."

We have therefore to fall back upon the accounts given by Dr. Wolff and by the biographer of Avitabile. The former in his *Travels and Adventures* (Vol. I, p. 358) says: "When Fateh Ulla Shah, king of Persia, became old, stricken in years and practically unable to reign any longer, he assembled all his sons together and commanded them to bow down before Abbas Mirza, their elder brother, and acknowledge him as the rightful successor to the throne. They all bowed before Abbas Mirza except one of the younger brothers Mohammad Ali Mirza, prince governor of Karmanjah, who sternly said to His Majesty, "As long as you my royal father are alive (here bowing his head) I shall obey; but as soon as your eyes are closed (here pointing to his sword) this sword must decide who shall be king." Mohammad Ali Mirza withdrew to his government in Karmanjah and had his soldiers drilled under Messieurs Devaux, Court, Avitabile and Ventura. Abbas Mirza also retired to the seat of his government Tabrez, the capital of Aderbizan, and he had his soldiers drilled by English officers who were sent to him by the East India Company, such as Major Hart, and Montieth, and giant-like Sir Henry Bethune." The above is probably the basis of the account given by the biographer of Avitabile who says: "Before his arrival in the Panjab in March 1822, Ventura was in the employ of the Persian king Fattah Ali Shah, whose younger son Mohammad Ali Mirza utilized his services to drill his armies in Karmanjah. Persia had become a congenial hunting ground for European adventurers. Gardanne, Napoleon's ambassador at Tehran, had been specially commissioned to introduce French and Italian officers into the Persian army; though the dream of empire in India was rudely shattered by Waterloo, the current of military immigration once begun never ceased to flow

eastward. After the second restoration an increasing number of military waifs from war-exhausted Europe found their way to Asia, and Ventura was one of them. At the Persian Court two opposing influences were at work, and although the East India Co. could successfully insist on the Shah importing British officers in his service there was room for the ubiquitous foreigner in the armies of rival heirs to the throne. Of such foreigners Avitabile in particular had won his way into prominence: he was a friend of Ventura whose accounts of favourable opportunities for service in the army of Ranjit Singh made Avitabile come to the Panjab. Allard and Ventura underwent hair-breadth escapes and untold distresses on the way from Persia and Afghanistan on their way to the Panjab, and were reduced to officiating as callers to prayers in the mosque of Peshawar and Lahore. Nor did their arrival at Lahore end their troubles. Ranjit Singh took an unconscionable time to assure himself that the vagabond Franks were what they declared themselves to be and not secret emissaries of the British Government. Eventually his fears were allayed and he enlisted the two adventurers in the service, who converted his feudal levies into a modern army." pp. 527, 530.

What was General Ventura by birth? Was he an Italian? According to Dr. Wolff he was a Jew. The biographer of Avitabile is of the same opinion, based probably on the appearance of Ventura's features in a painting by an Indian artist in Ranjit Singh's Court. The painting, he says, could be seen at Peshawar not many years ago. The biographer mentions the General's father's name as Rabbi-Bin-Toora of Modena. Mr. Buckland in his *Dictionary of Indian Biography*, page 435, doubts whether the General was a Jew. He gives his real name as Reuben-Bin-Toora. A friend of mine has lent me a miniature of the General on ivory of which a photograph accompanies the present paper.¹ The type of face presents the features of a west-oriental, *i.e.* native of a country between the East Mediterranean and Afghanistan, but the face cannot be definitely pronounced to be that of a Jew though the long blue eyes, the aquiline broad nose with a slight pinch of nostril and the full though compressed lips lend some colour to a hypothesis of Jewish or at any rate mixed Jewish blood. I read in Keene's *Hindustan under Free Lances*, p. 193, that in the church and palace at Sardhana built by the Begam Sombre a few years before her death in 1836, there was a half-length portrait of General Ventura among many others which were removed to the Government House, Allahabad. I wrote, enclosing a copy of photograph of the miniature on ivory to the Private Secretary to H.H. the Lieut.-Governor of the United Provinces. The reply was that there was no portrait answering to the likeness I had enclosed at the Government House. There is, however, a quarter size portrait of the General in the Lahore Museum which certainly resembles the miniature with me. On comparison the only difference noticeable is that in the portrait in the Lahore Museum the nose is somewhat less aquiline. These portraits cannot be said to prove he was a Jew. It was in March 1822 that General Ventura came to Lahore, according to Latif, dressed

¹ It was indeed this ivory miniature which originally suggested the present paper

like a Musalman of Persia, in quest of employment. He explained his object in Persian to Maharaja Ranjit Singh. This did not satisfy the Sikh Ruler: he asked him to explain it in his own language, and this having been done, he sent the paper written by him in French to the British agent at Ludhiana to be translated into the vernacular. All his suspicions being allayed on seeing the translation, he employed him to organize his army on the French system. During the early years of his service in the Panjab General Ventura had lived with General Allard in a large mosque near the Lahore Cantonment. It is related that when Ventura was absent in France for two years (1838-1840) his family, together with forty or fifty female slaves, lived during the whole period in this mosque without once moving out of doors. The tomb of Anarkali was afterwards given to him for a residence. This had been previously occupied by Prince Kharak Singh. It is thus described by the biographer of Avitabili:—

“A vast domed tomb, which the Emperor Jehangir had reared to Akbar’s favourite slave girl Anarkali, was converted into a residence by Ventura and Allard. In the ground of this mausoleum Ventura built himself a superb habitation. On the walls of the entrance hall between the noble range of pillars was painted the reception of the two Generals at the court of Lahore introducing more than a thousand figures. The room adjoining was lined from top to bottom with gilded mirrors like the *Galerie des Glaces* at Versailles, producing when illuminated a most dazzling effect.” *Avitabili’s Life*, p. 574. The General’s residence is now our Civil Secretariat Office. The above account is fully corroborated by at least two travellers, Baron Huegel and Mr. Masson, who saw the General’s residence with their own eyes. The building has undergone some changes since but the identity is beyond doubt.

“General Ventura’s house, built by himself and General Allard, though of no great size, combines the splendour of the East with the comforts of a European residence. On the walls of the entrance hall, before the range of pillars on the first storey was portrayed the reception of the two French officers at the court of Ranjit Singh, consisting of many thousand figures. The second room is adorned with a profusion of small mirrors in gilt frames, which have an excellent effect; the third is a large hall, extending the entire width of the house, and terminating in the sleeping apartments. At a short distance behind the house stands an ancient tomb, crowned with a lofty dome. This is now tenanted by the families of the European officers. Standing in the midst of the garden, which has been laid out with great taste, it forms a very striking contrast to the surrounding sandy plain. This spot overlooks an arm of the Ravi and eastward the old city and necropolis, with countless dilapidated buildings and tombs, which in parts form small hillocks without any apparent vestige of regular edifices. The neighbourhood of Lahore abounds in saltpetre, which soon destroys any walls that may be left standing, and not only these, but covered buildings crumble beneath its influence, and frequently become an unshapely mass of rubbish. Among these ruins, a square has been cleared for the troops to exercise, in front of General Ventura’s house; and the bricks which have been dug out from them have been used not only to erect his dwelling house, but the barracks for the French legion. These are now unoccupied, as the legion is at Peshawar.”—*Baron Huegel’s Travels*, p. 283.

Speaking of Anarkali’s tomb, Mr. Masson says:—

“There were formerly extensive gardens, and several buildings connected with the tomb, but not a vestige can now be traced of them. This monument was once occupied by Karak Singh, the eldest and only legitimate son of the Maharájá, but has subsequently been given to an Italian officer,

M. Ventura, who has converted it into a haram. Adjacent is the handsome house of M. Allard, and in front of it, a parade ground intervening, are the lines of the regiments and battalions under their orders. To the east of the city are the cantonments of the troops, commanded by M. Avitabile, and Court, with the residences of those officers. The mansion of the former, a Neapolitan, is painted in a singular and grotesque fashion."—*Masson's Travels*, Vol. I, p. 413.

The handsome house of Allard referred to can be unmistakably identified with the Kurī bāgh, so named owing to a tomb in it which still exists of Allard's daughter Marie Charlotte who died there in 1827. Kurī bāgh is now the property of H.H. the Maharaja of Kapurthala.

In the year 1825, the General was married to a European lady then residing at Ludhiana. Her father was a Frenchman and her mother an Armenian. The nuptials took place at Lahore in Anarkali. The priest who performed the ceremony was invited from Ludhiana to Lahore, and in honour of the event a ceremonial took place at Lahore in which the bridegroom received, by way of present, 10,000 rupees from the Maharaja and 30,000 rupees from the courtiers. Madame Ventura bore her husband a daughter. A Jagir of 7,000 rupees a year was granted by the Maharaj in her name in 1834 in Ilaqa Talwandi, Rajputana. Towards the end of the year 1852, or in the beginning of the year 1853, the Court of Directors of the East India Company purchased the said Jagir for 24,000 pounds and a grant of a life pension of 300 pounds a year to the General. A deed of release was obtained from the General and his daughters who were described in it respectively as Jean Baptists Counte Ventura de Mundy and Claudine Victorine Ventura. "*de Mundy*" had reference to the Mandi State where the fortress of Kamalgarh was successfully carried by the General in 1840 in spite of the popular belief in its impregnability. After the death of the General his widow applied to the British Government to continue for her benefit the pension enjoyed by her husband. So long as the General was in possession of the Jagir and its income was collected by the Deputy Commissioner of Ludhiana, Madam Ventura was allowed Rs. 250 a month out of the realizations. This allowance had ceased in September 1850. It seems that the General had also some interest in the Toolsea indigo factory near Bhagalpur, from which his wife received an annuity for eight years from February 1856 to February 1864. After the termination of her allowance from the Jagir and the annuity of the factory, Madame Ventura lived mostly on the sale of her jewelry. She petitioned the British Government for a compassionate allowance, and after some enquiry a pension of 30 rupees a month was sanctioned. The daughter of the General was married to the Marquis De Trazegnie Destre. Thus the handsome amount secured by commutation of his Jagir and a large fortune which the General must have carried with him to Paris, enabled him to live in good style in Paris and to marry his daughter to a Marquis; but it does not reflect credit on a man of Ventura's high position and honourable profession that he should have left his spouse in India in abject poverty and destitution. Madam Ventura died at Ludhiana on 10th July 1873, aged 70, and was buried in the cemetery in that town. An epitaph still exists on her tomb there. After her death one Gulhojan *alias* Anna Maria Maria Farmer (Miss Michael), daughter of one Mariamjan, niece of Madame Ventura and a dependent

on her, applied to the British Government for the continuance of the pension enjoyed by Madame Ventura. This lady had married Captain Farmer of the 66th Regiment Native Infantry, on the 23rd May, 1842. Being left a widow and being dependent on the general's widow she was given a pension of Rs. 15 a month on the 16th March, 1877, she and her sister and mother having left Ludhiana for Agra in 1875. Among Madame Ventura's relations, Mr. R. W. Dubigon has also to be mentioned. He is described in the life of Avitabili as an estimable young man in the service of Begam Sombre (Samru). Ventura picked him up during a tour in India which he had undertaken for the benefit of his health, treated him with kindness, found him employment in one of the infantry regiments of Ranjit Singh, and eventually married him to his sister-in-law. In a letter to Sir John Lawrence, dated 30th March, 1858, from Ludhiana, this gentleman mentions the loss of property suffered by his sister-in-law Madame Ventura and by Mr. T. Joseph, her nephew, when the mutineers passed through Ludhiana. He too had gone away to Agra in 1875 taking with him Mrs. Farmer, her sister and mother. Dr Wherry of Ludhiana, in response to my queries, informs me that Madame Ventura was an Armenian Christian; she was a beautiful and attractive lady in old age, and when General Ventura returned to France he took her only daughter with him. Although his Armenian wife had become a Roman Catholic, he cast her off and took to himself another wife leaving his Armenian wife absolutely destitute, who but for the kindness of the British Government, who gave her a small pension, would have suffered direst poverty. Becoming almost blind she was advised by an English Surgeon to wait until she became totally blind when a cataract operation could be performed, but she was impatient and allowed a native *Ānk-Banānewālā*, to perform the operation. After four days she was in a state of convulsion and the Civil Surgeon pronounced her case hopeless. Her niece requested Dr. Wherry to pray to the Lord. It was done as desired, and the next morning the joyous news was received that the Madame was convalescent. She ascribed her recovery solely to the prayer. This incident, says Dr. Wherry, illustrates the piety of this lady.

VENTURA AS A SOLDIER.

General Ventura had not long to wait before an opportunity offered itself to him to show the Maharaja and the Sikh army the merit of his system of discipline, and also to illustrate his skill as a tactician. In March, 1823, only a year after Ventura's arrival at Lahore, the Sikh army was engaged against the Afghans in the battle of Nowshera or Theri. The Afghans were in great strength, their regular troops holding a position on the right bank of Kabul river, while 20,000 mountaineers of the Khatak and Yusufzai tribes occupied a strong position on the left bank.

Maharaja Ranjit Singh now showed his confidence in Generals Ventura and Allard by sending them with a small force of eight battalions and two batteries to keep the regular Afghan troops in check, while he with his main strength fell upon the Ghazis. The battle was severely contested, but, thanks to the superior generalship of Ranjit Singh, resulted in a complete victory for the Sikhs. The loss of the

victors was estimated by Captain (afterwards Sir Claude) Wade at 2,000 men out of a total force present of 24,000.

The Afghan tribesmen had more than 3,000 men killed, but gallantly rallied on the day following the battle and were ready to renew the fight. Muhammad Azim Khan, however, who commanded the Afghan regular troops, fearing lest his treasure and haram might fall into the hands of the Sikhs, broke up his camp, and crossing the Momand hills with undignified haste, regained the valley of Jalalabad. He was pursued for a considerable distance by Ventura and Allard, whose force had been increased by a contingent under Prince Sher Singh, one of the Maharaja's sons, a brave soldier.

In consequence of this victory Ranjit Singh occupied the city of Peshawar and his troops plundered the whole district up to the Khaibar Pass.

In the year 1825, a campaign was directed against Kotlar, the chief command being entrusted to Jemadar Khushal Singh, a favourite officer of the Maharaja. In this campaign a number of Sikh Sardars or chiefs, and soldiers, refused to serve under Ventura and Allard, and threatened to resist their authority by force. The two generals complained to the Maharaja, who at once proceeded to the army, degraded the mutinous officers, and severely punished the ring-leaders of inferior rank.

Later, General Ventura accompanied Sardar Hari Singh Nalwa, one of the bravest and best educated of the Sikh chieftains, in various small expeditions. A rising at Gandgarh was quelled after a smart action, the hill fortress of Srikot was captured, and finally Ventura took part in a demonstration under Prince Sher Singh, the object of which was to exact payment of the annual tribute from Yar Mohammad Khan, at that time ruler of Peshawar. The tribute was paid without fighting, and so ended a year of great military activity.

In the year 1831, that of Colonel Gardner's arrival in the Panjab, General Ventura shared with Shahzada Sher Singh the command of the force sent out from Peshawar against the reformer Syad Ahmad. As is related in Gardner's narrative, this force completely defeated Syad Ahmad's followers, and the prophet himself was slain at a place called Balakot. Gardner was just too late to take part in the action but it is probable that Ventura became aware that Gardner had intended to assist the insurgents, and that this fact, coupled with Gardner's adherence to the Dogra faction, caused the ill-will which is shown by Gardner's language to have existed between them. The French and Italian officers in Ranjit Singh's service held much aloof from those of other nationalities, and this also must have contributed to the unfriendliness.

Later in the year 1831, General Ventura was sent to Multan in command of a force of 10,000 troops and thirty pieces of artillery, for the purpose of collecting the tribute of that province.

In addition to the rank of general, conferred on Ventura soon after he entered the Sikh service, Ranjit Singh created him Qazi and governor of Lahore, which appointment gave him the third seat in durbar.

General Ventura was highly favoured by the Maharaja in consequence of his

services on this and subsequent occasions, and was granted pay at the rate of 2,500 rupees a month. He was also at various times given large jagirs, or feudal grants of land, by his royal master; and towards the end of the Maharaja's life Ventura received two villages as a special gift for his young daughter Victorine.

General Ventura, a very amiable man as Gardner describes him, was sent to subjugate and annex Sabzalkot and Rojah both on the right bank of the Indus below Mittankot (*Gardner's Memoir*, p. 183).

"In 1819, Ranjit Singh extended his conquests beyond the Indus and annexed the southern portion of the present District of Dera Ghāzikhan. Aasiq Mohammad Khan, a Nawab of Bahawalpur, received the newly acquired territory as a fief on payment of an annual tribute to Lahore. In 1827, the Nawab overran the northern portion all of which passed under the suzerainty of the Sikhs. Three years later, however, he was compelled to give up his charge in favour of General Ventura."—*Imp. Gaz.*, XI, p. 251.

"Kamalgarh was an ancient fortress in the Mandi State, Panjab. The possession of the fortress tempted the Raja of Mandi to revolt against the Sikhs; but General Ventura succeeded in carrying it in 1840, in spite of the popular belief in their impregnability."—*Imp. Gaz.*, XIV, p. 328.

"On the death of Ranjit Singh in 1839, the Sikh Government determined to complete the reduction of Mandi as a stepping-stone to the projected conquest of Chinese Tartary. In 1840, General Ventura occupied Mandi, and Kamalgarh capitulated after a siege of two months."—*Imp. Gaz.*, XVII, p. 154.

"Until his death in 1839, Ranjit Singh was ever loyal to the engagements which he had entered into with Metcalfe in 1809, but he left no son capable of wielding his sceptre. Lahore was torn by dissensions between rival generals, ministers and queens. The only strong power was the Khalsa, or central council of the Sikh army, which since the British disaster in Afghanistan, burned to measure its strength with the British sepoys. Ranjit Singh's European Generals Court and Ventura were foolishly ousted by the Sikh commanders and the supreme military command was vested in a series of Punchayats or elective committees."—*Imp. Gaz.*, II, p. 503.

"Scarcely had Sher Singh ascended the throne when the soldiery got out of hand, excitement though without any ground whatever against European officers rose high, General Court stripped of everything narrowly escaped. General Ventura who upon the news of the outbreak had returned to Lahore had a similar escape."—*The Panjab*, by L. T. Steinbach, p. 30.

SOME OTHER INCIDENTS.

Laili.

The story of the famous mare Laili can be briefly told. She was renowned for her beauty throughout Afghanistan and the Panjab, and Ranjit Singh, in 1826, demanded her surrender from her owner Sardar Yar Mohammad Khan, governor of Peshawar, who refused. Straightway Sirdar Budh Singh Sindhanwalia was sent to take possession of the mare. When he reached Peshawar he was informed that Laili had died. On his return to Lahore it was ascertained that this story was false, and that another force under the nominal command of Prince Kharak Singh was despatched to Peshawar with orders to buy the mare or seize her, and if Yar Mohammad Khan would not part with her to depose him from the governorship. The Prince marched to Peshawar, and Yar Mohammad, who considered that his honour was involved in not surrendering the mare, fled to the hills. Prince Kharak Singh after holding Peshawar for eight months, retired, leaving Sirdar Sultan Mohammad Khan as governor, but the Sikh army had not proceeded further than Attock when

Yar Mohammad returned and drove out the new governor. General Ventura who had been left in command of the Sikh army at Attock was now directed by the Maharaja to try his hand at the business of the acquisition of the horse, for which he was to offer any price which would be accepted, but, if refused, was to renew hostilities. While Yar Mohammad was heistating as to his reply Khalifa Syed Ahmad again descended from the hills and ravaged the villages north of Peshawar, and the governor, who attempted to drive him back, was killed in the fight which ensued. Laili, however, had not been surrendered, and General Ventura, after having defeated Syed Ahmad, encamped before Peshawar and demanded the animal from Sultan Mohammad Khan, whom he promised to confirm in the governorship if he gave her up. But Sultan Mohammad tried as many subterfuges as his brother, and it was not till Ventura had arrested him in his own palace and threatened to hold him a prisoner till Laili was given up, that persistence obtained its deserved success, and the General becoming the happy possessor of the coveted mare, took her to Lahore. She was received with much rejoicing by the Maharaja.

Whether the real horse was given up is still doubtful, for there are few created beings that an Afghan cannot or could not deceive. Certainly, at Rupar in 1831, when the Maharaja visited the Governor-General, a brown horse was shown as Laili. When Huegel visited Lahore he especially begged to be allowed to see the famous horse, which the Maharaja told him cost him sixty lakhs of rupees and twelve thousand men. He describes Laili as magnificently caparisoned, with gold bangles round her legs, a dark grey, with black points, thirteen years old and fully sixteen hands high. This was the horse Ventura assured Huegel that he had obtained with so much difficulty at Peshawar: but, on the other hand, Sikh records always speak of Laili as having been a mare which the name would seem to confirm. So the sex of the true Laili must remain a historical puzzle. Certain it is, that no horse since that which caused the fall of Troy, has ever been the source of such trouble and the death of so many brave men (*Rulers of India Series: Ranjit Singh*. By Griffin, p. 102).

Paddle-boat.

Ranjit Singh asked Ventura to make him a steamer. Despite his protests Ventura was made to undertake the construction of one for which he boldly asked 40,000 rupees. He went to Gardner and begged his aid; and Gardner after reading up all he could about paddle-boat building succeeded in turning out a wondrous sort of two decked barge with paddle-wheels to be worked by hand. The boat was launched on the Ravi, but with the utmost efforts of the exhausted wheel-turners would not go more than 10 yards or so upstream. Yet Ranjit Singh was quite satisfied with the fact of the boat moving up the stream however slowly without sails or oars (*Gardner's Memoir*, p. 203).

"My return to my native country," says Dr. Honigberger, "was viâ Mooltan and Dera Ghazikhan, where General Ventura was then governor. As I had provided myself with vaccine matter to use for my journey, the general wished me to vaccinate his darling child. Vaccination. Madame Ventura was opposed to my commencing with her little daughter

Victoria, so her husband ordered some poor children to be brought from the bazar at Dera, whom I vaccinated, and to each of them he gave a rupee, as a remuneration. On the eighth day, on which the children ought to have come to me, that I might take the vaccine matter for further use, no one appeared, and I was told that their alarmed parents had removed them from the town. The parents had heard a rumour that on the eighth day, on their re-appearance, the Feringhee (European) doctor would cut the *moomiai* from their arm, which operation was supposed to endanger life; but on General Ventura's threatening the Kotwal (Police officer) with imprisonment, one of the boys was brought to me on the following morning, from whom I got vaccine matter enough to enable me to vaccinate several other children, among whom was Miss Victoria, at the harem of the general."—*Thirty-five Years in the East*, p. 57.

In another place in his book the same Doctor says:—

"I remained only two years at Constantinople, from the autumn of 1836 to that of 1838. During that time, my homoeopathic practice was extensive, as there were only myself and the private physician to the Russian ambassador who practised the new system; and it was so lucrative that I had no idea of leaving that place so soon, still less of returning to Lahore, until I learned from the Austrian Internuncio, Baron Sturmer, who was in quarantine at Malta, and who had met with General Ventura, that the Maharaja had ordered the general to make enquiries about me in Europe, and to persuade me to go back to Lahore. Accordingly, the general invited me to accompany him thither after the expiration of his leave of absence in the autumn. I yielded to this invitation, and went in company with the general from Alexandria to Bombay, where he proceeded alone, with the utmost speed, to Lahore, as Ranjit Singh was dangerously ill, and as that time the English were preparing to place Shahshooja on the throne of Kabul.

"General Ventura was accompanied by a shawl merchant, named Monsieur Le Boeuf, and a Captain of cavalry, M. Mouton, with his lady. These three persons the general requested me to accompany to Lahore, as they were unable to speak Hindustanee."—*Honigberger's Thirty-five Years in the East*, p. 88.

The position which the General enjoyed can be judged from a painting by an Indian artist to be seen at Peshawar in which he is shown among the courtiers of the Lion of the Panjab and is given the next place to Allard. It seems that soldiers of fortune who found employment under Indian rulers in other parts of the country must have had some sort of intercommunication. This is evident from the employment of the third son of George Thomas (the well-known adventurer in Begum Samru's service) as a Commandant in Ranjit Singh's service and the selection of Dubuignon also in the Begam's service for marriage with Ventura's sister-in-law.

I cannot say what foundation there was for the following statement in Avitabile's Life:—

"When Avitabile tendered his resignation, at first (according to English newspapers) there was some talk of detaining Ventura as a hostage at Lahore for 27 lacks, he was reported to be taking out of the country, both generals were eventually allowed to retire from Sikh service without difficulty." P. 556.

The General retired in 1843, thus serving his master and his successors for 21 years. He passed the remainder of his life at Paris where he lived in very good style, enjoying the distinction of chevalier of the Legion of Honour. He died near Toulouse, 3rd April, 1858. (*Buckland's Dictionary of Indian Biography*, p. 435).

During his employment under the Sikh ruler he did not shave nor ate beef as originally undertaken by him, but he smoked, a concession allowed to him. That he

was a splendid military organizer is undoubted, that he was faithful to his master speaks volumes in his favour. In his private life perhaps he was not a model. Nevertheless we must view him making allowance for human frailties from which nobody is absolutely free. He was, says Major Pearse in a sketch of his life, a high-minded and a honourable soldier much respected by the Sikhs and also by all the English officers with whom he was brought in contact. He was true to his salt, and justified his employment by an Indian ruler. Here is Huegel's testimony of the general's merits:—

"The General has been of great service to the Maharaja, both in the field and in the training of his forces, but is blamed for not being sufficiently pliant and refined for a court. None but minions have any influence over Ranjit Singh, and it is to Ventura's honour that he is not one of these. Here and in India he is acknowledged to be a man of high honour, and during a journey he took not long since in Hindustan, the English generals and many officers testified their respects to him most cordially."—*Baron Huegel's Travels*, p. 317.

There is yet one incident in the General's life which is of general interest to an archaeologist and of particular interest to me. We read in *Baron Huegel's Travels*, p. 236, that it was Ventura who "first opened the Manikyala Tope which is situated some 10 kos from Rawal Pindi. After an unsuccessful attempt to penetrate it from the lower part, he ordered the workmen to repair at the upper part. In a short time they arrived at the middle of the shaft where they met large masses of stones: these were broken through, and near the foundation appeared a small vaulted recess containing a gold cylinder with some fluid in it and some Buddhist coins. Prinsep afterwards wrote a full description of this ancient Monument."

The Secretary's Report for the Year 1916.

Including the Sixth Annual Meeting held in January there were six meetings of the Society during the year.

At the Annual Meeting Prof. G. H. Leonard of the University of Bristol delivered an address on "University Ideals: an Historical Study."

In February, Shaikh Abdul Qadir introduced to the notice of the Society an unpublished diary of Sikh times which is preserved by the Chishti family in Lahore. The opportunity of examining this document had been accorded by the late Maulvi Hamid Ali Chishti.

In April, Rai Bahadur Pundit Sheo Narain read a paper on General Ventura.

Two meetings were held in Simla. At the first, the Hon'ble Mr. Maynard read a paper on the Influence of Indigenous Administration in the development of Caste, and at the second meeting, Rai Bahadur Pundit Hari Kishan Kaul read a paper on a Panjabi Ballad of the time of Nādir Shāh.

In November, Lala Sita Ram Kohli gave the Society some of the results of his researches in "A few leading features in administration of Land Revenue under Maharajah Ranjit Singh."

The first part of the 5th Volume of the Journal has been published. This is a special number containing the Mughal Farmans, Parwanahs and Sanads issued in favour of the Jesuit Missionaries by Father Felix. This number is illustrated with 12 plates prepared from photographs of the originals. The second part of this volume has been devoted to Father Felix's other paper on Mughals' seals which is now being printed off. In the meantime, the second part of Volume 4 has been completed. Of Volume 6 the first part will be taken up with Pandit Hari Kishan Kaul's paper on the Panjabi Ballad together with the text of the ballad, which comprises 854 verses, and an English translation. There is ample material in hand for the second part of the 6th volume. It has, in fact, proved necessary to delay the publication of several papers during the last year because of the exhaustion of the funds available. This has been partly due to the completion of Volume 5 which is devoted to Father Felix's researches. In addition to the papers that have been read further articles have been received on the history of the Hill States by Drs. Vogel and Hutchison and further material is promised by the same authors. It is hoped that the publication of the valuable material contributed by members of the Society will not long be retarded by the lack of funds.

The Treasurer's Report for 1916.

During the year 14 new members have joined the Society. We have to record with regret the death of four of our members—Messrs. Humphreys, Hensman, Bourne, Murphy, and R. B. Bhawani Das. Two members' names have been removed and there have been six resignations. The total membership of the Society is now one hundred and seventy-three.

Accounts.—Printing expenses have been extremely heavy this year, with the result that although we opened the year with a substantial balance, we close it with a small debit balance. There need be no fear however of the subscriptions and the realizable arrears not evening the expenditure for 1917.

H. L. O. GARRETT,
Hon. Treasurer.

Lahore, Jan'y. 14th, 1917.

Meetings, 1916.

January 27th—Sixth Annual Meeting, Lahore.

The following officers and members of the Council were elected for 1916:—
President: Sir Edward Maclagan, K.C.I.E., C.S.I. Vice-Presidents: the Hon. Mr. J. P. Thompson and the Hon. Mr. Justice Shah Din. Honorary Secretary: Mr. A. C. Woolner. Honorary Treasurer: Mr. H. L. O. Garrett. Members of Council: Rai Bahadur Pt. Sheo Narain; the Hon. Mr. H. J. Maynard, C.S.I.; Mr. R. B. Whitehead; the Hon. Mr. J. C. Godley, C.S.I.; Mr. Miles Irving; Pandit Hari Kishan Kaul, C.I.E.; the Hon. Khan Zulfiqar Ali Khan; Mr. E. Tydeman; Mr. H. Hargreaves; Sardar Jogendra Singh.

The following were appointed auditors for 1916:—Mr. E. Tydeman and Lala Chuni Lal.

The Reports of the Honorary Secretary and Honorary Treasurer were read.

Professor G. H. Leonard of the University of Bristol read a paper entitled, "University Ideals: an Historic Study." A vote of thanks to Professor Leonard, moved by the Hon'ble Mr. Justice Shah Din and seconded by the Hon'ble Khan Zulfiqar Ali Khan, was carried unanimously.

February 28th.—Lahore. The Hon'ble Mr. Justice Shah Din was in the chair. Shaikh Abdul Qadir read a paper on an unpublished diary of Sikh times. The twenty volumes of the diary were exhibited for the inspection of members. Rai Bahadur Sheo Narain, in proposing a vote of thanks, endorsed the hope expressed by the reader of the paper, that some one would select passages of historical interest from this diary for publication The Chairman closed the discussion by expressing the indebtedness of the Society to the reader of the paper, and to Maulvi Hamad Ali Chishti, the owner of the diary and grandson of its author.

April 13th.—Lahore. The Hon'ble Mr. Justice Shah Din in the chair. Rai Bahadur Pandit Sheo Narain read a paper on "General Ventura." A discussion followed in which the following took part: Bhai Sewa Ram Singh, Khan Zulfiqar Ali Khan, the Hon. Secretary, the Hon. Treasurer, Lala Sita Ram Kohli, Mr. Hargreaves, and the Chairman.

July 21st.—Simla. The President (Sir Edward Maclagan) in the chair. The Hon'ble Mr. H. J. Maynard, C.S.I., read a paper on "The Influence of Indigenous Administration on the Development of Caste." A discussion followed in which Pandit Hari Kishan Kaul, C.I.E., Sardar Jogendra Singh, Sir Valentine Chirol and the Hon'ble Sir Sankaran Nair took part.

September 26th.—Simla. The President in the chair. Rai Bahadur Pandit Hari Kishan Kaul, C.I.E., read a paper on "A Panjabi Ballad of the time of Nādir

Shāh. " In the dicussion there spoke Bishop Lefroy, Metropolitan of India, and the President.

November 18th.—The Hon'ble Mr. J. P. Thompson in the chair. Lala Sita Ram Kohli read a paper on "A few leading features in administration of Land Revenue under Maharaja Ranjit Singh." The Patron (His Honour Sir Michel O'Dwyer) congratulated the reader on the results of his researches, and pointed out how closely some of L. Sita Ram's results corresponded with the opinions recorded by some of the first British administrators of the Panjab.

Panjab Historical Society.

(May 1917).

PATRON :

H.H. Sir M. F. O'Dwyer, K.C.S.I., Lieutenant-Governor of the Panjab.

HONORARY MEMBERS :

H.H. Raja Sir Bhuri Singh, K.C.S.I., C.I.E., Chamba State, Chamba.
 Sir Louis W. Dane, G.C.I.E., C.S.I., Millbrook, Southampton, England.
 Sir John Marshall, C.I.E., Litt.D., F.S.A., Director-General of Archæology in India, Simla.
 Vincent A. Smith, Esq., M.A., 116, Banbury Road, Oxford.
 Sir M. Aurel Stein, K.C.I.E., Ph.D., D.Litt., D.Sc., 23, Merton Road, Oxford.
 Dr. J. Ph. Vogel, Ph.D., Professor of Sanskrit, University of Leiden, Leiden, Holland.

MEMBERS :

E. R. Abbott, Esq., C.S. . . . .	..	..	Deputy Commissioner, Sialkot.
Khan Abdul Ghafur Khan. K.B. . . . .	..	..	District and Sessions Judge, Attock.
Abdul Hamid, Esq., M.A. . . . .	..	..	Professor of History, Islamia College, Lahore.
Sardar Abdul Qadir Khan Effendi . . . . .	..	..	Golf Road, Lahore.
Shaikh Abdul Qadir, B.A. . . . .	..	..	Bar.-at-Law, Public Prosecutor, Lyallpur.
Sardar Ajit Singh, B.A. . . . .	..	..	Pleader, Rabbani Road, Lahore.
W. O. Alcock, Esq., C.S. . . . .	..	..	Kolaba, Bombay Presidency.
Dr. Azimuddin Ahmad . . . . .	..	..	Oriental College, Lahore.
M. M. Pandit Banke Rai . . . . .	..	..	Delhi.
C. A. Barron, Esq., C.I.E., C.S. . . . .	..	..	District and Sessions Judge, Lahore.
Lieut.-Col. E. C. Bayley, C.I.E. . . . .	..	..	Private Secretary to H.H. the Lieutenant-Governor, Panjab.
The Hon'ble Raizada Bhagat Ram . . . . .	..	..	Barrister-at-law, Jullundur.
H.H. Sir Bhawani Singh, K.C.S.I. . . . .	..	..	Raj Rana of Jhalawar, Jhalrapatan, Rajputana.
T. H. S. Biddulph, Esq., C.I.E. . . . .	..	..	7, Nicholas Lane, Lombard Street, London, E.C.
Mrs. Bingley . . . . .	..	..
C. J. Brown, Esq. . . . .	..	..	Canning College, Lucknow.
G. Gardner Brown, Esq. . . . .	..	..	Principal, Holkar College, Indore, C.I.
The Hon'ble Mr. R. Burn, C.S. . . . .	..	..	Chief Secretary to Govt., Allahabad, U.P.
Sardar Charanjit Singh, Ahluwalia . . . . .	..	..	Jullundur City.
Sir P. C. Chatterji, M.A., D.L., R.B., LL.D., C.I.E., Kt.			Lahore.
Lala Chuni Lal, B.A., LL.B. . . . .	..	..	Official Receiver, Amritsar.
W. Coldstream, Esq., C.S., Retired . . . . .	..	..	69, West Cromwell Road, London, S.W.
The Rev. A. G. G. Cowie . . . . .	..	..	S. P. G., Rawalpindi.
G. E. S. Cubitt, Esq., I.F.S. . . . .	..	..	Insp.-Gen. of Forests, Siam, Bangkok.
M. M. L. Currie, Esq., B.A., C.S. . . . .	..	..	c/o Panjab Civil Secretariat, Lahore.
Sardar Daljit Singh, C.S.I. . . . .	..	..	India Office, Whitehall, London, S.W.

W. L. Dallas, Esq. . . . .	..	..	Civil and Military Gazette, Lahore.
G. R. Dampier, Esq., C.S. . . . .	..	..	Collector, Muttra (U.P.)
D. N. P. Datta, Esq., M.D., C.M. . . . .	..	..	Civil Surgeon, Gurgaon.
S. K. Datta, Esq., B.A., M.B., Ch.B. . . . .	..	..
Pandit Daya Ram Sahni, M.A. . . . .	..	..	Superintendent of Archaeology, Lahore.
Lala Durga Das, B.A., LL.B. . . . .	..	..	Pleader, Lahore.
G. F. de Montmorency, Esq., C.I.E., C.S. . . . .	..	..	Personal Assistant to Chief Commissioner, Delhi.
T. P. Ellis, Esq., C.S. . . . .	..	..	Davis Rd., Lahore.
H. W. Emerson, Esq., C.S. . . . .	..	..	Superintendent, Mandi State, Mandi.
The Rev. J. C. R. Ewing, D.D., C.I.E. . . . .	..	..
The Hon'ble Mr. P. J. Fagan, C.S. . . . .	..	..	Financial Commissioner, Panjab, Lahore.
A. G. C. Fane, Esq., I.A.R.O. . . . .	..	..	Malakand Field Force.
Raja Fateh Singh of Shaikhupura . . . . .	..	..	Lahore.
Qazi Fazl-i-Haqq . . . . .	..	..	Professor of Persian, Government College, Lahore.
The Revd. Father Felix, O.C. . . . .	..	..	Bettiah, Dist. Champaran.
Chas. W. Foster, Esq. . . . .	..	..	Indian Police, c/o Panjab Banking Co., Ltd., Lahore.
M. Ganga Ram Wadhwa, M.A. . . . .	..	..	Extra Judicial Assistant Commissioner, Hoshiarpur.
C. C. Garbett, Esq., C.S.: . . . . .	..	..	Assistant Censor, Karachi.
H. L. O. Garrett, Esq., M.A. . . . .	..	..	Professor, Government College, Lahore.
B. T. Gibson, Esq., C.S. . . . .	..	..	Deputy Commissioner, Shahpur.
J. G. Gilbertson, Esq., M.A. . . . .	..	..	Head Master, Government High School, Delhi.
Major C. A. Gill, I.M.S. . . . .	..	..	Indian Expeditionary Force, Persian Gulf.
Mr. Ghulam Yazdani, M.A. . . . .	..	..	Superintendent of Archaeology, H.H. the Nizam's Dominions, Hyderabad, Deccan.
J. C. Godley, Esq., M.A., C.S.I. . . . .	..	..
Dr. Gokal Chand Narang . . . . .	..	..	Bar-at-Law, Lahore.
Rev. H. D. Griswold, M.A., Ph.D. . . . .	..	..	Forman Christian College, Lahore.
Lala Gulbahar Singh, M.A., LL.B. . . . .	..	..	Professor, Government College, Lahore.
Lala Gulshan Rai, B.A., LL.B. . . . .	..	..	Pleader, Chief Court of the Panjab, Lahore.
R. P. Hadow, Esq. . . . .	..	..	Under-Secretary to Government, P.W.D. (Irriga- tion), Lahore
Lala Hans Raj, B.A. . . . .	..	..	D.A.-V. College, Lahore.
H. Hargreaves, Esq. . . . .	..	..	I.A.R.O.
Pandit Hari Kishen Kaul, M.A., R.B., C.I.E. . . . .	..	..	On Special Duty, Lahore.
Raja Sir Harnam Singh, Ahluwalia, K.C.I.E. . . . .	..	..	Jullundur City.
Miss Hart . . . . .	..	..	Victoria Girls' School, Lahore.
The Hon'ble Mr. P. Hawkins . . . . .	..	..	P.W.D., Govt. of India, U.S. Club, Simla.
Lionel Heath, Esq. . . . .	..	..	The Pipals, Lower Mall, Lahore.
The Hon'ble Colonel H. Hendley, I.M.S. . . . .	..	..	Inspector-General of Civil Hospitals, Panjab, Lahore.
Pandit Hiranada Shastri, M.A. . . . .	..	..	Curator, Government Museum, Lucknow.
G. C. L. Howell, Esq., C.S. . . . .	..	..	c o Panjab Civil Secretariat, Lahore.
Dr. J. Hutchison . . . . .	..	..	Chamba.
Nawab Ibrahim Ali Khan of Kunjpura . . . . .	..	..	Kunjpura, Karnal District.
Miss E. Ingoldby, B.A. . . . .	..	..	Cathedral Girls' High School, Lahore.
Miles Irving, Esq., B.A., C.S. . . . .	..	..	I.A.R.O.
Bhagat Ishwar Das, M.A. . . . .	..	..	Advocate, Lahore.
Lala Ishwar Das, M.A. . . . .	..	..	Law College, Lahore.
Sardar Jasjit Singh . . . . .	..	..	Kapurthala.
H. H. Jenkyns, Esq., C.S. . . . .	..	..	c/o Panjab Civil Secretariat, Lahore.
Sardar Jogendra Singh . . . . .	..	..	Taluqdar, Aira Estate, Kheri, Oudh.

E. A. A. Joseph, Esq., B.A., C.S.	..	..	Colonization Officer, Montgomery.
Misra Jwala Sahai, B.A.	..	..	Extra Judicial Asst. Commr., Multan.
Thakur Kahn Singh	..	..	Balauria, Police Department, Jammu.
Lala Kanwar Sain Mathur, M.A., Bar.-at-law,	..	..	Principal, Law College, Lahore.
G. R. Kaye, Esq.	..	..	Curator, Bureau of Education, Simla.
Sir Alfred Kensington	..	..	c/o Grindlay & Co., London.
Diwan Kishen Kishore	..	..	Honorary Magistrate, Lahore.
A. J. W. Kitchin, Esq., C.S.	..	..	Deputy Commissioner, Lyallpur.
H. T. Knowlton, Esq., I.E.S.	..	..	Principal, Central Training College, Lahore.
Dr. Lankester	..	..
F. A. Leslie Jones, Esq., M.A.	..	..	Principal, Aitchison Chiefs' College, Lahore.
The Revd. H. M. Lewis	..	..	Bishop Cotton School, Simla.
R. M. McGregor, Esq.	..	..	P.W.D. (Irrigation), Lyallpur.
The Hon'ble Sir E. D. MacLagan, K.C.I.E., C.S.I.			Secretary, Education Dept., Govt. of India, Delhi.
Colonel R. S. MacLagan, R.E., C.B., C.S.I.	..	..	Secretary, P.W.D., Baluchistan, Quetta.
Kanwar Maharaj Singh, M.A., C.I.E.	..	..	Asst. Secretary to the Government of India, Department of Education, Simla.
M. Mahbub Alam	..	..	Editor, "Paisa Akhbar," Lahore.
Khwaja Mahmud Husain, B.A.	..	..	Munsif, Sonapat.
T. L. Manghirmalani, Esq., M.A.	..	..	Professor of History, Prince of Wales' College, Jammu.
Lala Man Mohan, M.A.	..	..	Asst. Professor of English and Economics, Government College, Lahore.
Lala Manohar Lal, M.A.	..	..	Barrister-at-Law, Lahore.
E. Marsden, Esq., I.E.S. (Retired)	..	..	c/o Macmillan & Co., Ltd., Bombay.
The Hon'ble Mr. H. J. Maynard, M.A., C.S.I.	..	..	Financial Commissioner, Panjab, Lahore.
R. McIntosh, Esq., M.A.	..	..	Indian Forest Service, Simla.
Captain J. C. More, I.A.	..	..	General Headquarters, c/o Presidency Postmaster, Bombay.
Hazik-ul-Mulk Hakim Muhammad Ajmal Khan	..	..	Dellhi.
M. Muhammad Din, B.A.	..	..	Judge, Chief Court, Bahawalpur.
The Hon'ble Mian Muhammad Shafi, K.B., C.I.E.	..	..	Barrister-at-Law, Lahore.
C. R. Murray, Esq.	..	..	Alliance Bank of Simla, Ltd., Rawalpindi.
Miss E. Must	..	..	Inspectress of Schools, Rawalpindi.
Mr. Nand Lal, B.A., LL.B.	..	..	Barrister-at-Law, Lahore.
Lala Narayan Das, Rai Bahadur	..	..	Judicial Minister, Alwar.
Khan Bahadur Mir Nasir Ali Khan	..	..	Honorary Magistrate, Delhi.
F. Noyce, Esq., I.C.S.	..	..	Garsdale, 16, Sefton Park Road, Liverpool.
Maulvi Nur Bakhsh, M.A.	..	..	Central Model High School, Lahore.
A. A. L. Parsons, Esq., C.S.	..	..	Deputy Commissioner, Jhang.
H. J. Philby, Esq., C.S.	..	..	Foreign Department, Govt. of India, Delhi.
The Hon'ble Mr. A. W. Pim, C.S.	..	..	Financial Secretary to Government, United Provinces, Allahabad.
Miss Platt, M.B.	..	..	Lady Hardinge Medical College for Women, Delhi.
Colonel S. H. Powell, R.E.	..	..
The Hon'ble Mr. F. I. Pratt, C.S.	..	..	Commissioner, Ahmadabad.
Pandit-Radha Krishna, Rai Bahadur	..	..	Museum, Muttra (U.P.)
Thakur Rajendra Singh	..	..	Tikra Estate, Biswan, District Sitapur.
Professor Raghubar Dayal	..	..	Oriental College, Lahore.
Miss E. S. Rammell	..	..	Cathedral Girls' High School, Lahore.

Lala Ram Prasad Khosla, M.A. ..	..	Government College, Cuttack.
E. A. Richardson, Esq., I.E.S. ..	..	Allahabad.
The Hon'ble Mr. J. A. Richey, M.A. ..	..	Director of Public Instruction, Panjab, Lahore.
Miss A. E. Rooke ..	..	Flashman's Hotel, Rawalpindi.
S. K. Rudra, Esq., M.A. ..	..	Principal, St. Stephen's College, Delhi.
The Hon'ble Mr. Sachidananda Sinha ..	..	Bankipur, Bihar.
C. V. Salusbury, Esq., C.S. ..	..	Montgomery.
Major G. B. Sanford, I.A. ..	..	Simla.
Bawa Sewa Ram Singh ..	..	Pleader, Chief Court of the Panjab, Lahore.
The Hon. Mr. Justice Shadi Lal, M.A., R.B., B.C.L. ..	..	Judge, Chief Court of the Panjab, Lahore.
The Hon'ble Mr. Justice Shah Din, B.A., K.B. ..	..	Judge, Chief Court of the Panjab, Lahore.
The Hon'ble Pandit Sheo Narain, R.B. ..	..	Advocate, Lahore.
Lala Shibbu Mal, M.A., E.A.C. ..	..	Sub-Judge, Lahore.
Lala Shiv Dayal, M.A. ..	..	Government College, Lahore.
Dr. Shuja-ud-Din, M.A., LL.D. ..	..	Barrister-at-Law, Lahore.
H. H. L. Shuttleworth, Esq., C.S. ..	..	Sub-Divisional Officer, Pindigheb (Attock).
C. A. Silberrad, Esq., C.S. ..	..	Gorakhpur.
Lala Sita Ram Kohli, M.A. ..	..	Alexandra Research Student, Persian Office, Panjab Civil Secretariat, Lahore.
F. W. Skemp, Esq., M.A., C.S. ..	..	Rawalpindi.
H. A. Smith, Esq., M.A., C.S. ..	..	Deputy Commissioner, Dera Ghazi Khan.
Lieut.-Colonel MacIver Smith, I.M.S. ..	..	Campbellpur.
S. B. Smith, Esq., M.A. ..	..	Canning College, Lucknow.
Dr. D. B. Spooner, B.A., Ph.D. ..	..	Archæological Survey, Bankipur, Bihar.
A. M. Stow, Esq., B.A., C.S. ..	..	Jammu.
Miss L. M. Stratford, B.A. ..	..	Chief Inspectress of Schools, Lahore.
R. S. Chaudhri Sultan Ahmad, B.A., E.A.C. ..	..	Kasur.
Sardar Sundar Singh Ramgarhia, ..	..	Rais, Amritsar.
Princess Bamba Sutherland ..	..	Lahore.
Pandit Tara Chand Vazir, M.A. ..	..	Habba Kadal, Srinagar, Kashmir.
J. N. Taylor, Esq. ..	..	c/o P.W.D. Secretariat, Lahore.
Bakshi Tek Chand, M.A., LL.B. ..	..	Pleader, Lahore.
Diwan Tek Chand, B.A., C.S. ..	..	Postal Censor, Karachi.
Sir Richard Temple ..	..	The Nash, Worcester, England.
The Hon'ble Mr. J. P. Thompson, M.A., C.S. ..	..	Chief Secretary to Panjab Govt., Lahore.
Pandit Todar Mall Bhandari ..	..	Barrister-at-Law, Lahore.
E. Tydeman, Esq., B.A. ..	..	Roselands, Lahore.
The Hon. Malik Sir Umar Hayat Khan, Tiwana, K.C.I.E. ..	..	Member, Imperial Legislative Council, Simla.
C. F. Osborne, Esq., B.A., C.S. ..	..	c/o Panjab Civil Secretariat, Lahore.
Lala Vidya Dhar Suri, M.A. ..	..	c/o the Hon'ble R. B. Lala Ram Saran Das, Lahore.
Sardar Vikram Singh ..	..	Honorary Magistrate, Amritsar.
T. R. J. Ward, Esq., M.V.O., C.I.E. ..	..	Chief Engineer, P.W.D. (Irrigation Branch), Panjab, Lahore.
L. T. Walkins, Esq., I.E.S. ..	..	Islamia Collegiate School, Peshawar.
Major C. Watson, R.E. ..	..	Traffic Manager, U.M. Railway, Kävirono, Uganda.
H. D. Watson, Esq., B.A., C.S. ..	..	Deputy Commissioner, Jullundur.
Miss M. P. Western ..	..	Queen Mary's College, Lahore.
The Rev. E. M. Wherry, D.D. ..	..	Ludhiana.
R. B. Whitehead, Esq., B.A., C.S. ..	..	Ambala.

H. S. Williamson, Esq., M.A., C.S.	..	..	c/o Panjab Civil Secretariat, Lahore.
Miss A. M. Wilson	..	..	Auckland House, Simla.
R. E. L. Wingate, Esq., C.S.	..	..	Government House, Lahore.
G. C. Wolfe, Esq.	..	..	"Kelso," Dalhousie.
A. C. Woolner, Esq., M.A.	..	..	Registrar, University of the Panjab, Lahore.
H. Nelson Wright, Esq., C.S.	..	..	c/o Civil Secretariat, U.P., Allahabad.
H. G. Wyatt, Esq., I.E.S.	..	..	Inspector of Schools, Rawalpindi.
G. M. Young, Esq., C.S.	..	..	Simla.
Maulvi Zafar Hassan, B.A.	..	..	Asst. Supdt., Archaeological Survey, Museum, Fort Delhi.
M. A. Zahedie, Esq.	..	..	Professor of History and English, Sadiq-Egerton College, Bahawalpur.
Malik Zaman Mahdi Khan, BA., E.A.C.	..	..	Chattar, Mianwali.
The Hon'ble Khan Zulfiqar Ali Khan, C.S.I.	..	..	Zurafshan, Ferozepore Road, Lahore.

OFFICERS AND MEMBERS OF COUNCIL.

President.

Sir Edward Maclagan, K.C.I.E., C.S.I.

Vice-Presidents.

The Hon. Mr. J. P. Thompson, C.S.

The Hon. Mr. Justice Shah Din, Khan Bahadur.

Honorary Secretary.

A. C. Woolner, Esq., M.A.

Honorary Treasurer.

H. L. O. Garrett, Esq., M.A.

Auditors.

Lala Chuni Lal, B.A., LL.B.

E. Tydeman, Esq., B.A.

Members of Council.

The Hon'ble Pandit Sheo Narain, Rai Bahadur.

The Hon. Mr. H. J. Maynard, C.S.

R. B. Whitehead, Esq., C.S.

Miles Irving, Esq., C.S.

Rai Bahadur Pandit Hari Kishan Kaul, C.I.E.

The Hon. Khan Zulfiqar Ali Khan, C.S.I.

E. Tydeman, Esq., B.A.

H. Hargreaves, Esq.

Sardar Jogendra Singh.

Dr. H. Griswold.

JOURNAL

of the

PANJAB HISTORICAL SOCIETY

Vol. VII, No. 1, pp. 1-89.

	PAGES
History of Mandi State. <i>J. Hutchison and J. Ph. Vogel</i>	1
Three Mughal Parwāns. <i>Maulvi Zafar Hasan, B.A.</i>	32
The Family of Lady Juliana Dias da Costa. <i>The Rev. H. Hosten, S.J.</i> ..	39
The Annual Relation of Father Fernão Guerreiro, S.J., for 1607-1608. <i>The Rev. H. Hosten, S.J.</i>	50
Land Revenue Administration under Maharajah Ranjit Singh. <i>L. Sita Ram Kohli, M.A.</i>	74

Calcutta :

PRINTED AT THE BAPTIST MISSION PRESS AND PUBLISHED BY
THE PANJAB HISTORICAL SOCIETY, LAHORE.

1918.

NOTICE.

Correspondence relating to membership, meetings, papers and publications should be addressed to—

A. C. WOOLNER, ESQ., M.A.,

Hon. Sec., Panjab Historical Society, University, Lahore.

Subscriptions and letters containing enquiries concerning subscriptions should be sent to—

L. T. WATKINS, ESQ., M.A.,

Hon. Treasurer, Panjab Historical Society,

Government College, Lahore.

History of Mandi State.

J. HUTCHISON and J. Ph. VOGEL.

Mandi State at the present time is bounded on the north by Kulu and Kangra, on the east by Kulu, on the south by Suket, and on the west by Kangra. Like most of the other Hill States it takes its name from its capital, which is situated on the left bank of the Biās. *Maṇḍī* is a Hindi word, meaning "market," and it may possibly be connected with the Sanskrit word *maṇḍapikā*, meaning "an open hall or shed," and may be derived from the Sanskrit root *maṇḍ*, meaning "to adorn or distribute." If a conjecture as to the origin of the name may be offered, it probably took its rise from the fact that in ancient times, as at the present day, the place was a centre of trade on the main route from Yārkaṇḍ and Ladākḥ to Hoshyārpur and the plains. The earliest mention of the town is in the inscription at the Triloknāth temple in Old Mandi, which is dated in the year 2264 of the Kaliyuga era, and the Śaka year 1442, corresponding to A.D. 1520.

Among the Tibetans, Mandi is known by the name of Zahor, and it has an interesting association with the great Buddhist teacher and missionary Padma Sambhava (c A.D. 750-800), for it was from Zahor or Mandi that he went at the request of the Tibetan King, Srong lde btzan, to preach the doctrines of Buddhism in Tibet. Pandit Hirananda Shastri, to whom we are indebted for this information, states that in his lamaist representations Padma Sambhava appears in the ancient Mandi garb, and the special head-dress worn by him is still called *Zahorma*. Many Tibetans are said to come on pilgrimage from Tibet every year in winter to the holy lake of Rawālsar in Mandi, which they call *Padmacan*, and the spirit of the saint is believed to reside on the floating islands in the lake and is worshipped by them. They approach the lake from some distance on hands and knees. The Hindus look upon Rawālsar as the abode of Lomasa Rishi whom they probably identify with Padma Sambhava. We are also told that many religious books were taken into Tibet in early times from Zahor; and during the reign of Langdarma (c A.D. 900)¹, the Tibetan King who persecuted the Buddhists, many books are said to have been brought to Zahor for safety, and are believed by the Tibetans to be still lying hidden somewhere in Mandi. These facts and traditions all go to prove the identity of Zahor with Mandi, or at any rate with the tract around Rawālsar.

As in the case of many of the other Hill States, Sir Alexander Cunningham was the first to institute inquiries into the history of the Mandi royal family and the results of his researches are to be found in the Reports of the Archæological Survey.² Unfortunately very little material of a historical character, in addition to the *Vansā-*

¹ Vide *A History of Western Tibet*, p. 59.

² Cf. Cunningham, A.S.R., Vol. XIV, p. 123.

vali, or genealogical roll of the Rājās, is available, and indeed one may say that no reliable history of Mandi, in the modern sense of the term, exists anterior to the period of Sikh rule. For this, blame may justly be laid at the door of the ancient Mandi rulers, in that they left no reliable historical records behind them; but in this respect they were in no way more blameworthy than most of the other rulers of the Hill States. Under such adverse circumstances the only sources of information to draw upon, in addition to the *Vansāvali*, consist of monuments, coins, inscriptions and such other scattered materials as are available. A history of Mandi compiled chiefly from these sources, and referring to the period from A.D. 1200 to 1870, is to be found in Sir Lepel Griffin's "The Rājās of the Punjab," and an abridged history finds a place in Col. Massy's "Chiefs and Families of Note in the Punjab." These have been utilized in preparing this history. A vernacular history in Tānkari also exists, dealing with the period from the reign of Rājā Ajbar Sen, A.D. 1500, to the present time, which contains much information of an interesting character. It was compiled in A.D. 1888, by Brikam Kayath from materials in the possession of an old Mandi family named Bisht. An Urdu work, the *Majma Tawārīkh riyāsat-hāi Kohistān-i-Panjab*, by Sirdar Hardayāl Singh, also contains a history of Mandi.¹

The early history of Mandi is similar to that of most of the other Panjab Hill States. In practically all of them we find traditions of a more or less authentic character, pointing to the rule in ancient times of petty chiefs called Rānās and Thākurs; the Rānās being Kshatriyas or Rājputs and the Thākurs of some lower caste. In Mandi, Suket and Kulu the latter were probably Kunets, or of some other allied castes of semi-aboriginal origin. The title of 'Rānā' is an abbreviation of Sanskrit *Rājānaka*, meaning "almost a King" and was widely used in the hills in ancient times. Frequent mention of it occurs in the *Rājātaranginī* or History of Kashmir, written and compiled from older documents in the early part of the 12th century, by Kalhaṇa, a Kashmiri Pandit. At that period in Kashmir the title had ceased to indicate an independent ruler, and was used only as a personal distinction, conferred by the Rājā of the time. The same is true of the title of 'Thākur,' meaning "lord," which was synonymous with Rānā in its political signification.²

In Mandi and other parts of the hills outside Kashmir, these titles were used in their original meaning to indicate an independent or semi-independent ruler; though the territory owned by each of them was generally of small extent. Traditions of these ancient rulers date from very early times and there can be little doubt that they were in power long anterior to the foundation of most of the Rājput States of a later period. When this political organization came into existence we have no authentic information to tell us, but its primitive character points to its having been the earliest form of government in force in the hills. The Rānās and Thākurs were numerous and powerful in Mandi, Suket and Kulu, and seem to have retained their independence to a much later period than in many other parts of the hills. Their

¹ We are also indebted to Mr. Sri Gopal, Vakil of Mandi State, for much help in preparing this paper. In addition to providing a good deal of new material he wrote the modern history of the State.

² Vide *Journal, Panjab Historical Society*, Vol. III, No. 1, p. 46.

subjection by the rulers of these and other States involved almost continuous warfare for many centuries, and even after yielding a nominal submission, they were ever on the alert for any opportunity that afforded a hope of regaining independence. The history of Mandi State affords abundant evidence of the truth of this statement. In many of the States they combined against the new ruler, who was in most cases an intruder in the hills, and tried to drive him out; as a rule, however, their mutual jealousies and strife made concerted action impossible, and they were in the end reduced to the position of subjects. Many of the descendants of these families are now common farmers with nothing but the title, which is now a caste name, to prove their former importance.¹

The Chiefs of Suket and Mandi are descended from a common ancestor. They belong to the Atri *gotra* in the Chandarbansi line of Rājputs and consequently claim descent from the Pāṇḍava family of the Mahābhārata. The ancestors of the line are believed to have ruled for 1,700 years in Indraprastha (Delhi), until one Khemrāj—the last ruler of the early dynasty—was driven out by his Wazīr, Bisarp, who then usurped the throne. Khemrāj having lost the kingdom of Indraprastha fled away eastward and settled in Bengal, where thirteen of his successors are said to have ruled for 350 years. Their capital was at Lakshmanpuri on the banks of the Ganges. The most distinguished ruler of this dynasty was Lakshman Sen, who is said to have extended his conquests to Kanauj, Nepal and Orissa, and to have founded Gaur in Mālda, naming it Lakhnauti after himself. One of his successors, named Balāla Sen, chose Naddia (near the junction of the Bhagirathi and Jalangi rivers) as his capital.

According to Griffin's history of the State the dynasty continued to rule in Naddia until expelled in A.D. 1198-99 by Bakhtiyār Khilji, one of the generals of Kutb-ud-dīn, the first Slave King of Delhi. Sur Sen the last ruler of the dynasty is said to have died in exile at Prayāg or Allahabad, and his son, Rūp Sen, then retired to Rupar near Ambāla. There too the family was overtaken by the Muhammadans and Rūp Sen was killed in A.D. 1210. His three sons fled to the hills for refuge, and after some time established themselves in separate principalities. Bir or Vira Sen became ruler of Suket, Giri Sen of Keonthal,² and Hamir Sen of Kashtwār. It is interesting to note that the four branches of the family, including Mandi, still preserve the tradition of a common origin from the ruling family of Gaur, Bengal.

There is, however, reason to believe that Suket was founded at a much earlier period than Griffin allows. Sir A. Cunningham placed the foundation of the State in the latter part of the 8th century, and his conclusions are probably nearer the truth. He says: ³“According to the accepted genealogy of the Mandi and Suket families, the real founder appears to have been Vira Sena, who was the first that bore their common title of Sena. From his time down to the separation of the families, under the two brothers—Sahu Sena and Bahu Sena—there were ten generations. Samudra Sena, the author of the Nirmand record, was the sixth in descent from Bahu

¹ Vide *Journal, Panjab Historical Society*, Vol. III, No. 1, p. 45 *et seq.*

² Kashtwār State was founded at a later date than Suket, and the founder cannot have been a brother of Bir Sen, though probably from the same family. Vide *J.P.H.S.*, Vol. IV, No. 1, p. 34.

³ Vide Cunningham, *A.S.R.*, Vol. XIV, p. 123.

Sena. From Samudra Sena down to Ajbar Sena, whose date is fixed by a copper-plate inscription in Mandi in S. 1584=A.D. 1527, there were eleven reigns; and as Ajbar Sena is said to have died in A.D. 1534 his accession may be placed about A.D. 1500. The accession of Samudra Sena must therefore be fixed somewhere about A.D. 1500—360 = A.D. 1140; allowing 30 years for a reign. Accepting the latter half of the 12th century as the date of Samudra Sena, the separation of the Mandi branch of the family, under Bahu Sena, may have taken place about A.D. 1000, and the original foundation of the family under Vira Sena about the middle of the 8th century. The dates of all the later Rājās are recorded on their Sati monuments.”

An average of thirty years to a reign seems a little too high. In most of the other States it ranges from twenty to twenty-five years. On the other hand we have to bear in mind that some names may have dropped out of the *Vansāvali* in the process of copying, especially in the early centuries. This was a thing of common occurrence, as we know from the records of other States. We therefore feel inclined to agree with Cunningham that the Suket State was founded not much later than A.D. 765. An incident in the Chamba annals lends fairly strong corroboration to this conclusion. There it is related that towards the end of the 8th century Brahmāpura, the original capital, was invaded by a race of foreigners, called Kīra—probably Tibetans, and the Rājā was killed in battle. His *Rāni* who was pregnant fled towards the outer hills, and on the way a son was born, who was named Mushan Varma. Ultimately the Rāni is said to have found a refuge with the Rājā of Suket, who made suitable provision for the young prince, and on his reaching manhood he was married to the Rājā's daughter. On that occasion a *jāgīr* was granted as dowry in the *pargana* of Pāngnā, and from the Suket records we learn that Pāngnā was the original capital of the State.² In any case we may safely conclude that Suket was founded not much later than A.D. 800.

Bīr Sen, c A.D. 765.—As already stated, Bīr Sen was the founder of the Suket royal family. Having settled to the west of the Satluj and obtained a firm footing, he began the work of territorial extension. The capital of the new principality was then at Pāngnā, where the ancient palace still exists in a good state of preservation. As we have seen, the whole of the country was then under the sway of the small petty chiefs, bearing the titles of Rānā or Thākur, whose unhappy divisions rendered them an easy prey to the invaders. Most of them were subdued and made tributary, or expelled and their territory annexed. In this way the work of extending the State frontiers was pushed on by Vira Sen's successors, and within a century the whole tract between the Satluj and the Biās was brought under the sway of Suket. It thus bordered with the Satluj to the south, Kulu to the east and north-east, Kangra to the west and south-west, and the Biās to the north; and included most of the territory now embraced in the two States of Mandi and Suket.

¹ Chamba Gazetteer, p. 79. It is probable that there was an early Sena dynasty in Bengal, whose ancestor, Vira Sena, reigned in the seventh century, and from whom the later dynasty of Sena Rajas, as also the Suket family, were descended. Cf. Arch. Survey Report, Vol. XV, p. 156.

² Vide Suket Gazetteer, p. 5. In the Chamba records the name is Panga, evidently a clerical error.

We have now to relate the circumstances which resulted in the partial break up of this powerful State and the founding of an independent principality in Mandi. In the reign of Sahu Sen,¹ his younger brother, Bahu Sen,¹ quarrelled with the Rājā and left the State to reside at Manglaor, within the territory of Kulu. This event Cunningham fixes at or about A.D. 1000. Bahu Sen is said to have acquired territory around Manglaor from Kulu, and was recognized as a Rānā or local chief. He was followed by a line of chiefs whose names only have been preserved. They are as follows: Nimat Sen, Naravāhana Sen, Kanavāhana Sen, Suvāhana Sen, Bir Sen, Samudra Sen, c A.D. 1176, Kenshan Sen, c A.D. 1194, Mangala Sen, c A.D. 1222, Jaya Sen, c A.D. 1250, Karenchan Sen, c A.D. 1278.

The copper-plate inscription of the great temple of Nirmand in Kulū contains, among others, the name of a Rājā Samudra Sena, who was the founder; and whom Sir A. Cunningham identified with the Samudra Sena of the Mandi *Vansāvali*.

² He says: "The copper-plate inscription of the great temple at Nirmand gives the genealogy of four Rājās, all of whom take the title of Sena, which was peculiar to the families of Suket and Mandi. The names in the plate also agree very closely with some of the consecutive names in the genealogical list of the Mandi Rājās. I now place the two series side by side for comparison."

Nirmand Plate.

1. Varūna Sena.
2. Sanjāya Sena.
3. Rāvi Sena.
4. Samudra Sena.

Vansāvali.

1. Naravāhana Sena.
Kanavāhana Sena.
2. Suvāhana Sena.
3. Vira Sena.
4. Samudra Sena.

"As Naravāhana is a title of the god Varūna, these two names may be accepted as intended for the same person. In the second name there is a difference, but the third name of the *Vansāvali*, viz. Vira Sena, I take to be the same as Rāvi, by the mere transposition of the syllables. The fourth name is the same in both.... The date (of the inscription) may be S. 1227=A.D. 1170, which would agree very well with the date derivable from the genealogical roll. ³ From Samudra's accession to the death of Balbir Sena in 1851 there are 28 names, which if taken as generations at 25 years each, would give a period of 700 years or A.D. 1151 to 1176 for Samudra's reign."

⁴ More recently, however, the inscription has been edited and discussed by Dr. J. F. Fleet, and he remarks that Cunningham is absolutely wrong about the date of the plate. It is dated in the year 6, and Dr. Fleet is of opinion that this refers to the reign of Samudra Sena. It is also quite possible that it refers to the Shāstra era. In any case, on palæographical grounds he arrives at the conclusion that it must belong to the 7th century of the Christian era. It is evident therefore that the Samudra Sena of the copper plate cannot be identified with the Samudra Sena of the *Vansāvali*. He says: "This identification cannot be accepted for a moment. It is

¹ Sena—an army. The suffix of the Suket and Mandi Rājās has always been 'Sena.'

² Arch. Survey Report, Vol. XIV, p. 123.

³ Cf. Cunningham, A.S.R., Vol. XIV, p. 123.

⁴ Cf. Corp. Inscript. Ind., Vol. III, pp. 286-291.

wholly impossible to accept the names of Vira Sena, Suvāhana Sena, Kanavāhana Sena and Naravāhana Sena, which precede him (Samudra Sena) in the genealogy, as being identical with or even intended to represent the Rāvishana, Sainjāya Sena, and Varuna Sena of the inscription." The question of the origin of the Nirmand inscription therefore remains unsolved.

Kanchan or Karanchan Sen, c A.D. 1278.—He was fourth in descent from Samudra Sen and his Rānī was a daughter of the Rānā of Seokot on the Biās, about ten miles above Mandi.

Kanchan Sen seems to have been seized with the ambition to enlarge his borders at the expense of his neighbours and invaded and conquered the adjoining tract of Pan-jain, and annexed Thujri and Kao *kothis*. He also subdued the Rānās of Bans, Neru and Bagi-Thach and forced them to pay tribute. As these tracts were all within the limits of Kulu State, the vanquished Rānās appealed to that chief for help, and they all flocked to his standard when his army advanced to their relief. In the struggle which ensued Kanchan Sen was slain, the fort of Manglaor burnt down, and his wife was forced to flee for her life. She was pregnant, and being alone in her flight she lost her way in the dense forest. Night coming on, she fell down exhausted at the foot of a *bān* or oak tree, and there her son was born. In the morning some followers of the Rānā of Seokot found her and carried her and the child to her father's home.

From the circumstances of his birth her son received the name of Bān or Bāno, and afterwards that of Bān Sen. The Rānā of Seokot had no male heir and he adopted his daughter's son as his successor, and on his death Bān Sen became the chief of Seokot.

On growing up to manhood Bān Sen began to enlarge his heritage and built for himself a residence at Bhiuli on the right bank of the Biās, two miles above the present town of Mandi. He attacked the Rānās of Kelti and Sagur and built the temple of Parāsar Deo. Bān Sen died about A.D. 1304.

Kaliān Sen, A.D. 1304.—Bān Sen was succeeded by his son Kaliān Sen, who bought a piece of land on the right bank of the Biās, called Batahuli, across the river from Mandi. There he built a palace, the ruins of which may still be seen, and till the founding of the present capital, Batahuli was the capital of the State and is still called Old Mandi. The purchase was probably made from one of the local Rānās who were subject to the Rājā of Suket, and it may have marked the first encroachment on the territory of that State.

From this beginning the work of territorial extension rapidly progressed. The Rānā of Kelti was subdued and the country around Chahti and Sanor was annexed; the Rānā of Sagur was killed and his territory also seized. Kaliān Sen died in A.D. 1332 and was succeeded by his son Hira Sen.

Hira Sen, c A.D. 1332.—In his reign the Kanhwāl district was added to the State, but the Rājā was killed in the struggle by the Rānā of Gandharb, in A.D. 1360, and was succeeded by his brother Dharitri Sen. He in his turn was followed by Narindar Sen in c A.D. 1416, by Harjai Sen in c A.D. 1444, and Dilawar Sen in c A.D. 1472.

During these reigns the work of conquest went on and the diminutive States owned by the Rānās and Thākurs were successively brought under one head, and became more or less subject to the central authority at Old Mandi. The work of consolidation was completed under Ajbar Sen, A.D. 1500, an able and wise ruler, who also founded the present town of Mandi and made it the capital.

¹ *Ajbar Sen*, A.D. 1500.—Though many of the petty chiefs had been made tributary, they were difficult to hold under control, and were constantly giving trouble. The same state of things existed in Kulu, where the Rājās Sidh Singh and Bahādur Singh were engaged about the same time in bringing the Rānās and Thākurs into submission, by every means in their power. On the left bank of the Biās, opposite Batahuli, was Sadhiāna, where the town of Mandi now stands, which was the territory of Rānā Gokal. This Rānā had intrigued against the rising power of the Rājā and at the instigation of one Ghanda Bisht he was killed, and his lands annexed. For this service a grant of land in *muāfi* or freehold was conferred on Ghanda. The Rānās of Maratu, Kanhwāl and Gandharb had also in a similar manner been unwilling to submit. They united their forces, of which more than half were archers, and advanced into the Balh plain to the south of Mandi, where they were defeated by Ajbar Sen, and, in the pursuit, the Rānā of Gandharb was killed. Chatar Sen, the Rājā's eldest son, then marched against the Rānā of Maratu, but was defeated, and wounded in the leg, and three of the principal men of Mandi were slain. These men were brothers, and members of a Khatri family, and in recognition of their services the Rājā made a grant of land from the conquered territory to a fourth brother, named Maksudan, under a title-deed engraved on a copper plate, dated S. 1584=A.D. 1527, which is still in the possession of the family. The grant was made by Ajbar Sen but is signed by his son Chatar Sen. The family still reside in Mandi though now of no importance.

In A.D. 1527 Ajbar Sen, after acquiring the level tract on the left bank of the Biās, decided on changing the capital, and the present town of Mandi was founded by him. He also built the old palace with four towers, called Chauki, and now almost in ruins. The temple of Bhutnāth in the middle of the town was also erected by him, and that of Triloknāth by his queen, Suratrāna or Sultān Devi. The vernacular history states that the Rānās of Kamlah and Kālar became subject and Chatar Sen built a fort in the Kālar district, named Lakargarh. Some of the Rānās surrendered their possessions and others became tributary, paying partly in cash and partly in kind. This tribute was called *māngni*.

Chatar Sen, c A.D. 1534.—According to one authority Chatar Sen died in the lifetime of his father. Cunningham, on the other hand, records a reign of 20 years, during which nothing special seems to have occurred.

Sahib Sen, c A.D. 1554.—He was a son of the previous Rājā and was married to Prakāsh Dei, a daughter of the Rājā of Kahlur (Bilāspur), who was a wise and pious lady. It is related of her, that having no issue she made a vow to Narain Deva of Hurang, in Chuhār, that she would make golden images of the god out of her own

¹ All the dates down to the reign of Ajbar Sen are only approximate.

ornaments if she were blessed with a son. Her prayers were soon answered and a son was born to her. As an act of merit she had a boat built for the ferry on the Bias, between Batahuli and Mandi, and also had many drinking fountains constructed along the main roads.

Sahib Sen was much under the influence of his queen and at her instigation he attacked the Rānā of Drang and drove him out, thus acquiring the salt mines situated at that place. A fort at Jajru-Kupru is also associated with his name.

¹ Sir Lepel Griffin states that Sahib Sen assisted Rājā Jagat Singh of Kulu in an attack on the Rājā of Lag in Kulu, and at the partition of territory after the victory, Mandi received what is known as Sarāj Mandi, and Kulu took the portion which now goes by the name of Sarāj Kulu. It is certain, however, that if this event took place in Sahib Sen's reign, the Kulu Rājā cannot have been Jagat Singh—for he did not succeed till a much later date (c A.D. 1637). It may have been Rājā Bahādur Singh, who we know conquered part of Sarāj, or his son, Rājā Partāp Singh. As the result of a subsequent invasion of Lag the districts of Sanor and Badar were also annexed by Mandi; while Kulu obtained Pirkot, Madanpur, and twelve neighbouring villages.

Sahib Sen was a contemporary of Akbar the Great, but there is no reference to the Mughals in the annals of his time. Probably the territory was too far in the interior of the hills, to be directly influenced by Mughal rule, till a later period.

Narāyan Sen, c A.D. 1575.—He was a son of the previous Rājā and is said to have been of stunted growth as well as crippled and deformed. A story² is told of his cure by an ascetic, named Sidh Chuni Muni, who visited Mandi. At the request of the ascetic his disciples, who built a temple to him, receive one *patha* of grain from each hamlet in the State. The cess is in force to this day and is called *Pīrpatha*, a *patha* being equal to eight *kachcha* sers, or a little over three *pakka* sers.²

Further extensions of territory were made during this reign; the Rānās of Ner, Pindoh, and Chuhār were subdued, and seven *garhs* or *ilaqas* of Chuhār, and five *garhs* of Pindoh were annexed to the State. He built the fort of Narāyan-garh, and annexed a large portion of Suket, fixing the boundary at Balh and Lohāra. The whole country was still in the hands of Rānās and Thākurs, the principal of whom were at Baliāna, Bhuhār, Saklāna, Thankan, Daleshari, Kothwan, Chātha, Khanwar, Kharjanun, Rajehri, Ner and Lakrera. The Rājā is said to have died of paralysis.

Kesava or Kesab Sen, c A.D. 1595.—There is nothing special about this Rājā on record, but it is probable that in this or the previous reign Mandi came under Mughal control. Early in Akbar's reign all the Panjab Hill States were made tributary, but they were left entirely free in the management of their internal affairs. All that seems to have been required of them was an acknowledgment of the Emperor's supremacy by the annual payment of tribute, and the furnishing of a contingent for military expeditions when called upon to do so. On the accession of a Rājā a fee of investiture was paid and a *sanad* or patent of installation was then granted. The actual ceremony of installation was performed by the State Officers in accordance

¹ *The Rajas of the Punjab*, p. 576.

² In the Urdu History the story is told of Rājā Hari Sen (c A.D. 1623).

³ Kangra Settlement Report, p. 8.

with ancient custom. Akbar adopted the policy of requiring a hostage from each of the hill chiefs, to ensure their obedience and fidelity, and we are told that in the beginning of Jahāngīr's reign there were 22 young princes at the Mughal Court as hostages from the States of the Western hills. To them was first given the title of *Miān*, probably by Jahāngīr, and later it became the distinctive cognomen of the kinsmen of these royal families, as it still is.

Reference must here be made to the Sati monuments of the Mandi Rājās, of which that of Kesava or Kēsab Sen is the oldest of the later group. The custom of erecting stone pillars, like tombstones, as memorials to the dead, prevailed all over the inner hills, but in Mandi, Suket and Kulu it was regarded as a royal privilege. In ancient times it was customary among the Rānās. In most parts of the hills these pillars are only rough slabs set on end, with very primitive representations of the deceased cut on them. In Mandi, however, they are of a more elaborate character, and adorned with ornamental carvings. Most of them have an inscription in the Tānkari characters, and are dated in the Lokakāla or Era of the seven Rishis, which from remote times has been current in the hills.¹

²The Sati pillars of the Mandi Rājās and their families locally known as *barselas* stand in a group on a plot of ground on the left bank of the Suketi Nālā, a little way outside Mandi town, on the road to Suket. Some of them are six and seven feet high and all are carved with figures of the Rājās and of the women who became Sati with them. Each Rājā is represented as seated above with a row of *rānis* or queens, also seated, immediately below: still lower are standing figures of *kharwāsīs* or concubines and *rakhālīs* or slave girls. The inscription records the name of the Rājā and the date of his death, as also the number of queens, concubines and slave girls who were burnt with him. The monuments are valuable for chronological purposes as fixing with certainty the date of each Rājā's demise and the accession of his successor, from Hari Sen, A.D. 1637, down to the present time. Only three are without an inscription, viz. those of Kesava Sen, Gur Sen and Shiv Jawāla Sen. Kesava Sen probably died in 1623 and was succeeded by his son Hari Sen.

Hari Sen, c A.D. 1623.—It must have been during Hari Sen's reign that an incident occurred which brought Chamba and Mandi into close relations. Rājā Jagat Singh of Nurpur had acquired a powerful influence at the Mughal Court, and encouraged by the favour shown him, he seems to have conceived the design of making himself paramount in the hills. He made encroachments on several of the hill States, including Chamba, Basohli and Guler. Chamba was invaded and conquered in 1623 and Janārdan, the heir-apparent, then acting as regent of the State, was assassinated.

¹ It also bears other names as *Rājā Sambat-Pahāri Sambat*, *Kachcha Sambat*, *Shāstra Sambat*, *Kashmiri Sambat*, etc. This era is a cycle of 2,700 years, each century being named after one of the 27 *Nakshatras* or lunar mansions and the reckoning, therefore, is never carried beyond 100. The first year of each century corresponds with the 25th year of each Christian century. This era is used in the *Rājataranginī* or History of Kashmir. Cf. Cunningham, *The Book of Indian Eras*, pp. 6-17.

² Vide Cunningham, A.S.R. Vol. XIV, p. 123, pls. XXIX and XXX. Older *barselas* are found at the Triloknāth Temple in Old Mandi, but they contain no inscriptions. It is still the custom in Mandi to erect a *barsela* on the death of a Raja.

His son Prithvi Singh, then a boy of four years of age, was smuggled out of the palace by his nurse and conveyed to Mandi, where he remained for nearly 20 years. In 1640, Jagat Singh and his son Rāj rūp Sing rebelled against Shāhjahān, and a strong Mughal army was sent against them, affording an opportunity to Prithvi Singh to drive out the Nurpur officials and recover the State. This he did with the help of Mandi and Kulu.¹

Jagat Singh had also shown sinister designs on Basohli, Guler and Suket, and the Rājās of these States, it is said, were imprisoned by the Emperor on false charges, preferred against them by the Nurpur Chief. This may account for the strong hostility to him shown by several of the hill chiefs when he fell into disfavour. Mān Singh, the contemporary Rājā of Guler, is, in the Bādshāhnāmāh, called "the mortal enemy of Jagat Singh." It is also believed that he harboured evil designs upon Mandi, which seems to have been more or less under his control, as the tribute money due by the State is said to have been sometimes paid through him. This however may have been done while he was Faujdār of Kangra, in A.D. 1640-41.

Hari Sen is said to have been a great hawker. He died in 1637 and was succeeded by his son Surya or Suraj Sen.

Sūraj Sen, c A.D. 1637.—From Sūraj Sen's reign onwards the events of Mandi history are related in fuller detail and with greater chronological precision. Sūraj Sen was an ambitious Chief but his efforts to extend his territory were often unfortunate, and only brought disaster on the State. From the records we learn that in his reign Mughal supremacy had been fully established, and Mandi like the other hill States was tributary to the Empire.

A tradition has been handed down of an attempt by Rājā Jagat Singh of Nurpur to conquer Mandi by treachery, which is strangely in keeping with attempts of a similar character on some of the other States. It is said that he arranged a marriage for his daughter with Sūraj Sen, intending to assassinate his son-in-law during the marriage festivities at Nurpur. Sūraj Sen, however, received a hint from Jagat Singh's *rāni* of what was purposed and secretly made his escape to Mandi. Seeing that his design had been discovered, Jagat Singh made a show of sending the bride in state to Mandi in charge of his elder son Rāj Rūp; and after some delay the marriage ceremonies were completed.

Soon after coming into power Sūraj Sen sought to enlarge his boundaries towards the north, and made an attack on the Rājā of Bangāhal. This, however, brought the Rājā (probably Jagat Singh)² of Kulu into the field and Sūraj Sen was defeated by the combined forces. The forts of Karanpur, Shāhpur and Shamsheerpur were captured by Kulu, who also took from Bangāhal, as the price of his assistance, Dewal, Sansal and Ber. Soon afterwards Sūraj Sen tried to recover the lost territory by invading Kulu, but was again defeated and driven back with loss. The salt mines of Guina and Drang fell into the enemy's hands, and as a large part of the State revenue came from these mines, Sūraj Sen was compelled to sue for peace, and pay

¹ Chamba Gazetteer, pp. 88, 89, 90.

² Griffin has *Man Singh*, but this is probably incorrect as he was a contemporary of Sidh Sen of Mandi.

the expenses of the war, on which the lost territory was restored and the boundary fixed at Ber and Aiju as before.

Sūraj Sen was also unsuccessful in his struggle with Mān Singh of Guler, who twice sacked Mandi and held possession for some time of the district of Kālar in which was situated the fortress of Kamlahgarh. This fortress is said to have been founded in 1625-30, and it was strongly fortified by Sūraj Sen, and was famous for its strength all over the hills. It has six distinct forts along the serrated ridge of the Sikandar ka Dhār, on the border of Mandi and Kangra; and is a conspicuous object from a long distance all round. The cliffs are almost perpendicular on three sides. The following description of the fortress is from "The Rājās of the Punjab," by Sir Lepel Griffin¹: "The hill upon which the fortress is situated extends nearly north and south for six or eight miles, running parallel to and about ten miles from the Janetri Devi in the east and the Bakar Khad on the west. The hill is formed of conglomerate sandstone, from 150 to 200 feet in height, while the ridge is narrow and serrated, and in several places intersected with deep ravines; the eastern and western sides presenting an uninterrupted scarp of from 40 to 150 feet along the whole length of the hill except at the two approaches to the positions of Anantpur and Kamlah, which are guarded by forts difficult of access. The ground for several miles round the hill-side is intersected with tremendous ravines, which carry off the water either into the Sona or Bakar Khad, thus forming a most difficult country for the transport of artillery, and a most favourable one for defence by a determined body of men."

"The position of Anantpur contains five distinct forts, built in the irregular style usual in these hills, to suit the ground intended to be occupied and protected; viz. Anantpur, Samirpur, Bakhtpur, Partābpur and Nayagila; the last built by the Sikhs, though never completed, besides many smaller outworks. Within this position there is abundance of good water in two or three different springs, besides grass and wood. Although on two sides entirely impregnable and on the third extremely strong, Anantpur is commanded by a hill about 800 yards distant, and could certainly be scaled with ease under cover of guns from the neighbouring hills."

"Kamla contains six distinct forts, viz. Kamlah, Chauki, Chabāra, Padampur, Shamsherpur, and Narsingpur. Although like Anantpur impregnable on two sides and nearly so on the third, where the gateway is reached by a ladder of about forty steps, yet the eastern side might be easily occupied by an enemy if once in possession of Padampur. There is no spring of water in Kamlah itself, the spring for the supply of the place being some distance below, but like all hill forts it contains excellent tanks in which sufficient water for the supply of a small garrison for several months might easily be stored."

Mandi was in ancient times supposed to have contained 360 forts, but of these only ten are now in any state of preservation; while very few of them are garrisoned. Kamlahgarh was the repository for all the wealth of Mandi State from the reign of

¹ *The Rajas of the Punjab*, pp. 571-2. Cf. Vigne's *Travels*, Vol. I, p. 111 *et seq.*; also Moorcroft, *Travels*, Vol. I, pp. 66-7.

Sūraj Sen to that of Ishwari Sen, and the independence of the State has often depended on its chief fortress which is still held by a small garrison.

We have now to narrate the story of the later years of Sūraj Sen's reign. In 1653 he took the districts of Patri and Sulani from Suket, and in his conflicts with the Rānās, who still continued to maintain their power in some parts of the State, he was more successful than in his early wars. They seem to have been resident chiefly in the hilly and more difficult parts of the country around Kamlahgarh, at Sandhol and Chānthā, and they were subdued and their possessions annexed. Khanwāl was acquired from Kangra as dowry with the Rājā's daughter on her marriage to Sūraj Sen.

Only one Rānā now remained—that of Anantpur—who resided at Anantpur Fort which was strongly situated and difficult of capture. At that time Sūraj Sen had as his Wazir one Jalpu, who devised a plan for the reduction of the fort by treachery. It was arranged that the Rājā should feign anger with Jalpu and dismiss him in disgrace. On this being done, Jalpu retired to Anantpur and entered the service of the Rānā, and in course of time so gained his confidence that Jalpu was made *dharm-bhai* to the Rānī. Having succeeded so far in his designs Jalpu then asked permission to bring the ladies of his family, with other female relations, on a visit for *puja* to the shrine of the Devi which was within the fort. This request being granted Jalpu sent secretly to Sūraj Sen to provide 18 *palkis*, with ten sets of armour in each, and ten bearers to each *palki*, who were soldiers in disguise. On reaching the fort of Anantpur the procession was admitted, and the bearers then seized their arms and made an assault on the defenders. The Rānā was killed and the fort captured.¹ The Rānī then became *sati*, but before going to the pyre she pronounced a curse on Jalpu and his descendants which is said to have been fulfilled; all his family being lame, deaf, deformed or imbecile. Sūraj Sen built the palace in Mandi, called Damdama. He is also said to have introduced a fixed revenue assessment of grain and cash, but no details are known.

Sūraj Sen had 18 sons, all of whom died in his own life-time, and despairing of an heir he caused a silver image to be made which he named Madho Rai, and to which he assigned the kingdom. It bears an inscription in Sanskrit of which the translation is as follows: “² Sūrya Sena, lord of the earth and destroyer of his rivals, had this blameless image of the blessed Discus-bearer, and master (guru) of all the gods, the illustrious Madho Rai, made by Bhīma the goldsmith in the year 1705, on Thursday the 15th Phagun.” This date corresponds to A.D. 1648.

At the Shivrātri, Madho Rai, the god, leads the procession, being followed by the Rājā. The gods of the *ilāqas* do homage to Madho Rai first and then to the Rājā.

Sūraj Sen's daughter was married to Hari Deo of Jammu. He was succeeded by his younger brother Shyām Sen, who had been absent from Mandi during the later years of his brother's reign, on pilgrimage to Benares and Jagannāth. On his return

¹ A similar story is told in the history of Kangra.

² Cf. *The Rajas of the Punjab*, p. 578. The above is the correct translation. About the same time Raja Jagat Singh of Kulu made over his kingdom to Raghunathji in a similar manner.

he resided chiefly in Chamba. Probably he and Prithvi Singh of Chamba had become intimately acquainted when the latter was living in Mandi.

Shyām Sen, c. A.D. 1664:—Feeling that his end was near, Suraj Sen sent a message recalling his brother to Mandi, but it is uncertain if Shyām Sen arrived in time. A pathetic story is told of the funeral when Sūraj Sen's *Rānīs* became *sati*. They sent to the treasury for money to give away in charity, but found all under lock and key. In their vexation and disappointment they threw down an axe on the wall of Dam-dama palace, and the impress left is there to this day.¹

Shyām Sen must have been in middle life at the time of his accession, and his reign was not a long one. He retained the old officials in office and carried on the administration through them. Shortly afterwards a Mughal army invaded Kahlur (Bilāspur) and the Rājā appealed to Shyām Sen for help, which was at once given. There was some considerable loss, and, on the termination of the war, Shyām Sen granted land in freehold, still called "barto," to the families of all who had fallen in the campaign. With the reign of Shyām Sen a new era in the history of Mandi is reached. We no longer hear of conflicts with Rānās and Thākurs, all or almost all of whom had now been reduced to complete submission, or expelled from their lands. In their place, however, other opponents came to the front, who demanded strenuous exertions on the part of the Mandi Rājās to overcome them. Chief among these were the Rājās of Suket, who were jealous of the rapid rise of the new principality, largely at the expense of their own. Mandi and Suket have always been rivals and generally enemies, but for several generations there was little to show on either side as the result of their warfare. As Lepel Griffin remarks²: "When a powerful Rājā ruled at Suket he won back all the territory which his predecessors had lost, and at one time the Suket possessions extended to the very walls of Mandi. In the same manner when a powerful chief ruled in Mandi the borders of Suket were much reduced, and its outlying forts and districts fell into the hands of its rival. The plain of Balh, lying between the two capitals, was common ground of desire and dispute." This plain, ten miles long by two broad, was the scene of many a fight, and the story of one, which sounds like a repetition of Chevy Chase, is still sung in Mandi ballads. Jit Sen was then ruler of Suket and he cherished a strong feeling of malice against Shyām Sen of Mandi, to whom, on account of his dark colour (hence the name Shyām), he gave the nickname of Tikkarnāth, meaning "a dark coloured iron pan." The agent of Mandi, who had gone with a letter to Suket, was one day asked in mockery what Tikkarnāth was doing. To this he gave the Suket Rājā the ready answer that Tikkarnāth was red hot and ready for parching grain. On hearing of this insult, Shyām Sen's anger was aroused and he determined on an invasion of Suket. Accompanied by his heir-apparent, Gur Sen, he advanced with a large army into the Balh plain, and in the battle of Lohāra he completely routed the Suket Chief. Jit Sen fled towards his capital but was pursued by a Katoch, or Kangra

¹ The following curse is said to have been uttered at the time=*Maṇḍī namak-harāmon kī parol*, meaning that faithless servants will always prosper in Mandi.

² *The Rajas of the Punjab*, p. 579.

man, in the service of Mandi; who was about to kill him, when he begged for his life, as being a royal prince. His life was spared but the Katoch snatched the insignia of royalty from his head-dress, which he carried back to his master, who assigned him and his descendants in perpetuity a quantity of salt from the Drang mine, which is still duly paid. The Lohārā *‘ilāqā* was then annexed to Mandi. Gur Sen was wounded in the battle but recovered. A very big kettledrum known by the name of *Naqāra Khandi Rao* and a big *Jalchar* (copper basin to heat water for bathing purposes) were plundered, and these are still preserved with pride as booty of the battle of Lohāra.

From this time onward, Mandi gradually got the upper hand, and gained possession of much of the territory which had till then been in the hands of the parent State.

Shyām Sen built the famous temple of Shyām Kālī on the hill adjoining Mandi town, at an altitude of 3,000 ft. above sea level. There a fair is held for nine days annually in the month of Asuj, and all the children of the royal family are taken there, for the ceremonies which are performed eight days after birth. Shyām Sen died in A.D. 1679 and was succeeded by his son Gur Sen.

Gur Sen, A.D. 1679.—Gur Sen continued the work of conquest begun by his father, and with the assistance of Bilāspur he conquered and annexed the *garhs* or districts of Dhanyāra, Bera and Patri from Suket. He too like his father was an ardent pilgrim and visited the holy places, including Jagannāth, whence he brought an image and set it up in a shrine outside Mandi Town. He reigned only five years and died in A.D. 1684. It is said that in his reign or that of Sidh Sen, Rājā Mān Singh of Kulu retook some forts in Chuhār, but his army was routed and he was compelled to sue for peace. A dagger was presented by him to Gur Sen which is still preserved in the armoury of the State Treasury. A Mughal army under Jafir Beg also invaded Mandi in this reign, but, on hearing of the death of the Nawab of Sirhind, they retired in disorder.

Sidh Sen, A.D. 1684.—Sidh Sen, who now came to the throne, was a great warrior, and added large territories to the State at the expense of Bangāhal, Suket and Kulu. The Wazir of the State during the early part of this reign was Mīān Jippu, an illegitimate brother of Gur Sen and a man of great ability. The administration was entirely in his hands and he inaugurated the revenue system which is still in force in the State. He framed rules restricting expenditure on betrothals and weddings. He also introduced a system of State loans, whereby a man could borrow grain from the State stores, the loan being repaid at the next harvest, plus *sawāi*, i.e. $1\frac{1}{4}$ of the amount borrowed. Failing repayment a fresh bond was written every four years, in which the principal was doubled. One *paisa* per rupee per mensem, nearly 25 % per annum, was charged as interest on cash loans.

During this period the land-revenue was paid chiefly in kind. If the fixed cash revenue demand could not be paid in silver the current copper coins were received with the addition of three takkas, i.e. one anna and a half per rupee.

Among the acquisitions of territory from Suket made by Sidh Sen were the

districts of Nāchan, Hatli and Lad, in A.D. 1688. He also stormed the forts of Mastgarh, Madangarh, Dhangīara and Anandgarh. In A.D. 1690, he captured the forts of Dhanesargarh and Sarakpur, and recovered Sivapur. He also built the fort of Sidhkot. In A.D. 1698 Raipur was taken from Suket, and Madhopur in the following year, and in A.D. 1706 he recaptured Hatli and ravaged the Ladh district belonging to Hamir Chand Katoch.

A portion of Bangāhal was also added to Mandi during this reign. Bangāhal had long been a distinct principality under its own Rājā, with the capital at Bir Bangāhal. It included most of the country along the outskirts of the Dhaula Dhar between Kangra and Kulu,—now called Chhota Bangāhal and Bir Bangāhal,—and a large portion of territory north of the Biās, now in Mandi, as also Bara Bangāhal at the head of the Rāvi valley and Paprola and Lanod, now in Kangra. Prithi Pāl, Rājā of Bangāhal, had married a daughter of the Mandi Chief, while his own sister was the wife of Rājā Mān Singh of Kulu. Sidh Sen sought to annex the territory to his dominions by treachery, and Prithi Pāl was invited to Mandi on the pretext of seeking his assistance against Suket. He was received with all honour, but within a month he was inveigled into the Dandama Palace and murdered.¹ His body was burnt, but his head was buried in front of the palace, on the spot now marked by a pillar in the middle of a tank, on which a light is kept burning every night. The tank was made by Sidh Sen, probably some time after the burial. On the murder becoming known, Rājā Mān Singh of Kulu put forward a claim and annexed Bara Bangāhal, Chhota Bangāhal and part of Bir Bangāhal, while a similar claim was made by Kangra. In the end Mandi profited little by the treacherous deed.

The Kulu annals state that at a later period the Mandi Rājā, probably Sidh Sen, invaded Kulu, but was compelled to retreat; and Mān Singh of Kulu then overran the northern portion of Mandi, as far as the salt mines of Guma and Drang. He was, however, prevailed upon to retire on the payment of a large sum of money, probably in name of *nazarāna* or tribute.

Guru Gobind Singh is said to have visited Mandi in the reign of Sidh Sen, towards the end of the 17th century. He was on his way back from Kulu, where he had gone to ask help against the Muhammadans, and was badly treated and imprisoned in a cage. The Mandi Rājā gave him an honourable reception and entertained him hospitably. On his departure the Rājā was told to ask anything he wished, and he requested an assurance that his capital would never be occupied by an enemy. Thereupon the Guru gave utterance to the following cryptic couplet²:—

Mandi ko jab lutenge,
Āsmāni gole chutenge.
When Mandi is plundered,
Heavenly balls will be fired.

¹ Prithi Pāl, while in Mandi, is said to have intrigued with the Rājā of Suket, who sent 200 men to help him. On this becoming known, Prithi Pāl, fearing the consequences, tried to escape but was pursued and captured at Bagwain. He was then confined in the Dandama palace and soon afterwards murdered. The story of Sidh Sen's treachery is the subject of a popular ballad.

² *The Rajas of the Punjab*, pp. 580-1.

¹ Mr. Vigne, the traveller, who visited Mandi soon after the accession of Rājā Balbir Sen in 1839, states that, for some superstitious notion connected with the saying of the Guru, no servant of Ranjit Singh had ever been sent to Mandi. The receiver of the revenue was quartered outside the town and the Mahārājā's Officer in attendance did not enter it while Mr. Vigne remained there.

Tradition asserts that Sidh Sen himself possessed miraculous powers and he is credited with having had a little book of charms and spells by means of which he exercised a supernatural influence on the demons and compelled them to obey him. When dying he threw the book into the Biās. On this Lepel Griffin remarks as follows: "The truth seems to be that Sidh Sen was more intelligent than his people, and his uniform success was attributed to supernatural agency."

Sidh Sen is believed to have been of enormous stature, and some clothes said to have been his, are still preserved in Mandi Palace, which could only have been worn by a giant

He built the temple of Sidh Ganesh, two miles from Mandi, and that of Sidh-bhadra near the river. His reign lasted for forty-one years and he is said to have been a hundred years old at the time of his death. His son, Shiv Jawāla Sen, is said to have died in A.D. 1722, that is, five years before his father, but there is some uncertainty regarding this event. The Mandi Chronicles state that he reigned three years, but this may only mean that he acted as co-ruler of the State with his father for three years before his death, as indeed he is said to have done. Cunningham is evidently wrong in assigning his reign to the period from A.D. 1727 to 1750.

Shamsher Sen, A.D. 1727-81.—He was the son of Shiv Jawāla Sen and succeeded to the *gaddi* at the age of five, his reign was thus a very long one. During his minority the administration was carried on by Miān Jappu, an illegitimate brother of Sidh Sen, and to him was entrusted the tutelage of the young Chief. Soon after his accession a matrimonial alliance was arranged between Shamsher Sen and a daughter of Rājā Ugar Singh of Chamba (A.D. 1720-35). This event lends corroboration to the conclusion that Shamsher Sen directly followed Sidh Sen in the succession.

¹ Soon afterwards an outbreak took place in Kulū which resulted in the addition of a district to Mandi. Rājā Jai Singh (A.D. 1731-42) was driven out of his territory and took refuge in Lahore, and during the confusion Mandi was able to seize the Chuhār *ilāqā*, which with only one short interval has remained State territory ever since. The forts of Amargarh, Deogarh, Mastpur and Sari were also captured.

Shamsher Sen seems to have been of weak intellect, and as he grew up to manhood he fell under the evil influence of people of low social status, who used their power to their own advantage and the injury of the State.

By this time Miān Jappu, the able and faithful Minister, had been removed by death. While he lived he and the queen-mother, a daughter of the Rānā of Hatli, managed the State affairs with great discretion. After the Rānī's death, the Rājā became addicted to low company, and a feeling of distrust and alienation arose between him and Jappu. Enemies of the Minister probably did their utmost to foment

¹ Vide Vigne's *Travels*, Vol. I, pp. 99-100.

² *The Rajas of the Punjab*, p. 582.

his feeling. It is indeed said that the Rāni and Jappu did not agree, and that she was hostile to him, but there is no documentary evidence of importance to support this. However the case may be, so much is certain, that Jappu had aroused the enmity of two powerful men, named Har Das and Dharmnāth, and at their instigation he was murdered. The Rājā was so incensed at the crime that he ordered the murderers to be executed.

The tragic end of Miān Jappu left a gap in the administration which was partially filled by Dhur Jatiya, younger brother of the Rājā, who now came into the arena of public affairs.

Till A.D. 1752 the Hill States had been under the rule of the Mughal Empire, but in that year Mughal supremacy came to an end with the cession of the Panjab to Ahmad Shāh Durāni. The Afghans, however, were never able to exercise more than a nominal control over the eastern Hill States, all of which regained their independence. Nawāb Adīna Beg Khān was then Suba or Governor of Jālandhar and used to make incursions into the hills. In 1745-46 he advanced with an army to Guler and then to Bangāhal, intending to invade Mandi, but soon retired on finding that Kamlahgarh was too strong to be stormed.

The name of Adīna Beg Khān¹ is often referred to in the vernacular history of the State, and it seems probable that Mandi was more or less under his control.² This remarkable man had risen from a humble position and by his ability had attracted the notice of Zakariya Khān, Viceroy of Lahore, by whom he was made Kār-dār of Sultānpur and then of Bahrāmpur in Gurdāspur. About A.D. 1743-4 he was advanced to the position of Governor of Jālandhar, an office which he held till 1756—when he became Viceroy of the Panjab under the Mughals. On the Marātha conquest of the province in 1758 he was appointed their Viceroy, but died in the same year. For a time in 1758 he held sway over the whole of the Kangra hills, and all the Hill States and even the Mughal Governor of Kangra were compelled to submit to him.³ On his demise Mandi must have come soon afterwards under the influence of the Sikhs, though no mention of them occurs in the history till after 1781—in the reign of Surma Sen.

The later years of Shamsher Sen's reign were embittered by dissensions at home. Dhur Jatiya, his younger brother and minister, had gradually acquired so much power that even the Rājā was afraid of him. All the Miāns or royal kinsmen were entirely at his bidding and it is even said that he purposed to set aside the heir-apparent—Surma Sen—or put him out of the way, so as to open the way to the *gaddi* for himself.

Surma Sen had, as his companion and tutor, a young Brahman named Bairāgi Rām, and when it became evident that the young prince's life was in danger, the two in company fled to Suket and Bilāspur, and then to Nadaun, where an asylum was found at the Katoch Court with Rājā Sansār Chand. After some time they

¹ He founded the town of Dinānagar, near Gurdāspur, which he named after himself, and often resided there.

² Vide *History of the Punjab*, Latif, p. 232.

³ Adina Beg seems to have been practically independent from 1752 till his death in 1758. In the latter year he was Viceroy of the Punjab under the Marāthas.

returned with a force and expelled the Miāns, Dhur Jatiya taking refuge in Suket. Shamsheer Sen died in A.D. 1781, having reigned for 54 years.¹

Surma Sen, A.D. 1781.—Lepel Griffin makes no mention of this Rājā though he is well spoken of in the records. His early training had been in the school of adversity and out of those trying vicissitudes of life he came with a firm resolve not to let the Miāns, his kinsmen, have the upper hand. The result was that they and the officials had a wholesome fear of him, and as the Chronicle naively remarks “in his reign all Miāns were powerless and the State prospered.” Had these pregnant words been laid to heart, the State would have been saved much trouble. Bairāgi Rām, his Brahman tutor, became his Wazir and ruled the State wisely.

² Meanwhile events of great importance to Mandi were ripening in Kangra. On the decline of the Mughal power and cession of the Panjab to Ahmad Shāh in 1752 the Rājā of Kangra, then residing at Nadaun, assumed independence and recovered all the territory of which his ancestors had been deprived. Kangra Fort, the ancient capital of the kingdom, alone held out, under the command of the last of the Mughal Governors of the Kangra hills, named Saif-ullah Khān, who continued to maintain his position against all assailants for more than forty years. In 1776, Sansār Chand succeeded to the throne of Kangra and soon afterwards, in conjunction with Jai Singh Kanhiya, he made strong efforts to capture the fort, but without success. In 1781, however, it fell by stratagem into the hands of Jai Singh and Sansār Chand had to wait till 1786, when the Sikh Chieftain, having been defeated on the plains, was compelled to retire from the hills, and he surrendered the fort into Sansār Chand's hands. With the prestige which the possession of the fort conferred, Sansār Chand claimed paramount authority over all the other States and compelled them to pay tribute and supply contingents for his military expeditions. Mandi had to acknowledge his supremacy and supply a contingent for the invasion of Kulu.³

Surma Sen died in 1788, and was succeeded by his son Ishwari Sen, a boy only four years old.

Ishwari Sen, A.D. 1788.—The Rājā being a minor, the administration remained in the hands of Bairāgi Rām, who had been Wazir all through the previous reign; and during the long minority the fortunes of the State were reduced to their lowest ebb. When Surma Sen's strong hand was withdrawn, the Miāns again began to give trouble, with the object of turning the Wazir out of the State. Seeing their intention he applied for help to Rājā Sansār Chand of Kangra, who was only too ready to avail himself of the opportunity to interfere in the affairs of the State. About 1792 he invaded Mandi and plundered the capital. The Rājā of Suket tendered his allegiance and was rewarded with the rich district of Hatli; that of Chuhār was given to Kulu, and Anantpur Sansār Chand retained in his own hands. The Rājā, Ishwari

¹ A document in the Chamba Archives states that Shamsheer Sen, Surma Sen, his son Sansār Chand of Kangra, and Raj Singh of Chamba, in 1778, entered into an agreement to invade Makarsa (Kulū) and seize Bangāhal. Cf. Chamba Museum Cat., p. 68. C. 16.

² Kangra Settlement Report, pp. 9-10.

³ A document exists in Chamba containing an agreement between Chamba and Kahlur and Mandi to conquer Makarsa (Kulu) and divide it equally among them. It is dated in 1786. Cf. Chamba Museum Cat., p. 71. C. 39.

Sen, was conveyed to Tehra Sujānpur and detained a prisoner at Sansār Chand's Court for 12 years. Meanwhile the State was left in the hands of its ministers and ordered to pay a tribute of one lakh of rupees. Deprived of the presence of their ruler and robbed of some of the richest provinces, Mandi continued to struggle on against its hard lot, but to little purpose. Kamlahgarh alone was saved from falling into Sansār Chand's hands, though he made various efforts to obtain possession of it.

¹ By the end of the 18th century Sansār Chand had completely established his power in the hills and won for himself a renown such as had never been approached by any of his ancestors. The rulers of all the other Hill States stood in awe of him and he carried matters with such a high hand that none dared to resist his will. But his boundless ambition was in the end the cause of his own ruin, as well as of most of the other States. In 1803-4 he twice invaded the plains in the neighbourhood of Hoshiyārpur, but was defeated and driven back into the hills by Ranjīt Singh, who was then rising into power. Disappointed in his designs on the plains, he in 1805 turned his arms against Kahlur (Bilāspur), and annexed a portion of the territory on the right bank of the Satluj. The Kahlur Chief was unable to oppose him, but determined on retaliation, and he appealed to the Gurkhas for help.

In order to make the course of events clear to the reader it is necessary to explain that before 1803 the Gurkhas of Nepāl had entered on a career of conquest, and subdued the entire hill country between the Gogra and Satluj. It is said that they were ambitious of conquering the hill tracts as far west as Kashmir, and even of establishing their power in the Punjab plains. The invitation of the Bilāspur Rājā was thus in keeping with their ulterior designs, and it was supported by the rulers of all the States to the west of the Satluj, as far as the Rāvi. These all formed a confederation against Sansār Chand, and took an oath of fidelity to Amar Singh Thapa, the Commander of the Gurkha forces, and sent their contingents to the number of 10,000 men to help in the war.² Sansār Chand was defeated at Mahal Mori, and had to retreat to Kangra, pursued by the Gurkhas. On their advance, Ishwari Sen of Mandi was liberated from his confinement and gave in his submission to the Gurkhas, on condition of being left in unmolested possession of his territory; and promising, on his part, to make no opposition to the occupation of Kangra. The siege of Kangra Fort lasted for four years but the Gurkhas were unable to capture it. They laid waste the country and reduced Sansār Chand to such extremities that he was constrained to ask help from Ranjīt Singh. This was agreed to on condition that Kangra Fort and the district of Bandhota should be ceded. A treaty having been concluded at Jawāla Mukhi, Ranjīt Singh, in May 1809, advanced into the hills with a large army and compelled the Gurkhas to retire across the Satluj.³

In being freed from the Gurkhas, however, Sansār Chand only came within the grasp of a more dangerous and rapacious foe, and from that time Kangra and all the other States became tributary to Ranjīt Singh. Mandi was made to pay an annual

¹ *Vide* Kangra Settlement Report, pp. 10-11.

² Basohli, Mankot, Jasrota and Jammu also joined the confederation against Sansār Chand.

³ Kangra Settlement Report, pp. 10-11.

tribute of Rs. 30,000. Sirdar Desa Singh Majithia was the first Sikh Nāzim or Governor of the Kangra hills and in 1815 he raised the *nazarāna* to one lakh, but in 1816 or 1817 it was again reduced by judicious bribery to Rs. 50,000. As some small compensation, the districts alienated by Sansār Chand were restored to the State. Jemadār Khushāl Singh seems to have been generally the officer appointed to collect the tribute.

Rājā Ishwari Sen had a younger brother named Zālim Singh who was constantly engaged in intrigues against him, causing much injury and loss to the State. The increase in the tribute money was chiefly the outcome of these intrigues, which reached a climax when Zālim Singh betook himself to the Sikh court at Lahore. There he offered to pay a large tribute if made Rājā in place of his brother. Ranjīt Singh had a strong antipathy to the Rājput Chiefs of the hills, as representing the ancient aristocracy of the country, who regarded him with disdain as of inferior birth and rank to themselves. He was therefore all the readier to take advantage of their own internal dissensions to inflict injury upon them. On the occasion referred to, however, a reconciliation was effected between the two brothers and the crisis passed. The remainder of Ishwari Sen's reign was uneventful, and he died in 1826.

¹ During the latter part of this reign Mandi offered an asylum to two ex-Rājās, and made liberal provision for them. One of these was the ex-Rājā of Bashahr who lived there for a considerable time. The other was the ex-Rājā of *Nāgpur*, who resided in Mandi for four years after having been driven out of his territory. He was busy all the time intriguing with Lahore in the hope of being allowed to raise troops. On the death of Ishwari Sen he sought an asylum elsewhere.

² William Moorcroft, the traveller, was the first European to visit Mandi, in March 1820. He came by way of Bilāspur and Suket. Leaving his camp at Mandi in charge of Mr. Trebeck he went to Lahore to obtain the permission of Ranjīt Singh to his journey northwards, and returned *viā* Nadaun, Tehra Sujānpur, Baijnāth and Guma, and thence over the Dulchi Pass into Kulu.

His narrative is interesting, and we give it in full: "Having resumed our route (from Suket) and entered the Mandi territory we were met by a body of men armed with matchlocks, bows and arrows, and swords, headed by the commandant of the fort of Ner, on the left of our path, who prohibited our further progress, without positive orders from the Rāja to sanction our proceeding. A letter was therefore despatched, requesting the Rājā's permission to traverse his district, and sent off by one of my people, who was acquainted with the country."

"In the evening the messenger returned with information that some Sikhs, who were at Mandi, for the purpose of receiving tribute, had threatened the Rājā with the displeasure of Ranjīt Singh, if he suffered us to pass through his country, and shortly afterwards came a letter from the Sikh Sirdārs desiring us to remain where we were until an answer from their master, to whom information of our coming had been

¹ *The Rājas of the Punjab*, p. 583. Prinsep's *History of the Punjab*, Vol. II, pp. 55-6. Moorcroft, *Travels*, Vol. I, pp. 109-110.

² Moorcroft, *Travels*, Vol. I, pp. 45-6-7.

communicated, could be received. To this I replied, that I was simply a merchant travelling to Lé with goods for sale, on which I was willing to pay all customary duties; I knew of no reason they could have for detaining me, and that if they persisted in their purpose I would have recourse to their Chief and repair myself to Lahore. After some discussion they were obliged to consent to this arrangement, and accordingly, taking a few of my people with me, I left the rest and all the merchandise under charge of my young friend and companion, Mr. Trebeck, at Dhansi, the place at which we were encamped. The Rājā of Mandi promised to watch over its security, and furnish every facility that might be desired for its conveyance and disposal, as well as provide supplies for the people. He repeatedly assured me of his regret at opposing an impediment in my way, and of his being compelled so to act against his wishes by fear of the Sikhs; he even offered to allow us to proceed if I would take all the responsibility upon myself, and assure him of the countenance of my government. As, however, I was travelling in a mercantile character alone, without pretending to any political authority, I declined making him this assurance and, thanking him for his civility and friendly intention, persevered in my determination to appeal in person to Ranjīt Singh."

¹Moorcroft then proceeded to Lahore, returning by Nadaun and Baijnāth, while Mr. Trebeck, his companion, remained at Mandi, and afterwards rejoined Mr. Moorcroft in Kulu. He says: "After a detention of some weeks we quitted Mandi on the 11th of July. The town presents little worthy of notice, although it is of some extent, being fully thrice as large as Kulu. It is situated in the angle between the Byās and Sukheti rivers. The most conspicuous object is the palace of the Rājā, which stands in the southern part of the town and presents a number of tall white buildings, with roofs of blue slate, concave like those of Chinese pagodas. The general appearance of the houses resembles that of the buildings at Almora. Close to the entrance of the town are several pilasters and smaller blocks of stone, bearing representations in relief of the Rājās of Mandi. One of these is set up on the death of each Rājā, and sometimes on the demise of his relations. Each is sculptured also, with the figures of his wives who have been burnt with him, a practice carried here to a frightful extent. On several occasions, I am told, the number of these victims of superstition has exceeded thirty. A very good *ghāt* cut in the rock leads to the river, which is crossed by a crazy ferry-boat. Most of our baggage was carried across on skins. The breadth of the river varies as the high rocky banks recede. In one place it was two hundred yards across, and opposite to where we encamped it was above one hundred and fifty yards. In some places where the bank is shelving, the river beats up it with a considerable surf. The depth varies: it was two fathoms where we brought to, but in some parts along the bank it was much more shallow. It undergoes, however, a periodical rise and fall every day, owing to the melting of the snow on the mountains, where it rises as the heat of the sun increases. The effect of this is felt at Mandi in the evening. The river then begins to swell and continues rising

¹ Moorcroft, *Travels*, Vol. I, pp. 172-3-4.

through the night. In the morning it declines and through the day loses considerably, perhaps one-third of its body of water.’’

“Near Mandi, on the opposite side of the Sukheti river, is a large temple, dedicated to an image which, five generations, or above two centuries ago, was purchased by an ancestor of the Rājā at Jagannāth for seven hundred rupees, and was brought here at great expense.”

“The Rājā of Mandi, Ishwari Sen, is a short stout man, about thirty-five, of limited understanding and extreme timidity. The latter he inherits from his father, of whom it is asserted that he passed an order that no gun should be fired off in his country. In his infancy he was either a ward or a prisoner to Sansār Chand and he was indebted to the Gurkhas for restoration to his Rāj. He assisted them in their invasion of Kangra and also aided Ranjīt Singh in his operations against Kangra and Kulū. This has not preserved him from the fate of the other hill Rājās. He is tributary to the Sikh and treated by him with contumely and oppression.”

Zālim Sen, A.D. 1826.—On the death of Ishwari Sen without legitimate male heirs, his brother, Zālim Sen, succeeded to the *gaddi*. He had, however, to pay a lakh of rupees as succession duty to Lahore, and the tribute was fixed at Rs. 75,000.

Zālim Sen was cruel and capricious, and his oppressive methods in extorting money from his people have become proverbial.

It is said that when the succession duty came to be paid the treasury was unequal to the burden, and it was made up by exactions from bankers and traders. The present poverty of Mandi is in large measure attributed to the fact that the wealthy families were almost ruined by these exactions. A tax on the collections of revenue, called *Balich*, taken from village and local officials, was also an exaction which caused much discontent.

Zālim Sen alienated from himself the loyalty of all classes of his people by his instigation of the murder of Dhari, the Wazir of the State, whose interest with Ranjīt Singh had saved the country from annexation.

Some years before his death Zālim Sen made over the administration to his nephew, Balbir Sen, one of the younger sons of Ishwari Sen by a concubine, to the exclusion of his uncle. This act is all the more remarkable that it deprived Zālim Sen’s own illegitimate son of the right of succession. But the formal declaration of Zālim Sen in his own lifetime settled the matter against all opposition, and the Lahore Court was easily prevailed upon to acknowledge the succession, by the payment of a large sum in name of succession duty. Zālim Sen died in 1839.

Balbīr Sen, A.D. 1839.—The succession of Balbīr Sen was keenly resented by the Miāns and more especially by the descendants of Dhur Jatiya, the younger brother of Shamsheer Sen, who were in the legitimate line of descent. The Rājā was twenty-two years of age at the time of his accession and two months afterwards Mandi was visited by Mr. Vigne in the course of his journey through the hills. He speaks of Balbīr Sen in the following terms: “The young Rājā himself is short

¹ Vigne, *Travels*, Vol. I, pp. 77-80-1-2-3.

and stout in person, with a jovial, good-natured and remarkably European-like countenance. He was uncommonly civil and prodigal of his expressions of regard and friendship for the English, and unlike many other Rājās, he allowed me to depart when I wished, without pressing me to stay a day longer than suited my convenience."

¹ "The palace at Mandi is a long barrack-like, but not unpicturesque, building with whitened walls, gable ends and slated roofs. Before it is a large oak, and on the west of it is a garden in which the Rājā had pitched a tent for me. The walks, as is the case generally in the east, were straight, and raised above the surface of the borders so that they could not be injured by the system of irrigation which is universally practised. The borders themselves were covered with but one mass of orange, shaddock, and citron trees which were loaded with a profusion of fruit. The bazar is large and well stocked for so insignificant a place. A large proportion of the town is on the opposite side of the Beyas, and accessible by a large ferry-boat. The river passes the town from east to west and immediately turns due north, and continues in the same direction for about four miles, which is singular, considering how near it is to its debouchure on the plains. It is very deep at Mundi and flights of steps, or *ghāts*, Hindu images and a large figure of the monkey god, Huniman, have been sculptured on the rock by the river-side and Thakur Devarus, or Hindu temples, are conspicuous in different places of the town."

"I partook of the Rājā's hospitality in a part of the palace which had lately been fitted up and painted in the Indian fashion, in fresco, on a snow-white wall. The dinner he gave me consisted of the usual eastern delicacies, rice, curries, sweetmeats and sherbets; and I afterwards received the customary *kilaat* or dress of honour, which said *kilaat* is generally made up of a Kashmir shawl or two, of little value, pieces of the *kimkab*, or brocade of Benares, and several pieces of different stuffs, usually the produce of Kashmir, or peculiar to the country of the donor." While in Mandi Mr. Vigne witnessed the rite of *sati* which he fully describes: "One morning my munshi came to me, and told me that a *sati* (Suttee), or widow who was going to burn herself on the funeral pile of her husband, was about to pass by the garden gate. I hastened to obtain a sight of her. She was dressed in her gayest attire; a large crowd of persons followed her, as she walked forward with a hurried and faltering step, like that of a person about to faint. A Brahman supported her on either side, and these as well as many around were calling loudly and almost fiercely upon the different Hindu deities, and the name which was most repeatedly and most earnestly called upon was that of Jagannāth, but I do not know whether they alluded to the great idol of Bengal, or to some local divinity. Her countenance had assumed a sickly and ghastly appearance, which was partly owing to internal agitation, and partly, so I was informed, to the effects of opium and bang and other narcotics, with which she had been previously drugged in order to render her less-awake to the misery of her situation. She was not, however, so insensible to

¹ Vigne, *Travels*, Vol. I, pp. 79 to 84.

what was passing as to be inattentive to two persons in particular, amongst several others who were stooping before her, and were evidently imploring her blessing,—they were probably near relations. She was presented at intervals with a plate of moist red colour, in which saffron was no doubt an ingredient, and into this she dipped the ends of her fingers, and then impressed them on the shoulders of the persons who stooped before her in order to be thus marked.”

“In about half an hour the preparations were completed. She was regularly thatched in, upon the top of the pile, whilst her husband’s body yet lay outside. It was finally lifted up to her; the head, as usual, and which is the most interesting part of the ceremony, was received upon her lap; the fire was applied in different parts and all was so quickly enveloped in a shroud of mingled flame and smoke, that I believe her sufferings to have been of very short duration, as she must almost immediately have been suffocated.”

¹ Ranjit Singh died in 1839 and the affairs of the Sikh kingdom soon began to fall into disorder. Maharaja Kharak Singh was weak and incapable and all power came into the hands of his son, Nau Nihāl Singh. The Sikh army, which had long been difficult to control, became dangerous to the State when not actively employed, and among other ways of diverting its attention the conquest of Mandi and Kulu was determined on, though these States had given no cause for offence. At that time the conquest of Ladakh and Tibet was much talked of at Lahore and before an expedition was despatched it was thought necessary to reduce Mandi completely, and especially not to leave in the rear the strong fortress of Kamlaḡarḡh.

Accordingly in June 1840 a strong force under General Ventura was sent to Mandi and advanced to within seven miles of the capital. From there General Ventura sent to demand immediate payment of certain arrears of tribute, which formed the ostensible excuse for the expedition. This demand was at once complied with.

Balbīr Sen, frightened at the forces sent against him, wrote to Col. Tapp, Political Agent at Sabathu, begging for an asylum for himself and his family in British Territory. He saw clearly that the extinction of the State had been resolved upon. The Government offered an asylum, but did not think it advisable to receive the Rājā’s family as political refugees or to promise any help against the invaders.

Having paid the tribute, Balbīr Sen was ordered to wait on the Sikh general in his camp, on the pretence of receiving a *khilat* or dress of honour. On his arrival he was made prisoner and required to surrender all the forts in Mandi. The Rājā of Suket gave in his allegiance and played into the hands of the Sikhs against Mandi, an act which tended to increase the feeling of hostility between the two States. Mandi town was occupied, and Balbīr Sen being helpless agreed to every demand, and the forts were surrendered after a feeble resistance. Even Kamlaḡarḡh was captured in November of the same year, after a three months’ siege. The Rājā was sent as a prisoner to Amritsar and confined in the fort of Govindḡarḡh. General

¹ *The Rājās of the Punjab*, p. 585.

Ventura then subdued the country and advanced into Kulu, after which he returned to Lahore in December bearing the trophies of 200 hill forts.

¹ On General Ventura's withdrawal a small Sikh force was left at Mandi under Col. Foulkes, a young English adventurer in the service of the Sikhs, who had distinguished himself during the siege of Kamlahgarh. The force mutinied and he was advised to depart at once, but refused to do so. In the night he was awakened, and before he could escape he was cut down, a funeral pyre was prepared and he was thrown upon it while still alive.

In January 1841 Sher Singh became Maharaja of Lahore. He was kindly disposed towards the hill chiefs and in the following May Balbīr Sen was set at liberty and permitted to return to Mandi, taking with him the image of the goddess Devi, which had been carried away by the Sikhs from the fortress of Kamlagarh.

During Balbīr Sen's imprisonment Sheikh Ghulām Muhai-uddīn, the most grasping of all the Sikh revenue officers, had been in charge of the State, and had been directed to make a settlement of the territory for Rs. 2,35,000. On his return the Rājā was ordered to increase the revenue to four lakhs, of which one lakh was to be retained for his own use and the greater part of the balance, in one way or another, was to be paid over to the Sikhs, whose tyranny soon became intolerable. The Rājā never succeeded in raising four lakhs of revenue, but with the connivance of the Majithia Sirdārs, Lehna Singh and Ranjodh Singh, who were the Sikh Nāzims of the hills, he succeeded in retaining considerably more than the one lakh assigned him.

Previous to the First Sikh War Balbīr Sen had been in secret communication with Mr. Erskine, Superintendent of Hill States, with a view to securing British protection; and though compelled to send a contingent of 300 men to the Sikh army for the campaign on the Satluj, yet his sympathies were with the British. Immediately after the battle of Sobraon he and the Rājā of Suket sent a confidential agent, named Sibū Pandit, to Mr. Erskine, tendering their allegiance to the British Government, and requesting an interview. This was readily granted, and on 21st February, 1846, the two chiefs visited Mr. Erskine at Bilāspur and gave in their allegiance in person. But the Rājā did not wait for the conclusion of the war before attempting to free his country. He boldly attacked the Sikh garrisons in the State and captured all the forts except Kamlahgarh, which did not surrender till the war was over. On 9th March, 1846, a treaty was concluded between the British Government and the Sikh Darbār whereby, among other provisions, the whole of the Doāb, between the Satluj and Biās, was ceded in perpetuity to Government. Mandi and Suket being within the ceded territory came directly under British control, and were placed in charge of the Commissioner of Jālandhar. Thereupon a claim to the *gaddi* was advanced by Miān Bhup Singh, the descendant of Dhurjatiya, younger brother of Shamsher Sen, and the head of the legitimate branch of the Mandi family. The Supreme Government, however, disallowed the claim, on the ground that for four generations that branch of the family had been excluded, and that it was inadvisable to revive

¹ Vigne, *Travels*, Vol. I, pp. 130-1.

obsolete claims. The Rājā was, therefore, confirmed in his possessions, and on 24th October 1846, a *sanad* was granted him defining his rights and obligations. By virtue of this *sanad* the suzerainty of Mandi State was finally transferred from the Sikh to the British Government.

On the refusal of the Government to entertain his claim to the Rāj, the advisers of Miān Bhūp Singh, then a minor of ten years, raised 3,000 men from Kangra and Kahlur and made an attack on Mandi by night, destroying much property. They also plundered the salt mines at Guma. A small force was sent against them and they were easily dispersed. Bhūp Singh with his brothers was captured and imprisoned in Simla, but soon released on promise of good conduct, though he refused to relinquish his claim to the throne.

Mr. John Lawrence, afterwards Lord Lawrence, was then the Commissioner of Jalandhar and Political Agent of the Hill States. In the autumn of 1846, he visited Mandi on his way to Kulu and advised the Rājā to make roads in the State. Mr. Barnes, the first Deputy Commissioner of Kangra, also settled the boundaries between Mandi, Suket and Kangra.

The authority of Balbir Sen was now firmly established under the sanction of the British Government, and he was supported in the administration by a man who is said to have been even more powerful than himself. This was his famous minister Wazir Gosaon, whose name is still remembered in the State. It was chiefly through his agency that the Rājā had obtained the *gaddi* from the Sikhs, and by his ability alone was its possession maintained. For this reason he had become an object of jealousy to the Rājā, and of envy to a party in the State, who hoped to benefit by his fall. Wazir Gosaon, however, had the support of the Government, and the Rājā was wise enough to realize that without his minister's help, his position and even his life would have been in danger.

Rājā Balbir Sen died on 26th January 1851, leaving three sons, Bajai Sen, Pradhān Singh and Mān Singh, of whom the eldest, and heir-apparent, was only four years old. The State was then again confronted with a long minority which had so often been a fruitful cause of trouble.

Bajai Sen, A.D. 1851.—On the demise of the late Rājā his mother, an intriguing woman, tried to get the administration into her own hands but she was promptly set aside. Wazir Gosaon was still in office, and though he had many enemies he was the ablest and most capable man in the State. He was a man of great financial ability and experience, and had an intimate knowledge of the country, and his services were soon found to be indispensable even by his enemies; when, therefore, the question of a Council of Regency came up for decision, his name was submitted as president and approved by the Board of Administration. The other members were Miān Bhāg Singh, younger brother of Balbir Sen and Purohit Shib Shankar, the spiritual adviser. In two years, however, it was found necessary to reorganize the Council and almost the entire control of the administration, judicial and financial, was given to Wazir Gosaon. This arrangement worked well for some years, and greatly to the benefit of the State.

About this time the case of Miān Bhūp Singh and his brothers, descendants of Dhurjatiya, came up for settlement, and, after some delay, an allowance of Rs. 1,220 a year was fixed, Bhup Singh engaging not to enter or disturb the Mandi State.

In 1859, Rājā Bajai Sen, then a boy of thirteen, was married to the granddaughter of the Rājā of Datārpur, and soon afterwards to a niece of the Rājā of Guler. The superintendence of his education had been entrusted to Purohit Shib Shankar and soon afterwards it was found that his training has been almost entirely neglected. Griffin says: "Not only was the education of the Rājā neglected but both the Purohit Shib Shankar and Wazir Gosaon winked at, even if they did not encourage, excesses which seriously injured the constitution of the young prince. A change, therefore, became necessary, and in 1861 this was effected by the banishment of Purohit Shib Shankar and his son to Kāngra, while the Wazir was fined Rs. 2,000." After this change affairs went on more smoothly, and in 1868 Mr. Clark, an officer of the Educational Department, was appointed to superintend the Rājā's education.

In November 1868, Lord Elgin, the first Viceroy of India under the Crown, made a tour in the hills, and, on his way from Kulu, he halted at Bhadwāni, Jhatingri and Drang, within the Mandi State. The Rājā, accompanied by the queen-mother, went to Drang for an interview. The Viceroy soon afterwards fell sick of pneumonia and died at Chauntra, on November 20th, and was buried at Dharmśāla.

In 1864, the Government granted the Rājā a salute of 11 guns, and on 12th October 1866, having attained his majority, he was formally invested by Sir Douglas Forsyth with the powers of a ruling prince. On this occasion he devoted one lakh of rupees for works of public utility in the State, as an auspicious commencement of his reign. These included a school, hospital and post-office in the town of Mandi, a good mule road from Baijnāth to Sultānpur in Kulu, over the Babu Pass, and serais and travellers' bungalows along the line of road from the Kāngra valley, through Mandi, towards Kulu and Simla.

The boundary between Mandi and Suket, on the Hatli side, was also finally settled by the Commissioner of Jālandhar.

Unfortunately, the early promise of the Rājā's reign was not realized and the administration soon fell into the greatest confusion, which was made worse by the fact that Mr. Clark, who had been appointed Councillor to the Rājā, and Wazir Gosaon, did not work in harmony. Wazir Gosaon died in February 1870, and after various efforts to bring about an improvement without success, Mr. Clark was, in 1870, removed from Mandi and Mr. E. Harrison, B.C.S., was appointed in his place, to introduce reforms long promised and long delayed. This change was fraught with much advantage to the State, and the administration continued to progress smoothly. Mr. Harrison discontinued certain allowances to State servants and granted an increase of salary instead.

In October 1871, Lord Mayo, Viceroy of India, paid a visit to Mandi. His Excellency came *viā* Bilāspur and Suket and the Nawa Mahal was prepared for his reception. He was accompanied by Mr. A. Brandreth, Commissioner of Jālandhar. A

Darbar was held in the Bera at which all the State officials, jāgirdārs and principal residents were presented. The Rājā was also present at the Darbār at Pālampur to which all the hill Chiefs had been invited. In 1872, Mr. Harrison left Mandi on his promotion to a higher appointment, and the administration was entrusted to the State officials and continued to work well.

In 1874, Sir Henry Davies, Lieutenant-Governor of the Panjab, paid a visit to Mandi and was pleased with the arrangements made for his journey.

Meanwhile the Rājā had been assisted in the administration by his brother, Miān Pradhān Singh, who was very popular with the people. He, however, died in Bhaḍon S. 1932 = A.D. 1875, and Miān Uttam Singh was appointed Wazir in his place. He found that a large sum had been misappropriated from the Treasury and all the Treasury officials were compelled to make the loss good.

Rājā Bajai Sen was present at the Proclamation Darbār at Delhi in January 1877, and, in commemoration of the auspicious event, he caused to be built the Victoria Suspension Bridge over the Biās at Mandi, at an expense of one lakh of rupees.

In 1878, Miān Uttam Singh was removed from office and Miān Mān Singh, younger brother of the Rājā, was appointed to succeed him. In the following year a State Council was formed with the assent of the Rājā, by Col. W. G. Davies, the Commissioner. The members were Miān Mān Singh, Pādha Jiwa Nand, and Munshi Ganga Singh. Soon afterwards, however, some reforms were carried out by Miān Mān Singh which displeased the Rājā and gave rise to unfriendly feeling between them, and the Miān resigned and left the State for Muttra. Miān Uttam Singh was then recalled to office in the end of 1880.

In October 1880, Sir Robert Egerton, Lieutenant-Governor of the Panjab, passed through Mandi territory on his way from Kulu to the Kangra valley, halting at Bhadwāni, Jhatingri and Dhelu. The Rājā met His Honour at Jhatingri.

In 1881, the construction of several new lines of road was begun by the State, under the supervision of Mr. E. W. Purkis, Engineer. These were: a new road from Mandi to Kulu by the Dulchi Pass, 31 miles in length, with a suspension bridge over the Uhl river, a tributary of the Biās, at a cost of Rs. 40,000; a cart road from Baijnath to Mandi; and a road from Mandi to Sikandra, 25 miles long.

In 1883, Sir Charles Aitchison visited Mandi. He came from Simla *viā* Bilāspur and halted at Mandi for three days, afterwards proceeding to Kulu *viā* the Dulchi Pass. He was accompanied by Col. Gordon Young, the Commissioner. On 15th Har S. 1941 = A.D. 1884, the two daughters of Rājā Bajai Sen were married to the heir-apparent of Bashahr, Rs. 2,77,000 being spent on the marriage, including a present of a lakh of rupees in cash. Of this sum Rs. 60,000 was realized from the people in marriage presents, in accordance with ancient custom.

Wazir Uttam Singh had continued to act as Wazir from 1880 to October 1888, when he died, and Jawahir Lal was appointed to succeed him. This caused discontent in Saraj and a disturbance broke out. The Rājā, therefore, asked for the assistance of a British officer, and Mr. H. J. Maynard, I.C.S., was appointed for a year. Sardar Jawala Singh was at the same time appointed to the office of Wazir.

Mr. Maynard effected many improvements in the administration. He drew out instructions for the guidance of the courts, the civil and criminal suits were defined and classified, rules for the hearing of appeals and revisions were modified and the period of limitation fixed. He also drew up a careful note regarding *begār* or forced labour, and framed rules regulating and defining the rights of agriculturists in the forests.

Mr. Maynard demitted charge at the end of March 1890, and on his suggestion the Rājā engaged Mr. C. E. Fendall as Superintendent of Works, to help in the forest administration and to look after the roads, salt mines and *begār* labour generally. Appellate judicial work was also entrusted to him. In 1894, Mandi was visited by Sir Dennis Fitzpatrick, accompanied by Mr. Smyth, the Commissioner. He came from Kulu *viâ* the Dulchi Pass and his camp was pitched on the Pādāl plain. The iron suspension bridge over the Suketi Nālā, near Mandi, was opened by him and named "The Fitzpatrick Suspension Bridge."

In June 1893, another disturbance arose among the Sarāj people, the pretext being the use of buffalo lymph for vaccination purposes. Jawāla Singh was in consequence removed from the Wazīrship and Miān Udham Singh was appointed.

The period from 1894 to 1900 was unfortunate for Mandi. Two sons were born to the Rājā who both died in infancy. The Rājā himself was constantly unwell and ultimately developed cataract in both eyes, which entirely incapacitated him for managing the State, and unfortunately Miān Udham Singh and Mr. Fendall did not work harmoniously together.

In September 1899, Mandi was visited by His Excellency Lord Elgin, who came from Dharmśāla, and halted at Dhelu, Urla, Drang and Kataula on his way to Kulu. The Rājā met His Excellency at the Katindi Ridge. In 1901, matters had reached a crisis in the administration and Miān Udham Singh and Mr. Fendall were both removed from office, and Pādha Jiwa Nand was recalled from Jodhpur State, where he was a Member of the State Council, and appointed Wazīr.

In November 1901, Sir W. Mackworth Young came to Mandi, accompanied by Mr. A. Anderson, the Commissioner. His Honour halted at Sakranti, Urla, Drang and Mandi, whence he travelled down to Dhamla in the Hoshiārpur District.

Meanwhile considerable improvement had been effected in the administration under Pādha Jiwa Nand, and his services were recognized by Government by the bestowal upon him of the title of Rai Bahādur.

Rājā Bajai Sen died in 1902. He was of an amiable disposition and much beloved by his people. In recognition of his general good government it had been decided to invest him at the Delhi Darbār, on the accession of King Edward VII, with the title of K.C.S.I., and this was announced in the *Honours Gazette* three weeks after his death.

Bajai Sen left no direct heirs and in 1897 his illegitimate son, Kuuwar Bhawāni Sen, had been recognized as his successor. It was, however, brought to the notice of Government that the Datārpur Rani was *enccinte*, and the question of the succession was therefore held in abeyance. The birth of a daughter, however, settled the matter,

and Bhawāni Sen was formally installed at Mandi in November 1903 by Sir Charles Rivas, Lieutenant-Governor of the Panjab.

Rājā Bhawāni Sen, A.D. 1903.—The Rājā being a minor, Mr. Millar, I.C.S., was appointed Superintendent of the State, and took over charge on 30th November, 1903. The young Chief's education had been carefully attended to by Mr. Anderson, and he spent five years at the Chief's College in Lahore, under the care of his tutor, Mr. E. M. Atkinson. On the completion of his studies he returned to Mandi on 17th April, 1904, after a short tour to Karāchi and Bombay. A sum of Rs. 1,10,000 was paid to Government as *nazarāna* or succession duty in 1904, the balance being remitted later on, in consequence of the losses sustained by the State in the earthquake of 4th April, 1905.

At the time of the earthquake the Rājā and Mr. Millar were in the Dak Bungalow at Pālampur and had a narrow escape, being buried in the ruins, from which they were extricated with difficulty. Much damage was done in the State. From the Baijnāth border to Mandi town, only the village of Aiju was left standing. Serious damage was also done in Balh, Sarāj, Sanor and Chohār. The total loss of life was estimated at only 1,500, but the damage to property was enormous. The town of Mandi was almost ruined. The salt mine at Guma was rendered unworkable for some time. Considerable damage was also done to roads and bridges in the State. The total loss entailed by the earthquake, one way and another, including damage to property, was ten lakhs of rupees. On this occasion the State acted with great liberality, grain loans from the granaries were freely distributed, takawi loans were granted to those who had suffered loss, and timber to the value of more than one lakh of rupees was given to the homeless, free of charge.

On October 7th, 1905, the Rājā was formally invested with full administrative powers by Mr. H. A. Anderson, C.S.I., and Mr. Millar then left the State.

In November 1905, the Rājā visited Lahore, with the other Panjab Chiefs, to meet the Prince of Wales.

Soon afterwards Lord Kitchener passed through Mandi territory, on his way from Simla to Kāngra, and was highly pleased with the arrangements made for him.

In 1906, the Darbār Hall was built at an expense of Rs. 30,000, and the following year an electric installation was carried out costing Rs. 20,000.

During the next three years the administration continued to be conducted satisfactorily, under the guidance of Rai Bahadur Pādha Jiwa Nand, the Wazir. Owing to excessive rainfall, serious injury was done to the cultivators' lands and crops and prices ruled unusually high.

From 1st March 1907, the reduction of the duty on salt came into effect, and it has had an appreciable effect in increasing the outturn, to an extent which more than compensates the British Government and the Mandi State financially for the lower rate imposed.

In 1908, Sir Louis Dane, Lieutenant-Governor, came from Kulu *viā* the Dulchi Pass; and halted for a day in the Residency, on his way to instal Bhim Sen as Rājā

of Suket. He found the administration in a satisfactory condition generally, for which credit was due to Pādha Jiwa Nand, the Wazir.

The beginning of the year 1909 was marked by an agrarian disturbance of a somewhat serious character. A number of ryots, alleging oppression at the hands of certain officials, proceeded to Mandi to lay their grievances before the Rājā. Not content with legitimate agitation, they laid hands on many of the State officials and thrust them into the prison. The State forces of a hundred men proving unequal to the task of suppressing the riot, assistance was asked for from Kāngra, and the Deputy Commissioner, as well as the Assistant Commissioner of Kulu, soon arrived on the spot. Col. H. S. Davies, the Commissioner, came later. Two companies of the 32nd Pioneers were called in and order was soon restored by this show of force. Pādha Jiwa Nand was then displaced by Indar Singh, son of the late Wazir Uttam Singh. Subsequently Tikka Rajendra Pal, E.A.C., was appointed Adviser to the Rājā and Munshi Amar Singh as acting Wazir. The political situation then improved.

With a view to a more even distribution of the land revenue, and a satisfactory solution of the question of *begār*, an officer of the Indian Civil Service, in the person of Mr. C. G. Garbett, was, at the request of the Rājā, lent to the Darbār as Settlement Officer, and took up his duties in 1911. Mr. Garbett was, however, obliged to go on sick leave in the following October and was relieved by Mr. Gordon Walker.

These changes were followed soon after by the death of Rājā Bhawāni Sen. He attended the Coronation Darbār at Delhi in December 1911, and fell ill soon after his return. Towards the end of January his condition became worse and he died on 9th February, 1912. His untimely death was a severe loss to the State, all the more as he left no direct heir to succeed him.

After some delay Miān Jagendra Singh, the nearest male relative of the deceased Rājā, was selected by Government and was formally installed as Rājā Jagendra Sen by His Honour Sir Louis Dane, K.C.S.I., Lieutenant-Governor of the Panjab, on 10th April, 1913. Being a minor of ten years of age the Rājā was placed under instruction in Queen Mary's College, Lahore. Mr. Gordon Walker was appointed Superintendent of the State, in addition to his duties as Settlement Officer, with Munshi Amar Singh as his Assistant, and in 1916 he was relieved by Mr. H. W. Emerson.

LITERATURE.

Moorcroft. *Travels*.

Vigne. *Travels*.

The Rājās of the Punjab. Griffin.

Chiefs and Families of Note in the Punjab. Massy.

Reports. Archaeological Survey.

Chamba Gazetteer.

Mandi Gazetteer.

Suket Gazetteer.

History of the Punjab. Prinsep.

History of the Punjab. Latif.

Majma-Tawārīkh-riyāsathai-Kohistān-i-Panjāb. Hardayal Singh.

Three Mughal Parwānas.¹

By MAULVI ZAFAR HASAN, B.A., *Asstt. Superintendent, Archæological Survey of India, Delhi.*

The *parwānas* noticed in this paper were the letters of appointment for the post of *Qāzī* at *parganas* Haibatpur Paṭṭī and Baṭāla in the Panjab. They were issued from the court of the *Ṣadr* under the seal of that dignitary during the reigns of Aurangzeb and Muḥammad Shāh respectively. I have not had the privilege of examining the original copies of these documents, but photographs of them have been supplied to me by Sir John Marshall, who received them from Mr. Rose, and I have to thank these gentlemen for the permission they have accorded me to publish them in the *Journal of the Panjab Historical Society*.

During the Muhammadan rule the *Qāzī* was the highest civil authority in a city or town with powers corresponding to those of a civil judge of the present day. He was also entrusted with ecclesiastical affairs and it was his duty to see that the religious observances were properly respected and performed by the Muhammadans. He was assisted in his duties by an official known as the *Muftī*, who pronounced *Fatwas* (sentences) according to the Muhammadan law. The *Qāzī* was subordinate to the *Ṣadr*, under whose orders he received his appointment. The post of *Qāzī* was generally held by learned men well versed in Muhammadan law (vide *Parwāna* No. I below, Abul Fazl and Muḥammad Sa'id were relieved of the post of *Qāzī* because they did not possess this qualification). It was considered to be a post of great importance and dignity, a shadow of which is still supposed to adhere to its hollow name, for many Indian Muhammadans of respectability use, to this day, the word "*Qāzī*" as a hereditary surname, although the office of *Qāzī* has ceased to exist here with the Muhammadan rule.

Abul Fazl (*Ain-i Akbari*, English translation by Blochmann, Vol. I, p. 268) in the *Ain* on *Sayūrghāl* or *Madad-i Ma'āsh* (assistance of livelihood) makes the following reference to the post of *Qāzī*:—

"As the circumstances of men have to be enquired into, before grants are made, and their petitions must be considered in fairness, an experienced man of correct intentions is employed for this office. He ought to be at peace with every party, and must be kind towards the people at large in word and action. Such an officer is called *Ṣadr*. The *Qāzī* and the *Mīr 'Adl* are under his orders."

The learned author has been contented with only mentioning the office of *Qāzī*

¹ A *Parwana* was a royal patent or diploma issued under the seal of an officer of the empire, and was distinguished from a *Farman* which was a royal mandate or command generally impressed with the seal of the emperor.

but does not give any information as to his duties, nor are they to be found recorded in any other historical work to my knowledge. The *Parwānas* Nos. II and III, however, help us in this matter, for they detail certain things that are required to be performed by the man in whose favour they were issued. These duties are set out below, and may be taken as those of *Qāzīs* in general :—

1. To decide quarrels and settle animosities.
2. To put in execution the penal laws.
3. To arrange for the performance of Friday prayers and other congregational prayers.
4. To encourage worship and devotion.
5. To contract matrimony on behalf of those who have no guardians.
6. To make partition of inheritance.
7. To protect the property of absentees and orphans.
8. To determine legatees.
9. To administer justice.

To the Muhammadan public the office of *Qāzī* is only familiar in connection with weddings, the man who performs the marriage service being known by that designation. We learn by tradition that the *Qāzī*, who was the head of the religion, supervised the marriage ceremonies, performed the actual wedding service and was responsible for keeping a record in his office of all the marriage contracts which took place within his jurisdiction. He was not allowed to exact any wedding fee, a grant of land having been conferred upon him by the State for his livelihood (vide *Parwāna* No. I below).

PARWĀNA NO. I.

This *Parwāna* was issued in favour of Mir 'Abdul Ḥaī conferring upon him the post of *Qāzī* in Ḥaibatpur Paṭṭī which was a *sarkār* in the province of Lahore.¹ The appointment was made in supersession of *Qāzī* Abul Fazl and *Qāzī* Muḥammad Sa'id, who are described as being ignorant and not possessing the qualifications demanded by the office they held. Mir 'Abdul Ḥaī was granted one hundred *biḡhas* of land in the *pargana* of Jamārī as remuneration for his services, and he was not allowed to exact any marriage fee. A grant of one hundred *biḡhas* of land previously made to him in the *pargana* of Hamīnagar was also confirmed by this *Parwāna*. Jamārī² which was also called *Chamārī* was a *pargana* in the *sarkār* of Baṭāla in the province of Lahore, while the *pargana* of Hamīnagar³ was in the *sarkār* of Pursarūr, and it is not without some interest to note that neither of these grants of land was in the *sarkār* to which Mir 'Abdul Ḥaī was appointed. The document is impressed with the seal of 'Ābid Khān, who held the post of Ṣadr-uṣ-ṣadūr in the early part of the reign of the emperor Aurangzeb. He was relieved of this office about the end of the year 1077 A.H. (1666-67 A.D.) when Rizwī Khān Bukhārī was appointed to succeed him.⁴

¹ *Āin-i Akbarī*, Persian text (Bib. Ind.), Vol. I, p. 377.

² *Ibid.*, p. 377.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 377.

⁴ *Maāthir-i 'Ālamgīrī* (Bib. Ind.), p. 62; *'Ālamgīr Nāmah* (Bib. Ind.), p. 1049.

Transcript.

[۱۰۷۲] عابد خان صدر الصدور بادشاه عالمگیر -

[طغرا] عن دیوان الصدارت العلیه العالمیه

- Line 1. گماشته‌های جاگیرداران و کزوزیان حال و استقبال پرگنه هیئت پور پتی و غیره متعلق بصوبه دارالسلطنت لاهور را اعلام آنکه بموجب فرمان
- Line 2. عالیشان خدمت قضای پرگنه مزبوره بقاضی محمد سعید برادر زاده قاضی حسن مقرر بوده ثانی الحال مطابق سند
- Line 3. سیادت پناه سید هدایت الله خدمت مذکوره بقاضی ابوالفضل بشرکت محمد سعید مذکور مقرر شده و آنها
- Line 4. جاهل اند و دریغوا بموجب فرمان عالیشان بندگان حضرت خدیو جهان خداوند زمان باعث امن و امان ظل ظلیل اینزد متعال نایب
- Line 5. نبیل دادار بے همال مظهر اتم پروردگار رحمت اتم انبریدگار مقنن قوانین [جها] نداری [مہد] مہاد کرم گستری خلافت پناه ظل [الله]
- Line 6. مرقوم بتاریخ بیست و دوم ذی حجه سنه شش از جلاوس والا منصب قضای پرگنه مزبور از تغیر آنها بمیر عبدالحکیم مشهور بحیات ولد
- Line 7. سید حسام الدین که بموجب فرمان عالیشان انحضرت موازی یکصد بیگه زمین از پرگنه شمینگ متعلق بصوبه مرقوم مقرر دارد و موازی یکصد بیگه زمین
- Line 8. افتاده لایق زراعت خارج جمع از پرگنه چماری متعلق بصوبه مسطور بشرط خدمت و عدم اخذ مہرانہ و نکاحانہ سوای یکصد بیگه سابق از
- Line 9. خریدف توشقان ٹیل در وجه مدد معاش او حسب الضمن مقرر گشته که کما ینبغي بلوازم و مراسم ان امر اقدام نموده دقیقه از
- Line 10. دقایق ان نامرعی نگذارد و حاملات انرا صرف مایحتاج خود نموده بدعای بقی دواست ابد مدت مواظبت می نموده باشد می باید که بر طبق فرمان
- Line 11. عالیشان عمل نموده اراضی مرقومه را در یکجا پیموده و چک بسته بتصرف او باز گذاشته اعلا و مطلقا تغیر و تبدیل بران راه ندهند
- Line 12. و بهیچ وجه من الوجوه طلب و طمع ننمایند و اگر در محلی دیگر چیزی داشته باشد انرا اعتبار نکنند طریقه جمهور سکنه و عموم متوطنه بلده مزبور
- Line 14. آنکه او را قاضی انجا شناخته همگی خطوط و قبالات را بخط و مہر او منظر و معتد شمسند درین باب قدغن تمام دانند

Translation.

[Seal impression.] ‘Abid Khān Ṣadr-uṣ-ṣadūr of the emperor ‘Alamgīr. 1072 (1661-2 A.D.).

[*Tughrā*.] From the most high and eminent *Dīwān-uṣ-ṣadārat* (Court of the Ṣadr).

The present and future agents of *Jāgīrdārs* and *Karōrīs* (tax-gatherers) of *Pargana* Haibatpur Paṭṭī etc., pertaining to the province of the Imperial city of Lāhaur, should know that, in accordance with the exalted mandate, the office of *Qāzī* of the aforesaid *Pargana* was entrusted to *Qāzī* Muḥammad Sa‘īd, the nephew of *Qāzī* Jumman. Subsequently according to the *Sanad* (deed of appointment) of the asylum of chieftainship (named) Sayyid Hidāyatullah, the above-mentioned office was committed to the charge of *Qāzī* Abul Fazl in co-partnership of the said Muḥammad Sa‘īd; and that these proved ignorant (unworthy of that office). Now according to the glorious mandate of the devoted servants of His Majesty, the king of the world, the lord of the age, the cause of peace and security, the shady garden of delight of the most high God, the excellent vicegerent of the paramount distributor of justice, the most perfect manifestation of the omnipotent, the universal mercy of the creator, the author of the laws of empire, [the founder] of the throne of munificence, the asylum of the *khilāfat*, the shadow [of God], dated the 22nd day of *Dhīḥijjah*, the sixth year of the exalted accession, the office of *Qāzī* of the aforesaid *Pargana* is entrusted, in their supersession, to Mir ‘Abdul Haī, better known as Ḥayāt, the son of Sayyid Husāmuddīn, on whom in accordance with His Majesty’s exalted mandate one hundred *bighas* of land from the *Pargana* of Ḥamīnagar in the aforesaid *Subāh* (province), and one hundred *bighas* of uncultivated land suitable for cultivation and free from government revenue from the *Pargana* of *Chamāri* in the above-mentioned *Subāh* in addition thereto is conferred as *madad-i ma‘āsh*¹ from the autumn harvest *Tawīshqānīl* (the year of the hare)² according to the endorsement on condition of his performing his duties and foregoing *Mīhrāna*³ and *nikahāna*,⁴ so that he may properly discharge the requirements of his office without leaving the least particular unobserved, and appropriating the proceeds of the land for his necessities may continue his prayers for the perpetuity of the eternal rule. It is necessary that they (the above-mentioned authorities) acting in conformity with the exalted mandate, should measure the above-mentioned parcel of land in one and the same place, mark its boundaries; and leave it in his possession without making any change or alteration to it. Nor should they on any account solicit or expect any gratuity; and if he possess any other property in any other locality they should make no deduction on this account. The attitude of all people living and dwelling in the aforesaid town must be as that towards the *Qāzī* of the town, and all documents and deeds bearing

¹ The *Chaghtāi* word *Sayūrghāl* is translated in Persian *madad-i ma‘āsh*, i.e. assistance of livelihood. It denotes lands given for benevolent purposes! Such lands were hereditary, differing from *Jāgīr* or *tuyūl* lands, which were conferred for a specified time. *Ain-i Akbari* translated by Blochmann, Vol. I, p. 270.

² The 4th year of the 12-year cycle of the Turkish era also known as Aighuri era.

³⁻⁴ A fee exacted by the *Qāzī* from the Muhammadans at weddings.

his signature and seal mark should be accepted as proved and genuine; their conformity to this matter is imperative.

PARWĀNA No. II.

It was issued in favour of Sayyid Muḥammad Ghauth, appointing him *Qāzī* of Baṭāla, which was a *sarkār* in the province of Lahore, or the Panjab.¹ It is dated 22nd year of the reign of Muḥammad Shāh (1740-1 A.D.), and is impressed with the seal of Zahir-ud-daula Mujahid Jang Azīm Khan Bahadur, the *Ṣadr-uṣ-ṣadr* of that emperor.

Transcript.

[مهر] الله - ظهير الدولة مجاهد جنگ عظيم خان بهادر صدر الصدر فدوي محمد شاه بادشاه
غازي - ۱۱۵۲

[طغرا] من ديوان الصدارت العلية العاليه

- Line 1. گماشتهای جاگیرداران و کزوبیان و جمہور سکنہ پرگنہ بتالہ مضاف عربہ پنجاب را اعلام انکہ
Line 2. حسب الحکم جہانمطاع آفتاب شعاع گردون ارتفاع منصب قضای پرگنہ مسطور معہ سواد
قصہ و قریات متعلقہ ان
Line 3. از تغیر میر محمد بسید محمد غوث ولد سید ہیبت اللہ مقبر و مفوض گشتہ کہ کما ینبغي
بلوازم منصب مرہور قیام نمودہ در فصل قضایا و خصوصیات
Line 4. و اجرائی حدود و تعزیرات و اقامت جمعہ و جماعات و ترغیب مردم بطاعات و انکاح
من لا ولی لہ و قسمت تبرکات و حفظ اموال غیب و ایام
Line 5. و تعیین اوصیا و نصب قوام مساعی موفورہ بتقدیم رساند باید کہ برطبق حکم فیض شیم عمل
نمودہ مشار الیہ را
Line 6. قاضی آنجا دانستہ دست تصدی مومی الیہ در امور متعلقہ الخدمت مستقل دانند
و دیگری را سہیم و شریک او بدانند
Line 7. و صکوک و سجلات را بہرہ او معتبر شمارند درینباب قدغن دانستہ حسب المسطور بعمل آرند
بتاریخ بیست و ہشتم شہر ربیع الثانی سنہ ۲۲ جلوس والا قلمی شد

Translation.

[Seal impression.] God. Zahir-ud-daula Mujahid Jang 'Azīm Khān Bahādur *Ṣadr-uṣ-ṣadr*, the slave of Muḥammad Shāh, the king and champion of faith. 1152 (1739-40 A.D.).

[*Tughra*.] From the most high and eminent *Dīwān-uṣ-ṣādārat* (Court of the *Ṣadr*).

¹ Ain-i Akbari Persian text (Bib. Ind.), Vol. I, p. 387.

The agents of *Jāgirdārs*, the *Karōṛīs* (tax-gatherers) and the people residing in the *Pargana* of Baṭāla in the province of the Panjāb should know, that in accordance with the mandate obeyed by all the world, splendid as the sun, and high as the sky, the office of *Qāzī* of the above-mentioned *Pargana*, together with the suburbs of the town and the villages pertaining to it is committed and entrusted to the care of Sayyid Muḥammad Ghauth, the son of Sayyid Haibatullah, in supersession of Mir Muḥammad, so that the former, properly holding charge of the duties of the afore-said post, may put forward every endeavour in deciding quarrels and animosities, executing the penal laws, arranging for the performance of the Friday prayer and other congregational prayers, encouraging worship and devotion, contracting matrimonial alliances of those who have no guardians, making partition of inheritances, protecting the properties of absentees and orphans, determining legatees, and administering justice. It behoves that the people acting in accordance with the gracious mandate should recognise him as *Qāzī* of that place, accept his judgment in the matters connected with his office as absolute, hold none his compeer and treat as authentic the deeds and documents impressed with his seal. They must deem this matter imperative and comply with the injunctions recorded above. Written on the 28th of the month of *Rabī'a* II, the 22nd year of the high accession.

PARWĀNA NO. III.

This is identical to No. II, and seems to have been issued to confirm it. It is dated the 24th year of the reign of Muḥammad Shāh (1742-3 A.D.), and is impressed with the seal of Shari'at Khān Tarkhān.

Transcript.

[مهر] شریعت خان تر خان خانہ زاد محمد شاہ بادشاہ نازی - ۱۴

[طغرا] عن دیوان الصدارت العالیہ

- Line 1. گماشتہاں جاگیرداران و کزوریان و جمہور سکنہ پرگنہ بٹالہ مضاف صوبہ پنجاب را اعلام انکہ
 Line 2. حسب الحکم جہانمطاع آفتاب شعاع گردون ارتفاع منصب قضای پرگنہ مسطور معہ سواد
 قصبہ و قریات متعلقہ آن
 Line 3. از تغیر محمد میر بفضیلت پناہ سید محمد غوث ولد میر ہیبت اللہ مقرر و مفوض گشتہ
 کہ کما ینبغی
 Line 4. بلوازم منصب مزبور قیام نمودہ در فصل قضایا و خصومات و اجرای حدود و تعزیرات و اقامت
 جمعہ و جماعات و ترغیب مردم بطاعات
 Line 5. و انفکاح من لاوائی لہ و قسمت تبرکات و حفظ اموال غیب و ایتام و تعین اوصیا و نصب قوام
 مساعی موفورہ بتقدیم رساند باید کہ بر طبق حکم فیض شیم عمل نمودہ
 Line 6. مشار الیہ را قاضی آنجا دانستہ دست تصدی مومی الیہ در امور متعلقہ الخدمت مستقل
 دانند و دیگری را سہیم و شریک او ندانند و صکوک و سجلات را

بمهر او معتبر شمارند درین باب قدغن دانسته حسب المسطور بعمل آرند بتاریخ بیست و دوم شهر Line 7.

محرم الحرام سنه ۲۴ جلوس والا [قلمی] شد

Translation.

[Seal impression.] God. Shari'at Khān Tarkhān, the slave of Muḥammad Shāh, the king and the champion of faith. 14 [The year of accession of Muḥammad Shāh = 1732-3 A.D.]

[*Tughra.*] From the most high and eminent *Dīwān-uṣ-ṣadārat* (Court of the Ṣadr).

The agents of *Jāgiirdārs*, the *Karōṛīs* (tax-gatherers) and the public residing in the *Pargana* of Baṭāla in the province of the Panjāb should know, that in accordance with the mandate obeyed by all the world, splendid as the sun and high as the sky, the office of *Qāzī* of the above-mentioned *Pargana*, together with the suburbs of the town and the villages pertaining to it is committed and entrusted to the care of his eminence Sayyid Muḥammad Ghauth, the son of Mīr Haibatullah, in supersession of Muḥammad Mīr, so that the former, properly holding charge of the duties of the aforesaid post, may put forward every endeavour in deciding quarrels and animosities, executing the penal laws, arranging for the performance of the Friday prayer and other congregational prayers, encouraging worship and devotion, contracting matrimonial alliances of those who have no guardians, making partition of inheritances, protecting the properties of absentees and orphans, determining legatees, and administering justice. It behoves that the people acting in accordance with the gracious mandate should recognise him as *Qāzī* of that place, accept his judgment in the matters connected with his office as absolute, hold none his compeer and treat as authentic the deeds and documents impressed with his seal. They must deem this matter imperative and comply with the injunctions recorded above. Written on the 22nd of the sacred month of Muharram the 24th year of the high accession.

The Family of Lady Juliana Dias da Costa (1658-1732).

By the Rev. H. HOSTEN, S.J.

I do not intend going into the history proper of Lady Juliana, a Portuguese lady, who flourished at the Courts of Aurangzeb, Bahādur Shāh I (or Shāh 'Ālam I), Jahāndār Shāh, Farrukhsiyar and Muhammad Shāh. What little we know of her history has been written by Valentyn, Colonel J. B. Gentil,¹ H. Beveridge² and J. A. Ismael Gracias.³ Suffice it to say that for her sake Bahādur Shāh created a new dignity, the "Juliana," or the dignity of crowning the Emperor, a privilege which became hereditary in her family.

I believe new light can be thrown on Juliana's pedigree.

Juliana's father was Agostinho Dias da Costa. I think he must be identified with a certain gentleman, "born at Cochin and married at Hugli, who, brought as a prisoner from Hugli to Agra in 1633, had become a renegade." Fr. A. Botelho, S.J., who writes this in 1670 (*Jesuit MS. letters*), refrains from naming him, because he was well known, and his story did not require his naming him.

Valentyn says that Juliana's father was a merchant at Cochin, who, when the Dutch took the place, went to Goa, thence to Bengal and Mogor, his daughter Juliana being born to him in Bengal. Valentyn must be wrong about two points: (1) that her father left Cochin after the Dutch took it, *i.e.*, after 1663; (2) that Juliana was born in Bengal. If Juliana was born in Bengal after 1663, she could not have been, as asserted by Valentyn, 55 years old in 1712, whereas, if she was born in 1658, as Gentil has it, who married in her family, she would have been 54 years old in 1712. Fr. Emmanuel de Figueiredo, S.J., says that she was born at Agra shortly after Mirzā Zū-l-Qarnain's death.⁴ Now Zū-l-Qarnain, the Catholic Armenian Grandee, must have died before or about 1656. Again, if Juliana was 75 years old when she died in 1732 (*Gentil*),⁵ she must have been born in 1657 or thereabouts.

Gentil, then, appears to have the correct date of her birth. In that case she was not born in Bengal, for I take it that her father is the renegade alluded to by Fr. Botelho.

My reason for identifying him with the renegade is that we hear of one Agostinho Dias in Mogor before 1663. Manucci refers to him. They were together in Multan.

¹ Col. J. B. Gentil, *Mémoires sur l'Indoustan*, Paris, 1822, pp. 367-380.

² H. Beveridge, *East and West*, Bombay, July, 1903.

³ J. A. Ismael Gracias, *Uma Dona Portuguesa na Corte do Grão Mogol*, Nova Goa, Imprensa Nacional, 1907.

⁴ Cf. Stöcklein, *Welt-bott*, Bd. 31, p. 2.

⁵ The Viceroy of Goa wrote in 1715 that she was already more than 70 years old; but he must be wrong, or the figure has not been properly read. Cf. J. A. Ismael Gracias, *Uma dona Portuguesa*, Nova Goa, 1907, p. 163.

"One day, a Portuguese by name Agostinho Dias begged me to abandon the company of the eunuch (Basant), because he knew of a certainty that there existed an order of Aurangzeb for his seizure and execution." The information proved correct. Basant was killed shortly after at Lahore in 1659. (*Storia do Mogor*, I, lxxix, 363-365). By itself, this passage does not prove our contention. It must be compared with a Persian biography of Juliana referred to by Mr. Beveridge in his article on Dona Juliana (*East and West*, Bombay, July, 1903), the translation of which biography by Prof. E. H. Palmer was published in Maltebrun's *Nouvelles Annales des Voyages*, Vol. for 1865. This biography connects Juliana and her mother with the capture of Hugli (1632), the two having been made slaves, it is asserted, to one of Shāh Jahān's ladies. In the case of Juliana this is impossible, since she died in 1732, aged 75 (*Gentil*). In the case of her father and mother, I consider that, in the light of Fr. Botelho's allusion, the Persian biography is correct. The shipwreck which Juliana suffered on a journey, according to Gentil, would be an allusion to the stranding and capture by the Moors of the Portuguese vessels at the sack of Hugli in 1632, at which time, not Juliana, but her parents must have been taken prisoners. Juliana's father became medical attendant of Prince Muazzam and died in Golconda shortly before Prince Muazzam was imprisoned by his father, which latter event took place in March, 1686. (Cf. H. Beveridge, *op. cit.*). The author of the Persian biography was alive in 1774. He wrote his history for Col. Gentil. His name, which has been read Gastin or Gaston Brouet, must be Augustin Bravette or Bravet, also corruptly written Bervette, Barbette.¹

Juliana died (at Delhi?) in 1732, and was buried at Agra, in the Church of the Christians (*Gentil*). No inscription to her name is found there, however. If the native chapel in the compound of the Catholic Cathedral, Agra, is sometimes called

¹ A Frenchman, Bravette, is mentioned in Manucci as having come to India in Jahāngir's reign, therefore before 1628. Fr. Botelho says he was one of Shāh Jahān's lapidaries. He had a son born to him at Agra, Jacome Bravette, who is described as still a young man between 1648 and 1654. His epitaph in Padres Santos' Cemetery, Agra, I translate from the Portuguese: "Here lies Jacome [James] Bravette. Died on the 1st (7th?) of March, 1686." Salvador de Bourbon (b. 1736) married a Miss "Bervette." After 1736, several other marriages took place between the Bravettes and the Bourbons. The name must still exist, as that of the descendants of Louisa Bourbon and one "Bervette." (Col. W. Kincaid's article: *The Indian Bourbons*, in *The Asiatic Quarterly Review*, Jan.-Apr., 1887). Augustin Brouet (Bravette) says that he had collected information from his ancestors for his history of Juliana. (Cf. Beveridge, *op. cit.*) Perhaps he had married in Juliana's family; but, he could have learned much from the Bourbons and his own family. Augustin must have made Gentil's acquaintance at the Court of Oudh, Faizābād, where Gentil spent fully ten years (1764-1775). In 1766, René Madec, a Breton of Quimper, who from a sailor became a Nawāb, married, in his camp at Papundh, Marianna, daughter of Augustin Barbette (*sic*) and Magdalen of Delhi, Augustin and his relatives coming from Lucknow to the marriage. Father F. X. Wendel, S.J., officiated. Madec wrote from Agra, 1775: "I married in this town a girl born in the country, of French origin, and therefore, a Christian. About 150 years ago, in the reign of Jehanguir, a Mogol Emperor who was very fond of foreigners, several Frenchmen and other Europeans fixed themselves at Agra, drawn thither by that Emperor's favours. Their posterity subsists to this day, to the number of some 30 families, whom the blessing of God and the care of the Jesuits have invariably maintained in the profession of Christianity. My young wife gave me several children, of whom a boy and a girl are alive. I have them brought up near me." Cf. Emile Barbé, *Le Nabab René Madec*, Paris, Alcan, 1894, pp. 40, 41. In 1778, Madec returned to Brittany, where he was ennobled and died in 1784, his widow, born at Delhi in 1763, living on till 1791. Her name appears also in the form Barvette (p. 288). One of the children, Mary, died at Bharatpur, May 21, 1771, and is buried in the Padres Santos' Cemetery, Agra. In 1766, Augustin Barbette is described as the intimate adviser of Sujā'-ud-daula of Faizābād (p. 38). The advent of the English in Oudh proved the financial ruin of the Bravettes; they were deprived of their pay (p. 247).

Juliana's Church, as sometimes it is called Akbar's Church, perhaps there is an allusion to the fact that Juliana II. was buried in it; but the name Juliana popularly associated with Akbar's Church is that of Juliana I. of Akbar's time, for the name Juliana is coupled, though erroneously, with John de Bourbon, John de Bourbon and Juliana I. being regarded as the builders of the Church. It is probably due to the fact that Juliana II.'s father was a doctor, and that she herself was credited with some knowledge of medicine,¹ that Juliana I., the supposed wife of John de Bourbon, was described in 1832 by the Vicar Apostolic of Agra as Signora Juliana of Goa, a lady doctor in Akbar's seraglio. Another document in the Agra Mission Archives says more correctly that Lady Juliana I. was an Armenian lady; but it adds, "who was in medical charge of the Emperor's harem."

It seems that some notices are found in native writers on Juliana II. "These, however, as far as yet known, are very slight, and only mention the date of her death and the fact that a *serai* is named after her."²

Valentyn gives a portrait of Lady Juliana, where we see her wearing a cross (p. 297). Gentil's chapter on Juliana is headed by a picture of two banners crossed, each bearing a cross; evidently an allusion to Lady Juliana's battle-standard, for she was an Amazon, and is credited with twice having miraculously turned the tide of battle in favour of the Moghul Emperors, her protectors.

Father Saignes, S.J., writes in his account of Nādir Shāh's invasion of Hindustan how Lady Juliana's palace and the two Catholic Churches of Delhi were destroyed in the sack of the town (1739). [Letter from Chandernagore, 10 February 1740, *Lettres édif. et cur.*, Vol. iv., (Levant), Paris, 1780, p. 260]:—

"Our Society had two Churches at Dely, which were burned in this conflagration. They had been built by the liberality of Emperor Gehanguir; that Prince and his successor were very much inclined towards the Christian Religion, which, under their reign, made considerable progress; the fondest hopes were then entertained for the future, but these hopes vanished with the Portuguese power in India. Two Portuguese Jesuits, who were always living at Dely, were happy enough to escape the slaughter: there they cultivated some Christian remnants, to the number of seven hundred: all the men able to bear arms were in the Emperor's service, and the greater number were killed. The palace (*hôtel*) of a Christian lady, celebrated by her piety, and much esteemed by the Emperor and the Court, suffered the same fate as our Churches."

Col. J. B. Gentil helps us to trace a number of Juliana's relatives. Her father was Agostinho Dias da Costa. She had a sister Angélique, married to Dom Velho de Castro,³ a Portuguese fidalgo, whom Shāh 'Ālam highly honoured, and, when Dom

¹ Father Ippolito Desideri, S.J., refers to her and to the success she owed at the Moghul Court to her skill in medicine and surgery, in his work on Tibet. Cf. C. Puini, *Il Tibet ...* (1715-1721), Roma, 1904, p. viii. Puini did not publish, however, that part and several others of the MS.

² H. Beveridge, *op. cit.*, p. 3.—The texts ought to be collected.

³ Joan "Whelo" is mentioned by Valentyn, p. 295, as Captain of the European troops in the Emperor's service in 1712. One Sebastian Weale [Sebastian Velho?] is mentioned as in Aurangzeb's service in 1686. Cf. Manucci, *Storia do Mogor*, III, 93.

Diogo Mendes de Castro,¹ another fidalgo, married Juliana's niece, Shāh 'Ālam crowned him with a nuptial ornament. Isabella Velho, Juliana's niece, succeeded her in her rank at Court. Five other grand-nieces succeeded Isabella till the reign of Ahmad Shāh (1748). In 1761, Sebastian Velho was killed, and his wife, Lucia Mendes, who had the dignity of "Juliana," viz., of crowning the Emperor, left Delhi with her son and daughter for Faizābād, the capital of Suja'-ud-daula, Nawāb of Oudh. Till 1775, when Shuja'-ud-daula died, she and her children were in receipt of a pension. In 1772, Col. J. B. Gentil married Theresa Velho, daughter of Sebastian Velho and Lucia Mendes, and great-grand-niece of Juliana, Theresa being descended from her by both her father's and her mother's side. At his accession, Asaf-ud-daula asked Gentil to withdraw from his Court, as the English insisted on his departure. Accordingly, Gentil left on February 17th, 1775, and arrived in France in 1778. Theresa Velho died at Bagnols, in Bas-Languedoc, the seat of the Gentil family, in 1778, and her husband followed her in the grave at Bagnols on February 15, 1799, leaving a son. Lucia Mendes, Theresa's mother, died at Versailles on January 2, 1806. (Cf. Gentil, *Mémoires sur l'Indoustan*, Paris, 1882, pp. 367-380).²

Other records allow us to discover connections of Juliana's family as far back as Shāh Jahān's time.

Dom Diogo Mendes was the recipient of two letters addressed to him in Mogor by the Viceroy of Goa (1714-1715).³ One Joseph Borges da Costa was Dona Juliana Dias da Costa's grandson (*neto*), his brother-in-law (*cunhado*) being Dom Diogo Mendes.⁴ On December 5, 1715, Dom João of Portugal honoured them both with the habit of Christ.⁵ On September 26, 1716, there is still question of two *alvaras* of the habit of Christ for Dom Diogo Mendes and Dom Joseph Dias da Costa.⁶ Perhaps the latter name applies to the same person as Dom Joseph Borges da Costa.

The Mendes were, very likely, descendants of Lourenço Mendes, a Portuguese, a native of Daman, who drew the models of the jewels which Shāh Jahān ordered to be made, the King's goldsmiths then applying the enamel and the precious stones. He was at Delhi in 1648.⁷ Probably, he is the Lourenço Mendes Botelho who died on July 1, 1664, and is buried in Padres Santos' Cemetery, Agra. The (red sandstone?) platform of the tomb is an expensive one; there must also have been a balustrade or railing round it, as is shown by the sockets for pillars. In the same cemetery lies

¹ Gentil writes Mendece, and each time afterwards "Meudece." The sister's name, Angélique, was found by Beveridge in *Biogr. Universelle*, Ed. Michanel.

² Hakim Mendece, who was Vizir under Asaf-ud-daula and his brother Sa'adat Ali Khān, Nawāb of Oudh, was not a Mendes. Cf. Bishop Heber's *Narrative of a Journey...* (1824-25), London, 1828, Vol. 1, pp. 396-398, 426, and compare with Sleeman's *Journey in Oudh*.

³ Cf. J. A. Ismael Gracias, *Uma Dona Portuguesa na Corte do Grão Mogol*, Nova Goa, Imprensa Nacional, 1907, pp. 132, 138-140, 143.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 140. I look with some suspicion on the term "grand-son." It seems, however, that Juliana was married, and that the Conde de Alvor, to please Aurangzeb, sent to Delhi Juliana Dias da Costa and her husband, a surgeon. Cf. J. A. Ismael Gracias, *Uma Dona Portuguesa*, Nova Goa, 1907, p. 95. The Conde de Alvor was Viceroy between 1681 and 1686. Gracias could not find the name of Juliana's husband.

⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 145-147, 155.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 158.

⁷ MS. Letters of the Jesuits.

the wife of Mendes, Ursula, who died in 1768. Manucci knew one Dom Diogo Mendes Botelho, while living with his countryman, the Venetian lapidary Hortensio Bronzoni.¹

The Borges would have been allied to Hortensio Bronzoni. The Jesuits, who knew him at the Court of Delhi about 1648, call him Ortencio Borges, a Venetian lapidary to Shāh Jahān. His *alias* is explained by the fact that he married Suzanna Borges, one of his slaves, a Hindu by birth, who by her first husband had a son Nicolāo Borges, a young man of twenty, married to a daughter of Francisco de Souza.²

Bronzoni or Borzoni is a distinctly Italian name, and Manucci, a Venetian like him, who knew him well, is likely to have given us his name correctly.³ It was Bronzoni who cut for Shāh Jahān the diamond presented by Mir Jumlah. It weighed 900 ratis or 781½ carats, and was perhaps the Kohinur. Hortensio did his work so badly that he was fined Rs. 10,000 for it.⁴ It was he again who made for Aurangzeb a small ship with sails, rigging, guns, flags, etc. It was launched on a large tank and worked by European artillerymen.⁵

At Agra, in Padres Santos' Cemetery, there are on the same platform four inscribed tombstones of the Borges family in the best style adopted by Christians in the 17th and 18th centuries. A fifth larger stone in the centre records the death of Hortensio Bronzoni (or Borges) in 1677. I translate the inscriptions from the Portuguese:—

1. Here is buried Hortensio Bronzoni, a Venetian; died on the 15th of August of the year 1677.

2. Here lies buried Aneculao [Nicolāo ? (Borges)], who died on the 1st of May 1670.

3. Here lies Dom Joseph Borges, a Professed Knight of the Order of Christ. Died at Dely on the (1?)4th of January of 171(8?).

4. Here lies Francisco Borges. Died at Ambala and was buried on the 12th of May 1707.

¹ Manucci, *Storia do Mogor*, III, 286.

² *Ibid.*, III, 209; 214-216; 286; IV, 198. Manucci speaks of Francisco de Souza, a renegade, appearing to Anna Vas, an old woman of (from) Bengal, who lived at Lahore, and telling her that he was in hell (III, 209). Another of Francisco de Souza's daughters married the French physician François de la Palisse, *alias* St. Jacques (IV, 198 n). Friends of Suzanna Borges were Isabel Correa, Catherine Correa, Isabel Bocara and Maria Toscana (III, 216).—John de Souza, a physician, was a friend of Manucci's at Delhi, 1661-62 (II, 40, 36 n. 2).—Juliana's father had probably a brother, John Dias, whom the Jesuits describe as "a noble of Cochín." He married Maria Toscana, a Moorish woman, who became a Christian at the age of 40. Maria Toscana had two sons and a nephew. By her marriage with John Dias, she had also a daughter, Theresa Dias de Almeida, who married a bold and hitherto unknown adventurer. This man, a common soldier, passed himself off among the Dutch of Batavia as Dom Luis de Sylveira Lobo, Count of Sarcetas, then came to Madras and Mailapur; here he was "recognised" by a Portuguese Missionary as the genuine Count of Sarcetas, and thanks to this recognition he borrowed large sums of money from different people, among others, John Petite, a Frenchman; next he went to several Portuguese towns on the West Coast duping everybody; finally he came to Delhi under the name of John de Souza Montenegro, deceived the Moghul Emperor by his genteel airs, married Theresa Dias de Almeida, and had a son by her. He became a renegade, took the name of Dīn Muhamud, repented, and died before September 7, 1686. (Jesuit MS. Annual Letter of 1670-1678, and September 7, 1686). Manucci has a fictitious story in which he introduces Hortensio Bronzoni and Juan Dias de Almeida with a marriageable daughter of his (III, 287).

³ A. de Gubernatis, *Storia dei Viaggiatori Italiani nelle Indie Orientali*, Livorno, 1875, p. 47, mentions a certain Gio. Francesco Maria Borzone, who embarked in 1648 on one of the two ships sent to India by the newly started Company of Genoa.

⁴ Tavernier (Ball's Edn.), I, 396.

⁵ Manucci, *Storia do Mogor*, II, 47; 47 n. 1.

5. Here lies Dona Theresa Borges Died on the 10th of March and was buried on the 12th of the year (1776?).

Nos. 2 and 3 are to the right of No. 1; Nos. 4 and 5 to the left. One Fraucisea Borges died on the 16th of March (1654), and is buried in the same cemetery. She was, perhaps, the daughter of Francisco de Souza, who married Nicolão Borges of inscription No. 2.

Dom Joseph Tavares, a Portuguese, married a grand-daughter (*neta*) of Dona Juliana Dias da Costa.¹ We have several letters by him to the Viceroy of Goa. He writes from Delhi (May 12, 1727) that D. Juliana has seven grand-children (*netos*), boys and girls. A Venetian engineer had arrived at Delhi from Bengal (Letter from Delhi, June 2, 1727). The Raja of Amber, who was very friendly with Fr. Manoel de Figueiredo, S J., was about to send an embassy to the King of Portugal (Letter from Delhi, 8 July, 1727). A French surgeon, Martin, was at the Delhi Court, and the Portuguese were trying to get rid of the Italian engineer, whom they took for an English spy. The Chief Surgeon of Bassein was at the Court also, and had been called by the King's mother (Letter from Delhi, August 27, 1727). Fureste Foresti, the Italian engineer, had left for Patna with the brother of the French surgeon (Letter from Delhi, October 13, 1727). All the time, Dona Juliana was like the Madame de Maintenon of the Moghul Court. No affairs of any importance, internal or external, were transacted without her.²

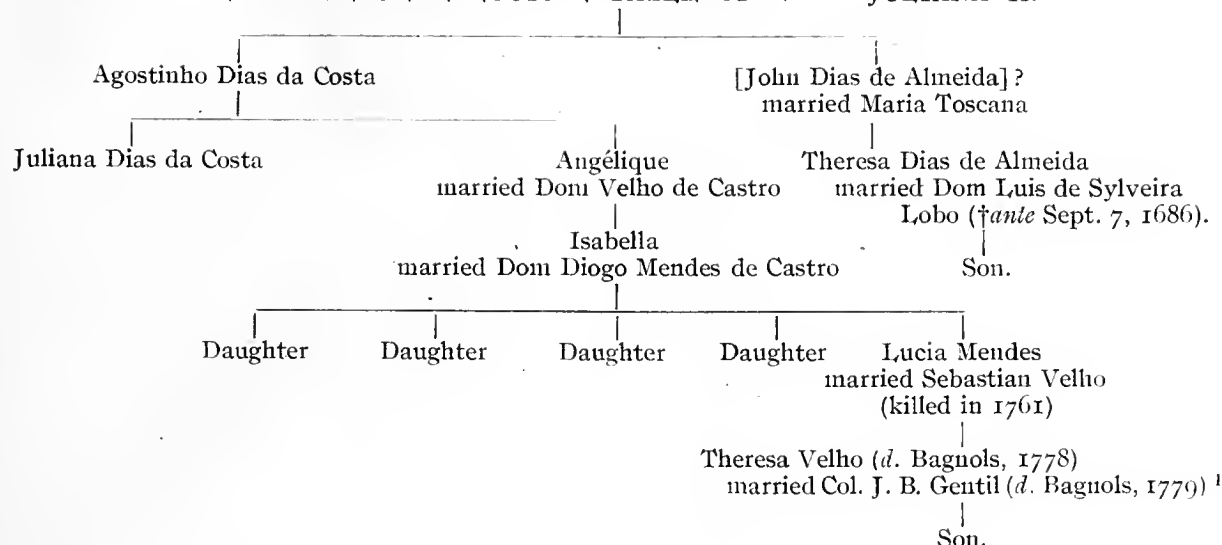
We should not be surprised if Dom Joseph Tavares was a lineal descendant of Pero Tavares, who founded Hugli in 1580. An inscription in Padres Santos' Cemetery, Agra, says: "Here lies Lucretia Tavares. Died in the year 1660." She must be the Lucretia Tavares who was taken by the Moors in September, 1632, when the ship of her husband, Captain Gomes Barreiros, got stranded in the Hugli. She was then "the cross of that same Gomes Barreiros, as she had been of Bastian A. Tibao, King of Sundiva." (Jesuit MS. letter of 1633). Lucretia Tavares must have been dragged into captivity to Agra with the 4,000 other Christians of Hugli in 1632-1633. On that occasion Dona Luisa, the daughter of Lucretia Tavares and Gomes Barreiros, Governor of Hugli (1632), was taken from her parents and consigned to the seraglio (Jesuit MS. Annual letter of 1670-1678). Another inscription in the same cemetery records the death of Monica Tavares on January 20, 1679.

¹ Cf. J. A. Ismael Gracias in *O Oriente Portugues*, Nova Goa, Vol. VII, 1910, p. 188.

² *Ibid.*, 145-147, 165, 157-158. A Frenchman, Martin, surgeon to the Emperor, was at the Court of Lahore in 1712. Cf. Valentyn, *IVde Deel*, pp. 282b, 283b, 300b, 301a. The Martins are a well-known family still existing at Agra, and probably descended from this French surgeon. A large number of inscriptions in Padres Santos' Cemetery, Agra, attest their genealogy. Descendants of "Foresti" are still extant in India too, I believe.

³ Manucci (*Storia do Mogor*) knew one Pero Gomes de Oliveira at Agra (III, 219), also one Ignacio Gomes (I, 167).

TENTATIVE GENEALOGICAL TABLE OF LADY JULIANA II.



LADY JULIANA II AND KETELAAR'S MISSION TO LAHORE.

(Dec. 10, 1711—Oct. 9, 1712).

François Valentyn's *Oud en Nieuw Oost-Indien*, IVde Deel, IIde Stuk, Amsterdam, 1726, is sufficiently rare in India, and its Dutch forbidding enough to most readers, to excuse my summarising some of the chief events relating to Ketelaar's Mission to the Great Moghul and Lady Juliana's connection with it.

Shāh 'Ālam I or Bahādur Shāh.... "was a great friend and protector of the Christians, though this must be ascribed mainly to the influence of a Portuguese lady, of whom we shall speak still hereafter" (p. 280a).

Johan Josua Ketelaar arrived *viâ* Agra at 3 kos from Lahore on Dec. 10, 1711. He came on an embassy to Shāh 'Ālam. On Dec. 11, he encamped in the Khān Khānān's *Sarāe*, where Dona Juliana Dias da Costa, the Governess of the Emperor's Seraglio, a lady of great authority at the Court and very favourable to the Dutch, sent him a present of fruits reminding them of their own country, pears, apples, pomegranates, etc. (282b).

On Dec. 13, an Armenian Bishop and some Jesuits, then in the Emperor's *lashkar*, came to salute the Dutch Ambassador, and when, on Dec. 14, Ketelaar went in solemn procession to meet the *lashkar*, the Bishop and the Jesuit Fathers drove in his suite, seated in a Dutch four-wheeler which Ketelaar had brought from Surat (283a. b). On the way, they were met by a four-wheeled carriage occupied by Lady Juliana and the Emperor's four chief wives, who had come to view from behind the *parda* the Ambassador's procession (284a).

¹ Col. J. B. Gentil; born at Bagnols, June 25, 1726; came to India 1752; joined the Nawāb of Oudh's service in or before 1764; married Theresa Velho (1772); left Faizābād (1775); arrived in France (1778); died at Bagnols, February 15, 1799. He had a brother, the Abbé Antoine-Thibaut Gentil.

Suzanna Borges (cf. p. 5, and n. 2) married in second nuptials Ortenzio Bronzoni, alias Borges. Suzanna's son, by her first marriage, was Nicolāo (d. 1670), who married the daughter of Francisco de Souza. Dom Joseph Borges da Costa, Knight of the Order of Christ (d. 1718), was probably the son of Nicolāo Borges and Francisco de Souza's daughter. He was grandson of Dona Juliana Dias da Costa, and Diogo Mendes' brother-in-law.

About 3 p.m., Dona Juliana, to whom the Emperor had entrusted the affairs of this embassy, informed Ketelaar that she had arranged for an interview with the Emperor as soon as His Excellency wished, even the next day (284a).

Dec. 16, 1711.—Juliana invited the Ambassador to take up a better encampment in two gardens surrounded by high walls, "where they would be free from the smell of dead carcasses."

Dec. 17.—Ketelaar sent to the new camp his presents for the Emperor, and followed. The unpacking of the presents would take some time, and Juliana sent word that she would come with some of the Court-ladies to inspect them and tell him which would prove acceptable to the Emperor and the Princes.

Dec. 20.—Juliana came with some of the Court-ladies to the garden, where she was received in great state. She alighted out of a covered carriage, in which she had come unseen. Before her arrival she had sent a costly dinner of 50 covers (*shotels* = courses?), and after the repast, she honoured them in the King's name with *abir*, attar of roses, and betel wrapped in gold and silver. She remained till evening and expressed herself highly pleased, as did her companions.

Dec. 21.—A table of massive gold was sent in the King's name. All around, set in appropriate openings, were dishes, the centre of the table being occupied by a big bowl. The Ambassador was told that the second Prince, *Mahmud Azem* [Azim-ush-Shān] and two or three Umarās were hostile to the Christians, but that with some money it would be possible to bribe the Prince (284b).

Dec. 26.—Ketelaar sent his presents for the King's inspection.

Jan. 3, 1712.—Ketelaar and his suite moved through the *lashkar*, which lay on the banks of the Ravi, and came close to the King's tent. While delayed here, about noon, he was treated to breakfast by Juliana. About 3 p.m., the audience took place (285-286a).

Jan. 6.—Lady Juliana came on a visit to the Ambassador, inspected the presents destined for the Princes, and suggested that something more should be given to Prince Mahmud, the Keeper of the Imperial Seal, to win his favour (287a). Presents sent to two of the Princes.

Jan. 11.—Presents sent to Mahmud Azem and Refiel Sjah [Rafi-ush-Shān] (287a).

Jan. 24.—Ketelaar presents the Emperor's chief wife with the Dutch carriage brought from Surat (288a).

Jan. 26.—Juliana invites Ketelaar's three musicians to come and serenade the Emperor at night. They were first received in Juliana's tent. The Emperor, his wives, and Juliana listened to them unseen. The chief wife, *Niher Perwer*, sent them through Juliana the assurance of a rich present, and at Juliana's bidding, they withdrew to let the Emperor and the ladies inspect their instruments: a bass violin, harp and hautbois, after which they were recalled by Juliana and invited to spend the rest of the night in the tent.

Juliana also asked Ketelaar whether he wished to pay a visit to the Shalimar Gardens and the Parimahāl. The invitation was accepted (288-289a).

Jan. 28.—Visit to Shalimar; the fountains were made to play; 128 gardeners in charge of the gardens (289a).

Jan. 29.—Visit to the Parimahāl, within the town. In a large gallery stood a fine representation, cut in alabaster, of our Lord surrounded by Angels. Jahāndār Shāh, a friend of the Christians, was there with his chief wives. Ketelaar's musicians were sent that night to serenade Mosoddien (Ma'iz-uddīn Jahāndār Shāh), a function repeated two days later in honour of the third Prince Rafi-ush-Shān (289a-b).

Febr. 1.—Dutch drill in honour of Jahāndār Shāh in front of Dona Juliana's garden (289b).

Ketelaar falls ill. On Febr. 16, the Emperor sends for news about his health (289b).

Febr. 21.—Ketelaar reappears at Court and offers a *nazr* of gold rupees (289b-290a).

Febr. 27.—Juliana informs Ketelaar that, after much delay on Mahinud Azem's [Azīm-ush-Shān's] part, the first points of his requests had been granted. That same night, a great uproar arose, the Emperor having been seized with a sudden illness. The four Princes were taking up arms to dispute the succession (290).

Febr. 28.—At noon, the Emperor died, after appointing Jahāndār Shāh as his successor. It had been said at first that he had caught a cold, but another version had it that, having surprised one of his generals, *Jensiati Chan*, in his seraglio, he had been stabbed in the stomach and died three days after. The general had been instantly cut to pieces by two of the guards.

Juliana warned Ketelaar to be on his guard against plunderers, because the succession to the throne was always the occasion of trouble. Ketelaar took the necessary precautions (291a).

March.—The whole month of March was spent in civil war, with the result that Jahāndār Shāh's three younger brothers lost their lives, and he remained undisputed master of the throne (291a-294). Many of the former grandees were executed or deprived of their office, and others rose to higher dignities. Johan Whelo [Velho], Sardār of the Firinghis or Europeans in the Emperor's service, received the rank (*manzil*) of 25,000 and 500 cavalry (295b).

Apr. 7.—Ketelaar pays a visit to the new Emperor. No dress of honour ready.

Apr. 10.—Ketelaar invested with a dress of honour; the concessions made under the previous monarch ratified.

Apr. 14.—The Emperor on his way to a *masjid* passes near Ketelaar's garden and receives a *nazr* of gold rupees.

Apr. 25.—The Emperor's favourite wife, *Laal Coenwer*, a Hindū, passes with Juliana near Ketelaar's garden about 4 p.m., and receives from him a *nazr* of gold rupees.

Apr. 26.—The Emperor's chief wife sends in return betel-leaves. Follows an account of Lady Juliana:—

“Her father, Augustinho Dias da Costa, was a merchant and citizen of Coetsjien (Cochin) at the time when the Dutch took that town.

" Thence he went to Goa, and further to Bengal, where Donna Juliana was born.

" By and by, her parents betook themselves to Agra, where her father was admitted as Mansepdaar [Mansabdār] and surgeon by Prince Shāh 'Ālam Bahādur; but he died at Golconda shortly before the captivity of this Prince, after which this Lady was appointed Governess to the Emperor's seraglio.

" The vigilance and help bestowed on the said Prince during the nine years of his captivity, won for her great influence, after his release was ordered by his father Aurangzeb, and from that time she obtained the title of Chammem [Khānam] or Lady, with a monthly income of twenty-five thousand rupees, and a large number of male and female servants (296).

" When the Prince ascended his father's throne, she received an income of 4,000 *manzil* and the rank of an Ammerauw's (Umarā's) legitimate wife. Whenever she went out, she had in her suite two elephants and two red standards with white crosses.

" She was the head of all the Christians, and admitted them to service or dismissed them, as she pleased.

" She was like the oracle of the Emperor, of the Princes and all the Ammerauws (Umarās). Without taking presents from anyone, she helped every one and was loved by all. It is even said that, when the Emperor Shāh 'Ālam Bahādur gave battle to his brother Prince Azem [Azim] Tarra and was actually fleeing, she alone, seated near him on his elephant, encouraged him to make another stand against the enemy, assuring him that, as she and all the Christians had prayed for him, he would be victorious.

" It actually happened so; wherefore, the Emperor gave her the title of *Fiddewie Dnegoo Juliana*, which means 'Juliana devoted to prayer.'

" Besides this title, she had many others given her by this Prince, but on her Persian seal she used only this one: *Fiddewie Bhadur Sjah Juliana*, i.e., Juliana devoted to Bahādur Shāh.

" After the death of that Emperor, she wished to leave the Court and go to Goa, but the new Emperor Mosoddien (Ma'iz-uddīn) and the chief Christians at the Court prevailed on her to remain still some time in her office.

" She was then (*viz.* A.D. 1712) 55 years old, and her authority and influence at the Court was that of another Madame de Maintenon. We represent her in plate F.F."

Apr. 26.—The Emperor, his chief wife, and Juliana went stag-hunting. Ketelaar's papers were getting ready, but required still signing.

May 10.—The Emperor and his army left for Cirlint [Sirhind] for his inthronisation at Delhi on July 10. Ketelaar accompanied.

June 20.—The army left for Delhi (297).

July 10.—The Emperor's inthronisation at Delhi. Ketelaar at the darbār. Description of the Peacock-Throne (297*b*, 298).

Aug. 11.—Ketelaar receives a dress of honour in the Fort. His papers were getting signed. On May 20, the Ahmadābād concessions were still to be copied; 5 far-māns had been received (300).

Sept. 5.—The Emperor's French surgeon, Martin, threw difficulties in the way of the Dutch Company's possessing the "Ettebaarchan" house at Surat, but the Ajuda of Lady Juliana's courtiers thwarted him.

Sept. 21.—The French surgeon is put on half pay.

Sept. 22.—Ketelaar takes leave from the Emperor.

Sept. 23-28.—Taking leave from sundry grandees.

Sept. 29.—A new parwāna received, restoring the "Ettebaarchan" house of Surat to the Dutch.

Oct. 2.—At Lady Juliana's request, Ketelaar goes to the Fort to take leave of the Empresses.

Oct. 9.—Good-bye to Lady Juliana, and return to Surat *viâ* Agra. (*Taken from the Diary of the Mission*).

ST. XAVIER'S COLLEGE,
30, Park Street, Calcutta.

The Annual Relation of Father Fernão Guerreiro, S.J., for 1607-1608.

By THE REV. H. HOSTEN, S.J.

Ferdinand Guerreiro was born at Almodovar in Portugal and received into the Society of Jesus in 1567, at the age of seventeen. He died at Lisbon, Sept. 28th, 1617. We owe him no small debt of gratitude for his careful synopses of the letters of the Jesuit Missionaries of his time. His work consists of a series of 5 volumes covering the history of the Catholic Missions in India from 1600 to 1609 inclusively. They purport to be a faithful abstract of the letters of the Missionaries, and constitute for the modern historian one of the most reliable accounts of the period. Father du Jarric, who is held in such high esteem by all historians, has largely drawn his materials from Guerreiro.¹ Judging of the contents of the last volume in the series, it is to be regretted that a complete collection of Guerreiro's Annual Relations is not to be found in India. Such a collection would be of paramount importance to reconstruct the political, no less than the religious, annals of a decade of our Indian history.

F. Guerreiro's first Relation covers the years 1600 and 1601, and was published in 1603;² the second, the years 1602-03, (1605); the third, 1604-05, (1607); the fourth, 1606-07, (1609); the fifth, 1607-08 (1611).³

The title of the fifth *Relation* runs as follows:—

RELAÇAM / ANNAL DAS COV-/ SAS QVE FIZERAM OS PADRES / da Companhia de IESVS, nas partes da India Orien-/ tal, & em algũas outras da conquista deste Reyno nos / annos de 607. & 608. & do processo da conuersaõ / & Christandade daquellas partes, com mais / hũa addiçam á relaçam de / Ethiopia. / *TIRADO TVDO DASCARTAS DOS MES-/ mos Padres que de lá vierão, & ordenado pello Padre Fernão / Guerreiro da Companhia de IESV, natural de / Almodouar de Portugal. / Vay diuidida em sinco liuros./* O primeiro da prouincia de Goa, em que se contem as / missoes de Manomotapa, Mogor, & Ethiopia./ O segundo da prouincia de Cochim, em que se contem / as cousas do Malabar, Pegù, Maluco./ O terceiro das prouincias de Iapam, & China./ O quarto em que se referem as cousas de Guinë, & Ser-/ ra Leoa. / O quinto, em que se contem hũa addiçãõ a relaçoã de Ethiopia./ *Com licença da sancta Inquisiçam, Ordinario, & Paço./ EM LISBOA: Impresso por Pedro Crasbeeck./*

¹ He states in his preface that he has taken from Guerreiro's Relations the 3rd Vol. of his *Histoire des choses plus memorables aduenues tant es Indes orientales, qu' autres pays*. . . Cf. Sommervogel, Vol. III, Col. 1915. Compare Sir E. D. MacLagan's notes on du Jarric in *Proc. As. Soc. Beng.*, 1896, pp 45-6.

² Sommervogel gives erroneously the date 1694 for Fr. Collasso's Spanish translation of No. 1. It should be 1604. I have described the first four volumes and their contents in an article now ready: *The Jesuit Annual Relations on India* (1581-1654).

³ This article was written at Kurseong in 1907. Revising it now, ten years later, I refer to some books which have appeared since, and I bestow on some of my friends titles which they had not a decade ago.

ANNO M.DCXI./ Está taixado este liuro em 260. reis em papel./ Foll. 344 (18.6 cm. × 14 cm.).¹

Count von Noer had seen a copy of Guerreiro's *Relaçam* published in 1611. He quotes it in *Kaiser Akbar*, Vol. II, pp. 202, 309. Cf Mrs. Annette S. Beveridge's translation: *The Emperor Akbar*, Calcutta, Thacker, 1890, Vol. II, pp. 155, 234. In both quotations von Noer erroneously attributes to Akbar facts connected with Jahán-gír. At p. 309, he even represents Guerreiro as one of the Agra Missionaries who took part in an argument on the Divinity of Christ. Sir Edward Maclagan (*op. cit.*, p. 45) and Mrs. A. S. Beveridge had already, in this last instance, pointed out von Noer's oversight.

We do not think that a German translation of Guerreiro's *Relaçam* of 1611 was printed in 1613, as stated in *The Emperor Akbar*, Vol. II, p. 156. Sommervogel gives the year 1614 as the date of publication of *Indianische Neue Relation*, and my description of it, which was obtained independently from Sommervogel, has the year 1614.

Sold originally for the trifling sum of 260 reis, Guerreiro's last *Relaçam* has become so scarce that Carl W. Hiersemann, the antiquarian of Leipzig, asked, some 10 years ago, 250 Mks. for a copy which chanced to pass through his hands.² I do not think there exist more than two copies of it in Bengal: the copy at St. Mary's College, Kurseong, which I used,—a parchment-bound tome, once in the Roman College; the other in the Library of that keen-sighted bibliophile, the late Archbishop Goethals. The copy in the Kurseong library must have been itself presented by Archbishop Goethals before 1901, when he died. I translate the headings of Books I and II, the two dealing with India.

Bk. I.	Of what pertains to the Province of Goa. ³	
Ch. I.	Of the Province of Goa and of what is done in it.	Fol. 1r.
Ch. II.	Of the Mission of Monomotapa and Mozambique..	Fol. 3v.
Ch. III.	Of the Mission of the Mogor	Fol. 6r.
Ch. IV.	Of the success of certain controversies which the Fathers had with the Moors at the Court of the Mogor	Fol. 8v.

¹ *Indianische Neue Relation. Erster Theil. Was sich in der Goanischen Prouintz, Cochin, Malabar, China, Pegu und Maluco, so wol in Geistlichen als Weltlichen Sachen, vom 1607. 1608 und folgenden zugetragen. Vom R. Patre Fernando Guerreiro, der Societät Jesu, in Portugiesischer Sprach beschriben. Nachmals auszdem zu Liszbona getruckt ten Exemplar ins Teutsch gebracht. Gedruckt zu Augspurg bey Chrysostomo Dabertzhofer. Anno M.DC.XIII, 4°, ff. 4, pp. 111.*—This cannot be the complete translation.

Also in: *Historia y anal Relacion De las cosas que hizieron los Padres de la Compañia de Iesvs, Por las partes de Oriente y otras en la propagacion del Santo Euangelio, Los Años passados de 607. y 608. Sacada, limada, y compuesta de Portugues en Castellano por el Doctor Christoval Svarez de Figveroa. . . En Madrid, en la Imprenta Real, MDCXIII, 4°, pp. 566.* Southwell and Antonio attribute this translation to Father Collasso. Cf. Sommervogel, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, Col. 1292-3. Fr. Collasso translated the *Relação Annal* for 1600 and 1601. Sir E. D. Maclagan did not come across the 5th volume of Guerreiro's. He saw only Vols. 1 and 2. Even our Portuguese historian, Father Anthony Franco ignored some of the volumes in Guerreiro's series. He knew only the following: "Indiarum Orientis solis Historia an. 1600. & trium sequentium Lib. VI. Rursus an. 1606-1607. L.IV. Cf. Appendix, p. Xxx 2 of his *Synopsis Annalium Societatis Jesu in Lusitania ab Anno 1540 usque ad Annum 1725.* Augustæ-Vindelicorum & Graeci. Anno M.DCCXXVI.

² Cf. Cat. 302, No. 768.

³ In *The Examiner*, Bombay, Nov. 4, 1911, I gave the statistics of the Jesuit personnel for the different houses and

- Ch. V. A disputation which was held concerning the image
of Christ Crucified, and His Divinity .. *Fol. 111v.*
- Ch. VI. Enlarges on the proofs of the King's love and
affection for Christ our Lord .. *Fol. 13v.*
- Ch. VIII. Of the journey of Father Manoel Pinheiro from
Lahor to Goa and from Goa to Cambaya in the
interests of the Indian Government¹ .. *Fol. 19r.*
- Ch. IX. Of the Mission and discovery of Catayo, of its
success and final issue² .. *Fol. 23r.-27v.*
- Bk. II. Of the Province of Cochim
- Ch. I. Of the College of Cochim and its residences .. *Fol. 62v.*
- Ch. II. Of the Colleges of Cranganor, Caulam, Columbo, S.
Thome and of what was done in their districts .. *Fol. 65r.*
- Ch. III. Of the Residence in the Kingdom of Pegù, of the
wars of the Portuguese with the King of Aracaõ,
of their victories and the Mission to the Kingdom
of Siam³ .. *Fol. 72r.*
- Ch. IV. Of what was done in the Colleges of Malaca and
of Maluco .. *Fol. 81v.*
- Ch. V. Of what happened in the Mission of Maduré .. *Fol. 83v.*
- Ch. VI. Of the persecutions which Satan excited against the
Father and the other Christians of Maduré .. *Fol. 93v.*
- Ch. VII. How two Christians of Maduré went to Cochim, and
how Father Manoel Leitam was sent to the same
Mission .. *Fol. 99v.-106v.*

In his prologue, Guerreiro notes that the letters from Japan and China which he epitomizes were written in 1607 and 1608, whereas the letters from India, Ethiopia and the Coast of Guinea are dated 1608 and 1609. "Those countries are so far apart," he remarks, "and the communications so irregular, that the letters could not always reach in time to enable me to put together what was done in these different parts during the same years."

Missions of the Provinces of Goa and Cochim. The Mission of Mogor is said to have 5 members; but at p. 6 there is question of only 4. The fifth was probably Bro. Goes, then on his travels to Cathay.

¹ By the "Estado da India" are meant the Portuguese Possessions in India.

² The account of the adventurous travels in Tartary and death of Benedict Goes, the well-known Jesuit lay-brother, was written at Pekin by Fr. Matthew Ricci, S.J. Goes' journal had been torn up by some Muhammadans, during his last illness; but, John Fernandez, and Isaac the Armenian, Goes' faithful companion, collected the fragments and brought them to Father Ricci. Is our knowledge of Goes' adventures confined to the solitary account of Father Ricci? Many interesting details may have been preserved in the writings of those who interviewed Isaac on his way back to India, viz. the Jesuits of Macao; the Dutch Captain, who made him a prisoner near Malacca; the Jesuits of Goa, and, in particular, Fr. Manoel Pinheiro, who conducted him from Goa to Cambay. Guerreiro's *Relaçam* of 1602-03 contains one of Goes' letters (Lahore, Dec. 30, 1602) to the Provincial of Goa; another from Lahore (Febr. 14, 1603) to Fr. Jerome Xavier, a third to Fr. Manoel Pinheiro, stating that he had covered already 202 miles. There is a fourth letter addressed from Hircandé (Varkand), "the Court of the King of Cascar" (Kashgar), and dated Febr. 2, 1604, to Fr. Jer. Xavier. See also *Vie de P. Nicolas Trigault, S.J.*, par l'abbé Dehaisnes. Tournai, Casterman, 1864, pp. 226-7.

³ A very important chapter for the history of Burma and Arakan. I draw attention at the same time to a passage in Father Nicolas Trigault's letter (Dec. 25th, 1607, Goa). *Op. cit.*, pp. 235-7.

To give a fair idea of the importance of Guerreiro's *Relaçam*, I proceed to cull from his pages some of the more striking passages concerning Emperor Jahángír.

* * *

Bk. I. Ch. III. The four Fathers of the Society, who had been working in the Moghul Empire, Jerome Xavier, Manoel Pinheiro, Francis Corsi and Anthony Machado, were continuing "their labours and their exile in patience and in hope."

"The King was for some months in the Kingdom of Chabul, whither he had gone: and, as the Fathers did not accompany him on that journey, all four of them remained at Lahor, where, during the King's absence they applied themselves to the sacred ministry of the Society, and enjoyed among the Christians there as much quiet and security as if they had been in a Catholic town."

The occasion of Jahángír's journey from Agra to the North-West had been the revolt of his son Khusrú. Father C. Hazart, S.J.,¹ relates how Khusrú on Apr. 15th, 1606, left the Court at midnight with some of his friends, on the plea of paying a visit to the tomb of his grandfather. The sentries allowed him to pass. A few days later, he had brought over to his cause several great captains, and collected about him 12,000 men. Covering in haste a distance of '100 miles,' he went to besiege Lahore; but, after lying eight days before the place, he was informed that his father came to attack him. Immediately, he set out to meet him, in the hope of disputing to him the passage of a river. He came too late. Jahángír's army had already crossed. To add to the hopelessness of Khusrú's situation, it had rained the whole night. The bows of his soldiers were too slack for use, and the horses, being overtired, were unmanageable. In spite of these odds, Khusrú attacked his father with dauntless courage; but, he was defeated and fled with his general and some of his officers to Kábul, where the Governor of the place imprisoned him in the castle.

Hazart's narrative, which I somewhat condense, gives us, in the matter of chronology and events, the nearest approach to the account in the *Wáki'át-i Jahángíri*.² This work states, however, that Khusrú was captured, while trying to cross the

¹ Cf. Hazart, *Kerckelyke Historie van de gheheele werelt*. Antwerpen, M. Crobbaert, 1667, II. p. 270. Though Guerreiro is absent from Hazart's list of references, the style and the events recorded are often in perfect agreement. We conclude that he utilized du Jarric, who, in his turn, borrowed his account from Guerreiro's earlier *Relaçam* of 1606-07. Hazart quotes among his authorities: "du Jarric, *Thesaurus Rerum Indicarum*, Coloniae, apud Petrum Henningium, 1595," the date being a clerical error for 1615, the year when the Latin translation of du Jarric's *Histoire des choses plus mémorables*.... appeared at Cologne. The earliest known French edition of du Jarric's first volume is of the year 1608.

Among Hazart's authorities I remark:—

Artusius, India Orientalis. Tomi tres, Francofurti, Wolfgang Richter, 1612.

Theodorus de Bry, India Orientalis, ibid., 1612.

Historia Societatis Jesu. Pars. I et II. Antverpiæ, 1620.

„ III, seu Borgias, Romæ, 1649.

„ IV, seu Everardus, „ 1652.

„ V, seu Claudius, „ 1661.

Relatio triplex de rebus Indicis, Antverpiæ, ap. Jacobum Meursium, 1654.

I have none of these works, nor could I, ten years ago, procure a complete copy of du Jarric from the Imperial Library, Calcutta.

² Cf. Sir H. M. Elliot's *History of India as told by its own historians* London, 1875. Vol. VI, p. 291, 297, 299.

Chináb.¹ Hazart does not mention the Emperor's journey to Kábul; but, we have it at full length in the *Wáki'át-i Jahángirí*.²

Guerreiro proceeds:—

"On the return of the King, they [the Fathers] went two leagues out of town to meet him and offer him their congratulations on his safe return. As they came up to him, he received them with singular marks of friendship. He drew up his horse at some distance, as did also his sons and all the rest, and embracing them after his manner by placing his hand on their back, he enquired very familiarly about their health. The Fathers presented him with a work of theirs, a book in Persian, containing the lives of the Apostles, and interleaved with many pictures of his palaces. This the King appreciated highly.³

"When back in Lahor, he determined to send an Ambassador to the Viceroy of India, and selected for this office a man of great authority. Calling the Fathers, he exposed to them what he had decided upon, and it would give him much pleasure, if one of their number, whom they could choose, were to accompany his Ambassador. The Fathers could not refuse him this satisfaction, all the more as it promised to further the interests of their Mission. Father Manoel Pinheiro was chosen to go with the envoy. The embassy was merely intended to establish friendly relations with the Government. On their return, they were to bring him some of the curious articles to be found in India, among the Portuguese. The party left at once, and they were already in India, though they had not continued to Goa.⁴ The King gave Father Manoel Pinheiro sundry objects to be presented in his name to the Fathers of India, and others for the other Fathers that they might send them to their friends."

For further particulars about this embassy I turn to Chapter VII.

"The Great Mogor determined to send an Ambassador to Portugal and with him a present for His Majesty, which, he said, might cost two hundred thousand cruzados, and another for the Sovereign Pontiff: but, for certain considerations and reasons of state and various counsels of his advisers, his plans took no effect. He resolved, withal, to send as his Ambassador to the Viceroy of India a great captain of Cambaya, called Mocarebecam, whose advice he followed in all matters. He is so great a lord that he realises 50,000 pardaos of revenue from his estates, and 150,000 from the King.⁵ The King then asked Father Jerome Xavier, the Superior of the Mission, to send with him Father Manoel Pinheiro residing in Lahor. This he granted him, and he [Pinheiro] started in the suite of the Ambassador on Sept. 13th, [1]607, and arrived at Cambaya in April [1]608. The Ambassador did not at once proceed to Goa. Count da Feira, who was expected as Viceroy, had not yet reached.⁶ For this reason he waited in Cambaya, until he should get news of his arrival. He would then proceed on his way, that his embassy might be received with greater solemnity."

The *Wáki'át-i Jahángirí* notes under the third year of Jahángir's reign (1608):

¹ Cf. *ibid.*, p. 300. This is also Fr. du Jarrie's version, and Guerreiro's in his 4th *Relaçam* (1606-07).

² Cf. *ibid.*, pp. 302-14.

³ I have discussed fully the authorship of this work and the date of its completion in my article on *Fr. Jerome Xavier's Persian Lives of the Apostles*, J.A.S.B., 1914, pp. 65-84.

⁴ This particular, that they had reached Cambay, but had not yet proceeded to Goa, must have been communicated by Pinheiro in a letter of 1608 (April?). From other letters of Pinheiro (?), epitomized by Guerreiro, we shall be able to trace his movements up to the end of 1609.

⁵ "Some time previous to my accession, I had conferred upon Sheikh Hussun Bulnár the title of Mokurreb Khaun . . . As a servant, the merit of Mokurreb Khaun is of the very highest order, and few are the sovereigns who possess his equal. In fine, I raised him to the dignity of an Ameir of five thousand horse . . . It was on this occasion also that I conferred on him the Government of Gujeral." Cf. Price, *Memoirs of the Emperor Jahangueir*. Reprinted by N. Roy. Calcutta, 1904, pp. 63-4.

⁶ D. João Pereira Proja, Conde de Feira, appointed as 19th Viceroy to succeed Don Martim Aff. de Castro, who died at Malacca in June 1607. He set out in March 29, 1608, and died off the Coast of Guinea on May 15. His body was sent back and arrived at Lisbon on July 24. Cf. note in *Voyage of Pyrrard de Laval*, Hakluyt Society, 1888. Vol. II, p. 86.

"Mukarrib Khán sent me from the Port of Kambháit (Kambáy) a piece of European tapestry, which was so beautifully made that I had never seen any work of the Farings equal to it before."¹ And further: "on the 6th of Zí-l hijja [1608], Mukarrib Khán sent me a picture, stating that the Portuguese believed it to be the portrait of Tímúr. . . ."²

Christmas following close on the departure of the Ambassadors, the Fathers celebrated the feast at Lahore with as much devotion as possible. The Christmas Crib was there, as usual, and an orchestra was got together for the midnight Mass. The Church compound was illuminated on a grand scale. The Emperor did not come to pay a visit to the Church: but he sent several candles of fine wax to burn before the Crib, and some beautiful pictures to adorn it.

"After Christmas, the King made known his intention of going to Agra, the second royal seat of the Empire. He informed Ours of his purpose, and wished one of them to remain in charge of the Church and Christians of Lahor, while the other two should accompany him on his journey.³ He supplied them with four camels and a horse to carry their belongings. As usual, the King went ahead of his army, and all along the way he hunted with bow and arrow, every description of birds of prey, ounces and other animals assisting him in the chase."

On carnival day, Jahángir sent to the Fathers "from his tent, on the back of an elephant," two noble wild boars, which he had killed himself. Eight or ten days later, he called them and invited them to have their pick from among some 15 wild boars and some stags, the proceeds of the day's chase, which lay piled up in his tent.

"But, as it was now Lent, they replied that the game which he had sent them previously had reached them still in good time, whereas, being now in Lent, during which time Christians were forbidden to eat meat, they could no longer avail themselves of his offer. On this occasion, the King enquired at length about Lent, and the fast of the Christians, and what they did during that season, and he was pleased to hear the details and particulars which the Fathers explained to him touching this matter."

What with want of substantial food and scarcity of water, the account goes on to remark, the Fathers found ample opportunity to mortify themselves during this season of penance. Still, they reached Agra safely, "about a month and a half after their departure from Lahor."

The data collected from Guerreiro in the above extracts prove that Jahángir arrived at Agra in the early months of 1608.⁴

On the journey from Lahore to Agra, Jahángir had his son [Khusrú] conducted with him under strict surveillance. This he had done in all his travels, from the day

¹ Cf. Sir H. M. Elliot, *op. cit.*, Vol. VI, p. 317. [Cf. also R. Rogers and H. Beveridge, *Tūzūk-i-Jahāngīrī*, I, 144, under 1st Safar (1608)].

² Cf. *ibid.*, Vol. VI, p. 320. [Cf. also *Tūzūk-i-Jahāngīrī*, *op. cit.*, I, 152, same date].

³ Father Jerome Xavier, being the Superior of the Mission and a great favourite with the Emperor, was one of the party. Robert Coverté paid him a visit at Agra, Jan. 18-21, 1610, and obtained from him letters of recommendation "to the Kings and Princes, through whose countries I was to pass." Though he does not mention him by name, he calls him "the principal monk, or superior of the clergy, a man of great authority, well-known in other kingdoms." Xavier's companion was, in all probability, Father Corsi. Our Catalogues of 1610 place Jerome Xavier and Corsi at Agra, Machado and Joseph de Castro, a new arrival, at Lahore.

⁴ Compare the *Tārikh-i-Salīm-Shāhī*, Elliot, *op. cit.*, Vol. VI, pp. 268, 274, and the *Wākī'āt-i-Jahāngīrī*, *ibid.*, p. 316.

of capturing him.¹ In these peregrinations, the unfortunate prince was loaded with chains and cooped up in a sort of cage on the back of an elephant. To crown his misfortunes, on arriving at the place where he had fought his father's troops, Jahángír ordered him to be blinded, "by moistening his eyes with a certain juice resembling the sap of certain peas." In the same locality, the same sad fate befell a great captain, once a great favourite with the King. He was promenaded through the city, "chained and seated on a sorry ass or mule."

Thus far Guerreiro, whom I here compress. Hazart, too, states the fact that Khusrú was deprived of his eyesight, but he goes too far, when he says that the prince's eyes were pricked through.² The author of the *Intikháb-i Jahángír-Sháhi* does not compromise himself, I think, when he tells us that, "when the wire was put in his eyes, such pain was inflicted on him, that it was beyond all expression,"³ for he relates, almost in the same breath, that Khusrú recovered his sight, at least partially, through the skill of an able Persian physician.

Father Guerreiro's version is the most plausible to explain how Khusrú's eyesight could eventually be restored, and we must take exception to the remark with which Mr. Stanley Lane-Poole winds up the summary of Khusrú's rebellion. "He was believed to have been blinded by his father, but della Valle explains that "though the eyelids were sewn up, the eyes were still uninjured when Jahángír caused "them to be unripped, 'so that he was not blinded but saw again and it was only a "temporal penance.' Sir Thomas Roe met him and found him an interesting mystery. "The second son, Khurram, reckoned him an exceedingly dangerous factor in politics. "What actually happened we shall never know."⁴

This ought not to be the final verdict. The Jesuit Missionaries of Agra noted down in their minutest details the particulars of these tragical events. du Jarric borrowed them from Guerreiro's earlier *Relaçam*. I translate at full length the quaint narrative of the Flemish Jesuit, C. Hazart. Many scenes in the dark tragedy are there graphically described, and, for the honour of Jahángír, we regret that they should find their exact counterpart in the chronicles of some of the Muhammadan historians.

On arriving at Lahore after the encounter with Khusrú (1606), Jahángír learnt in the evening that his son was a prisoner.

"Forthwith he sent one of his captains to have him brought before him. The Captain conducted "him manacled into his father's presence. He [the King] was in a pleasure-garden outside the city, "and, retiring alone to a room to give vent to a father's natural feelings, he burst into tears. So did "Joseph once for his brothers. The whole Court was in anxious expectation to see what judgment the "father would pass on the rebellious Prince. He is thus brought before his father, chained hand and "foot—a spectacle which greatly moved to pity all the bystanders. As soon as he saw his father, he

¹ He accompanied therefore Jahángír on his journey to Kábul.

² Cf. *op. cit.*, Vol. II, pp. 271-2.

³ Cf. Elliot, *op. cit.*, Vol. VI, pp. 448-9.

⁴ Cf. *Medieval India under Mahomedan Rule*, 2nd Edition. London, Fisher-Unwin, 1906, p. 321.—"Cossaro," says W. Hawkins, "who was proclaimed heir apparent, stomached his father, and rose with great troops, yet was not able to endure after the loss of many thousand men on both sides: but was taken, and remaineth still in prison in the Kings Pallace, yet blinde, as all men reporte: and was so commanded to be blinded by his father." Cf. Hawkins' *Joyages*. London, Hakluyt Society. MDCCCLXXVIII, p. 428.

"began to make the accustomed reverence: but his father fixing him sternly made him stand among his captains and nobles.

"He then rebuked him in severe and bitter terms. Next, he summoned before him the two chief captains who had led his son's army. One of them had been Treasurer-General of the Kingdom: the other, Governor of Lahore. When both had entered, with heavy chains around their necks and irons about their hands and feet, the King began chaffing his son and these two on the fine campaign they had conducted. In short, he had his son narrowly kept; but, the two above-mentioned captains were punished as follows.

"He had had an ox and an ass skinned, and, while the skins of these animals were still quite fresh and warm, he had them drawn over the naked bodies of the captains, and fitted and sewn as closely as possible, in such wise that the said skins, on drying and crimping, should squeeze their body more and more and smother them amidst unbearable sufferings. Thus they remained the whole night. The next day, by order of the King, they were led in this guise throughout the town, one of them with the horns of an ox, the other with the ears of an ass about his head, and both seated on an ass, their face turned to the tail. One of them resented so keenly this shameful treatment (he had often before paraded in the same city with elephants, horses and pages) that, on reappearing before the King, he fell stark dead, whereupon the King ordered his head to be cut off and his body quartered. The head was hung from the gates of Agra, and his quarters set up here and there along the road, as a scare and an example, that no one might thenceforth embark on such a venture. The second captain was left in the skin of the ass; yet, the King, as a great favour, allowed a lackey to pour sometimes water over it, to soften it, that it might not squeeze so hard and tight. This moisture, however, produced so many lice [*sic*] and worms, that he was nearly devoured by them. Besides, owing to the heat of the sun, there arose from the skin such an unbearable stench that no one could remain near it, nor could he bear with himself. At last, one of the greatest favourites of the King delivered him from these horrible torments, by means of a present of several hundred thousand guldens. He gained again the King's favour and was reinstated in his former dignity of Treasurer.

"After this, he [Jahángír] ordered to impale right through the body on wooden stakes two hundred soldiers, who had followed his son, and place them on either side all along the way which he was to follow from his pleasure-garden to the city of Lahor. Amidst the cruel spectacle of so many agonizing men did he march to the town of Lahor, the Prince, his son, following in fetters. He shut him up in his palace, and declared in his stead as heir to the Kingdom his second son, the brother of the prisoner. To spite him still more, he gave away all his finest horses to his worst enemies."¹

Compare this with Sir H. M. Elliot's texts, Vol. VI, pp. 300-1. "On the 3rd of Muharram, 1015 A.H., Khusrú was brought into my presence in the garden of Mirzá Kámrán, with his hands bound and a chain on his leg, and he was led up from the left side, according to the rule of Changíz Khán. Husain Beg was on his right, and 'Abdu-l 'Azíz on his left; he stood between them trembling and weeping. Husain Beg, suspecting that they would make a scape-goat of him, began to speak sorrowfully, but they did not allow him to continue. I gave Khusrú into custody, and I ordered these two villains to be inclosed in the skins of a cow and an ass, and to be placed on asses, face to the tail, and so to be paraded round the city. As the skin of a cow dries quicker than the skin of an ass, Husain Beg lived only to the fourth watch, and then died, 'Abdu-l 'Azíz, who was in the ass's skin, and had moisture conveyed to him, survived it all."—*Wáki'át-i Jahángírí*.

"In the excess of his impudence he ['Abdu-l 'Azíz] drew a dog's skin over his

¹ Cf. Hazart, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, pp. 270-1. For similar punishments under Akbar, cf. V. A. Smith, *Akbar*, Oxford, 1917, p. 116.

face (*i.e.* he acted like a dog), and as he was led through the streets and bázárs, he ate cucumbers and anything else containing moisture that fell in his hands. He survived the day and the night. Next day the order was given for taking him out of the skin. There were many maggots in his skin, but he survived it all."—*Ikbál-náma*. Cf. *ibid.*, p. 301.

"From the last day of Zí-l híjja till the 9th Muharram, in consequence of bad weather, I remained in the garden of Mirzá Kámrán To strengthen and confirm my rule, I directed that a double row of stakes should be set up from the garden to the city, and that the rebel *awaimáks*, and others who had taken part in this revolt, should be impaled thereon, and thus receive their deserts in this most excruciating punishment."—*Wáki'át-i Jahángírí*. Cf. *ibid.*, p. 301.

The *Ikbál-náma-i Jahángírí* states that Khusrú was placed on an elephant, and conducted between the stakes, so that he might see their punishment, and be warned to abandon his evil course. Cf. Elliot, *op. cit.*, Vol. VI, p. 401. The number of Jahángír's victims on this occasion is estimated at 300 in one recension of the *Fárikh-i Salím-Sháhi*, at 700 in another. Cf. Elliot, *op. cit.*, Vol. VI, pp. 268, 273.

Everything considered, the *Wáki'át-i Jahángírí* is in the greatest number of points similar to Guerreiro and Hazart—an argument in favour of its authenticity and superiority over the other so-called *Memoirs of Jahángír*. Cf. Elliot, *op. cit.*, Vol. VI, p. 276.

Sir H. M. Elliot has drawn up a long list of the atrocities perpetrated by that oriental despot, Jahángír.¹ It suits me better to turn with Guerreiro to some more refreshing traits in his character, his leanings towards Christianity—such, at least, the Jesuit Missionaries at the time thought them to be—and his taste for the artistic, a taste he had inherited from his father Akbar. "I am very fond of pictures," he is made to say, "and have such discrimination in judging them, that I can tell the name of the artist, whether living or dead."² Catrou (Manucci) writes: "In his time there were found in the Indies native painters, who copied the finest of our European pictures, with a fidelity that might vie with the originals."³

Guerreiro furnishes us with one of the most remarkable proofs of this.

"Chapter Vith proceeds with the proofs which this King gives of the love and affection he has for Christ our Lord."

"In all these conversations, in which the above subjects were mooted,⁴ the King manifested always much love towards Christ our Lord. He would speak with great boldness in favour of the use of images, though they be very unpopular with the Moors. And so, on coming from Lahor, he found his palaces of Agra well decorated and painted over with sundry paintings, which had already been made, and others which were being executed, inside as well as outside, in a *varanda* where he comes to sit daily to be seen by the people. Nearly all these paintings bore on sacred subjects; for, on the ceiling (*no alto do forro*) and in the middle of it (*e no meio delle*) was painted an image of Christ our Lord, very artistically done, with a halo and a circle of Angels, and on the walls were some Saints in miniature, as Saint John the Baptist, Saint Anthony, Saint Bernardine and others, as also some women Saints. In another part were some Portuguese, painted in large size, and very well done; and

¹ Cf. *op. cit.*, Vol. VI, pp. 523-11.

² Cf. *History of the Mogul Dynasty*, p. 178.

³ Cf. *ibid.*, Vol. VI, p. 360.

⁴ Cf. Guerreiro, *op. cit.*, Ch. IV and V.

"along the wall on the outside, where is the window near which the King is seated, when he shows himself to the people, there had been previously some life-size paintings of the King's favourites, but these he ordered to efface, and, in their stead, he caused to be painted very artistically some Portuguese soldiers, of large size and well placed, so that they are seen from the whole public square. On each side of the window there are three of them, and above them, on the right, is painted Christ our Lord holding the orb in his hand; to the left, the Virgin our Lady, copied in life-size from the painting of Saint Luke.¹ On the sides of each of these images are others of various Saints, placed as if in prayer.² And, as the window where the King sits is made in the form of a niche and painted all over, he had his two sons painted very richly in full-length on the same wall.³ Above one of his sons is a miniature figure of Christ our Lord, and a Father of the Society with a book in his hand;⁴ above the other is seen the Virgin our Lady. Within the cavity of the niche are the pictures of St. Paul, St. Gregory and St. Ambrose, and it is a matter of much consolation to the Fathers, when they are waiting there upon the King, to recite their rosary before the image of the Virgin our Lady and commend themselves to Christ our Lord.⁵ Whenever the Moors see these pictures, they are astonished,

¹ "Theodore Lector, a writer of the 6th century, states that St. Luke was a painter and that he produced a picture of Our Lady. . . . Mangelot says that the picture attributed to St. Luke, which represents Our Lady with her Divine Child, belongs to the Byzantine school, and may be as early as the 5th century. There is, he observes, no authentic ground for attributing this picture to the Evangelist. Some authors definitely assign this painting to one Luca, a Florentine monk of the XIth century, and they hold that the popular mistake was derived from the identity of name. (Cf. *Dict. de la Bible*, Paris. Letouzey, 1904, s.v. *Luc*). This picture is popularly in wide circulation as a pious print." Cf. *The Examiner*, Bombay, 1906, pp. 403-4.

It was not the first time that a picture of Our Lady by Saint Luke made its appearance at the Moghul Court. Blessed Rudolph Aquaviva, on Febr. 21st or 22nd, 1580, presented Akbar, then at Fathpur-Sikri, with a copy of a Polyglot Bible, magnificently bound in seven volumes, and showed him a picture of Christ and another of the Virgin, the latter being a copy from S. Maria Maggiore in Rome. It had been brought from Europe by Father Martin de Sylva, S.J. (1578), and was a copy which Pope St. Pius V. had allowed St. Francis Borgia to get made. (Cf. Fr. Goldie, S.J., *First Christian Mission to the Great Mogul*, Dublin, Gill, 1897, pp. 63, 68). It was a first-rate work of art, and the Provincial of Goa had thought it would prove acceptable to the Monarch. (Cf. Fr. de Sousa, S.J., *Oriente Conquistado*, Bombay. Na typographia "Examiner", 1886, Vol. II, D. II, No. 60). Akbar kissed it reverently and gave it to his sons to kiss. Subsequently, he commanded his painters to copy the pictures of Our Lord and Lady, and we know that, when the Fathers had fitted up their Chapel in the Palace, and placed the Madonna over the altar, Akbar paid a visit to it, and revered it, first in Muhammadan fashion, then as a Christian, and lastly as a Hindú, saying that, as God deserved the homage of all peoples, he paid Him this triple tribute. (Cf. de Sousa, *op. cit.*, *ibid.*; Goldie, *op. cit.*, p. 69; Sir E. D. Maclagan, *op. cit.*, p. 50). About another representation of the Madonna presented to Akbar, cf. Goldie, *op. cit.*, p. 70; Sir E. D. Maclagan, *op. cit.*, p. 62. Father Jerome Xavier wrote (Lahor, Aug. 20, 1595): "He [Akbar] has images of Our Lord and of the Blessed Virgin, which are of the best of those which are brought from Europe, and he keeps them with respect and reverence. He evinces the greatest pleasure in showing them to others, holding them in his arms for a long time in spite of the fatigue which their size entails." (Cf. Sir E. D. Maclagan, *op. cit.*, p. 66). It would be too long to transcribe all the interesting testimonies we find in the earlier letters concerning Akbar's and Prince Salim's partiality to the pictorial representations of our sacred mysteries. Cf. Sir E. D. Maclagan's valuable article, pp. 66-7, 68, 73-75, 81, 85-7, 91.

² A picture of Our Lord and of St. Ignatius of Loyola made in Japan found special favour with Akbar. "When I had to lay before the Emperor the letter delivered to me by the Father Provincial, writes Jerome Xavier (Lahore, 1598). I presented him on the Father's behalf with two exquisite pictures made in Japan; one of Christ our Lord, the other of the Blessed Father Ignatius. These were much admired; but the picture of the Blessed Father Ignatius was especially pleasing to the Emperor, as it was new and he had never seen it before. He enquired whom it represented, and, when I had explained this at some length, he asked me to write his life in Persian for the good of the whole Kingdom." Cf. Sir E. D. Maclagan, *op. cit.*, p. 76. This picture of St. Ignatius, remarks Maclagan, seems to have been preserved for some time in Akbar's tomb at Sikandra. He notes down the following references: Manrique, *Itiner.*, 1653, p. 350; Catrou, 1708, p. 135; Finch in Kerr, VIII, p. 305.

³ Apparently Parviz and Khurram, later Sháh Jahán.

⁴ A breviary?

⁵ In view of the interest which Guerreiro's account may excite in the archaeological world, I transcribe the original Portuguese text:

"... & assi vindo de Lahor, & achando os seus passos de Agra muy bẽ concertados, & pintados com varias pinturas. "q' ja estãõ feitas, & outras pera se fazer, assi dentro como fora, em hũa varanda aonde se assenta cada dia pera ser

"whereas the Fathers return many thanks to God seeing thus exposed to the public gaze in the palace
 "of an infidel King the images of Christ our Lord, of the Virgin our Lady, and of his Saints; for, truly,
 "it looks more like the varanda of a pious and Catholic King than that of a Moor. In the interior of
 "the palaces, the paintings, which are on the walls of the halls and on the ceiling of them all, represent
 "mysteries of Christ our Lord and scenes of the acts of the Apostles, taken from their life, which the
 "Fathers had given him,¹ also St. Anne and Susanna, and various other stories. All this is designed by
 "the King himself, without any one speaking to him about it. From the pictures (*registros*) which he
 "has, he chooses himself the figures which are to be painted, enjoining on the painters to go and learn
 "from the Fathers what colours they should use for the garments of each figure, and that they should
 "not depart a tittle from what they tell them. This is a painful eyesore to the Moors: they are so
 "averse to pictures that they do not suffer to be represented those of their own faith whom they look
 "upon as Saints, much less those of the Christian faith, which they so much dislike.

"The King ordered also to make a large painting (*painel*) of Christ at the Pillar, in imitation of a
 "picture (*tirado por hum registro*). This the Moors greatly resented, because they reject the whole
 "account of Christ's Passion. He wished, moreover, this large painting to serve as a model for a fabric,
 "entirely woven out of silk, in the form of a tapestry, which he ordered to be made with the same
 "figures of Christ at the Pillar and with an inscription in Persian of the same make.

"In one of the tableaux of one of the halls he directed to make, from a design which he had,
 "whole-length paintings of the Pope, the Emperor, King Philip, and the Duke of Savoy, whose portraits
 "he possessed.² They are all represented on their knees, adoring the holy Cross, which stands in the
 "middle.

"Father John Alvares, the Assistant for Portugal,³ sent him from Rome a picture (*quadro*) of Our
 "Lady and of the Adoration of the Magi. One cannot imagine how much he valued it,⁴ and because it
 "came into his hands first, before reaching the Fathers, he sent for them as soon as he got it, and,
 "showing it publicly before all the people, he invited one of the Fathers to explain to him the meaning
 "of that mystery. After them, he explained it to all his courtiers, and, all the while holding the same
 "picture in his hands and showing it to all, he explained to them the story of the Nativity of our Lord
 "and of the Adoration of the Magi, so that he looked like a preacher in the pulpit. He then directed
 "the Fathers to have it framed and neatly adorned and placed on a roller, that it might not get torn or
 "damaged, when rolling up and unrolling. All around, along the sides of the frame, the Fathers

"visto do pouo: quasi todas estas pinturas eram de cousas sagradas, porq' no alto do forro, & no meio delle estaua
 "pintada hũa imagem de Christo nosso Senhor, muy perfectamente acabada, & com seu resplaudor, rodeada de Anjos, &
 "poilas paredes algës santos em figura pequena, como sam João Baptista, santo Antonio, sam Bernardino de Sena, &
 "outros com algës santas: em outra parte algës Portugueses muy bem pintados em figura grande: & na ilharga da
 "parede da parte de lora, onde està a janella, em que el Rey se assenta quando saie ao pouo, estauão dantes pintados
 "algës priuados de el Rey ao natural, mas estes mandou el Rey apagar, & em seu lugar pintar muy bẽ hũs soldados
 "Portugueses muy bẽ despostos, & de grande estatura, de modo, q' se vem por todo o terreiro, & de cada ilharga da
 "janella estão tres: & encima delles na banda direita está pintado Christo N. Senhor cõ o globo do mudo na mão, & da
 "esquerda a Virgem N. Senhora tirada ao natural da de S. Lucas: & as ilhargas de cada hũa destas imagens, estão outras
 "de varios santos, postos como em oração. E porq' a janella onde el Rey se assenta, está feita a modo de charola, &
 "toda pintada, tẽ nas ilhargas da mesma parede pintados seus dous filhos muito ricamente ao natural, & em cima de
 "hũ delles Christo nosso Senhor em figura pequena, & hũ Padre da Cõpanhia com hũa liuro na mão, & sobre o outro a
 "Virgem N. Senhora, & no concauo da charole, as imagens de S. Paulo, S. Gregorio, santo Ambrosio" Cf. *op. cit.*,
 "foll. 13v.—14r."

¹ Cf. *supra*, p. 5

² If the painting represented personages then alive (1608), they must have been Pope Paul V (reigned 1605-21), Rudolph II (reigned 1576-1612), Phillip III of Spain (reigned 1598-1621), and Charles Emmanuel I, surnamed the Great (b. 1562—d. 1630).

³ The representative of the Portuguese Assistancy near the General of the Society in Rome. He was appointed to the office in 1593, and was succeeded in 1607 by Anthony Mascarenhas. Cf. A. Franco, S.J., *Synopsis Annal. Soc. Jesu in Lusitania*, Augusta-Vindel., M DCC. XXVI. App. 5/2.

⁴ i.e. the picture of the Adoration.

"painted certain designs in black and white, after a drawing taken from our books and pictures. The King was very much pleased with them, and among the designs he ordered his own portrait to be painted, in a place which he chose for the purpose.¹

"Through the use and sight of these images, as well as through the conversations of the Fathers and the explanations they give him of them, the King is very well instructed in almost all the mysteries of Christ our Lord and of the Virgin our Lady, and he prides himself on it before his grandees. One night, as the Fathers were with him, among other pictures (*registos*) he gave them to see, was one of our Lord's Circumcision. The King, beckoning to the Father (*ao padre*)² to keep silent, asked first of some of his nobles whether they understood what it meant. On their answering they did not, he explained it to them, and next enquired from the Father whether he had explained it right. 'You have', answered the Father, at which he was much pleased and rejoined: 'I know these things very well.'

"In short, the esteem in which he holds Christ our Lord and the Virgin our Lady is so high that all the grants he makes and letters he sends, whether to the Moors, to the Gentios (Hindūs), or to the Christians, he seals inside after his manner with his royal signet; but, he seals them outside with the image of Christ our Lord and of our Lady. For this he has an instrument of gold resembling small pincers, in the extremities of which are set certain emeralds, each as large in surface as a thumb-nail. Engraved on these are the said figures, which he stamps upon the sealing-wax with which he joins the corners of the letter."³

The pictures of the Madonna and of the Adoration of the Magi sent by Father John Alvares have an interesting history, especially the latter. As far back as August 20th, 1595, Jerome Xavier had written from Lahore to the General of the Society in Rome: "If Your Reverence would send to the Emperor and the Prince [Salīm] a beautiful and large picture of the Holy Virgin or of the Nativity, they would receive the same with much affection and kindness."⁴ The pictures must have been sent, in the first instance, to the Jesuit headquarters at Goa, whence they were despatched to Cambay. Father Pinheiro was there with Mukarrab Khān since April 1608, and his stay lasted nine months. Likely enough, the pictures had been packed with some articles destined for Pinheiro; for, on opening the box, Pinheiro had satisfied himself that they were in every way fit to be presented to the great Indian Potentate. Knowing how much it would please Jahāngīr to cause a surprise to the Fathers at Agra, he may have sent them on direct to him, unless, what is more

¹ "E ao redor pollas ilhargas lhe [ao quadro] fizeram os padres hũs lauores nas molduras, pintados por debuxo, & tirados dos nossos liuros & pinturas, que muyto lhe contentaram, and antre os mesmos lauores mandou pintar o seu retrato em hum lugar que pera isso escolheu."

² Probably, Father Jerome Xavier, the Superior of the Mission.

³ "Todas as prouisoões que passa, cartas que mada, quer a Mouros, quer a Gētios, quer a Christãos por dentro dellas as sella com seu sello real a seu modo: mas por fora as sella com a figura de Christo nosso Senhor, & de nossa Senhora, porque tẽ hũas como tenasesinhas de ouro em cujas pontas estam engastadas hũas esmeraldas, cada hũa tamanha, como a unha do dedo polegar em quadro, nas quais estam esculpidas as ditas figuras que imprime sobre lacre, com que ajunta as pontas da carta."—Cf. Count von Noer's translation in *The Emperor Akbar*, translated by Mrs. A. S. Beveridge. Calcutta, Thacker, 1890. Vol. II, p. 156. There must have been only two emeralds, one at the extremity of each of the prongs of the pincers.

In a letter of Jerome Xavier (Agra, Sept. 6, 1604) we read: "The same day the Prince [Jahāngīr, then at Faṭhpūr Sikrī] showed me a crucifix carved on an emerald, very well wrought. He told me he had had it made to take with him. The emerald is about the size of one's thumb and the crucifix is very well carved upon it. (I had seen it in Agra, when it was made, a little while before he left). It is a fine piece of work encircled with gold, pierced with a hole by which it can be hung from a gold chain." Cf. Sir E. D. Maclagan, *op. cit.*, pp. 91-2.

⁴ Cf. Sir E. D. Maclagan, *op. cit.*, p. 67.

probable, Jahángir was still in the habit of intercepting the boxes addressed to the Fathers. Already in 1598, Xavier had remarked of him: "It happened that once when some baggage arrived at Court from Cambay he had it taken over to his palace, and opening it took out whatsoever he pleased, paying however a just price to the owners. For the same reason on account of the great friendship he has for us, and mindful of the old saying, 'Friends have all things in common,' he takes whatever he chooses from the things which are sent to us from Goa."¹

We may excuse him in this instance, for he must have learned what a commotion the paintings had caused at Cambay.

"While in this city, the Father [Pinheiro] received a picture of the Magi, which was sent from Rome to the King. It was a work of superior excellence and perfection. When it had been exposed in public in the Church on a tastefully adorned altar, the rumour spread forthwith throughout the city, and such was the concourse of people eager to see it, both Moors and Gentios, that during the thirteen days that it remained on view it was estimated that 13,000 persons² came to visit it. No one could remove them away from it. It was necessary to make some go out to give room to others; and, that they should not come all promiscuously, it was ordered that the women should come at one time, the men at another. The Navabo, who is the Chief Justice, came to see it and stood as if lost in amazement before such a master-piece. The Ambassador [Mukarrab Khán], too, desired much to see it, and he sent to the Father to ask for the picture, for the sake of his women who longed to see it. The Father answered that it was neither possible nor convenient to take the picture out; but his Lordship might come to see it, with the whole of his family, as often as he pleased. With great respect did he reverence the Infant Jesus and the Virgin his Mother. He was so greatly taken up with the majestic beauty breathing from the figures that he said it was bad luck to those who should not see such a devout picture; it would have been better for them had they not been born."³

What was the ultimate fate of these tableaux once adorning Akbar's and Jahángir's Palaces at Agra? Were they, one and all, ruthlessly destroyed? Not one of them seems to have been inherited by our Catholic Churches in North India, or to have come down to the picture-galleries of our Indian Princes.⁴

Again, what became of the mural paintings of Agra? This, too, is a mystery. Of the genuineness and absolute veracity of Guerreiro's *Relaçam* there can be no doubt. It rests on the contemporary evidence sent to Goa and the home authorities by the Agra Missionaries. It might have been challenged any day by some of the many Portuguese, Venetian, Polish and English adventurers in the pay of the Moghul Emperor. There is no trace of any such indictment. On the other hand, if these paintings remained exposed for any length of time, how is it that, for aught we know,

¹ Cf. *ibid.*, p. 75 — This practice was by no means restricted to Jahángir; his captains, Mukarrab Khán among them, made just as free with the wares of English and Portuguese merchants.

² The text has '13,000 mil', i.e. 13,000 thousand; clearly a misprint for '13 mil' or 13 thousand.

³ Cf. Guerreiro, *op. cit.*, foll. 197-198. The picture sent by Fr. Alvarez must have been a large tableau, since it had to be mounted on a roller to avoid tearing. I had hoped that No. 124 of Col. H. B. Hanna's collection, labelled "The Adoration of the Magi," represented the picture sent to Jahángir; but Col. Hanna tells me that his picture was not painted in India. It came into the country by way of Persia. For other pictures of a Christian character in Col. Hanna's possession, cf. Nos. 17, 22 and 107 of his *Catalogue of Indo-Persian Pictures and Manuscripts, principally of the XVth, XVIth and XVIIth Centuries, by Native Artists* . . . Dowdeswell and Dowdeswells. 160, New Bond Street, London, May 1890.

⁴ One of the Churches in the South (is it not Cochin?) claims to have the very picture of the Madonna presented to

none of the relative'y many travellers who visited Agra in 1609 and after speaks of them? Sir E. D. Maclagan produces a long list of early travellers who recorded among their impressions of Moghul court-life the traces of Christian art left at Sikandra, Lahore and elsewhere.¹ Of the tableaux and mural paintings at Agra described by Guerreiro, not a word. True, few of the travellers adduced by Maclagan visited India in the days of Jahángir; and, if the paintings had not been removed before this Prince's death, Sháh Jahán, his successor, was not the man to have allowed their continuance, especially as his own portrait seems to have been depicted among the Christian mural paintings. We know the terrible persecution which he visited on the Portuguese captives of Hugli (1632), how he caused many of them, by dint of threats and torture, to apostatise, how he forcibly circumcised others, and threw into the Jumna or broke to pieces the statues brought from Hugli.² What deepens the mystery is the silence of W. Hawkins, who was at Agra from April 16, 1609 to Nov. 1611, of Robert Coverte and the other officers of the *Ascension* who stayed there from Dec. 8, 1609 to Jan. 21, 1610. Hawkins, who looked askance at the Jesuits, may have had reasons of his own to leave this matter alone, whilst Coverte remained, perhaps, too little to obtain an entrance to the apartments where the paintings were to be seen. He only informs us that the Emperor had an image of the Madonna "in his oratory, or where he treats of religious questions."³ The silence of Thomas Roe and the Rev. Edward Terry, his chaplain (Jan. 1615-1618), is easily explained. They visited neither Agra nor Lahore; Ajmir was their furthest limit north.

We hope yet some day to come across later allusions to these pictures and their ultimate fate. But, will our archaeologists wait so long before satisfying themselves whether the mural paintings were totally obliterated or merely daubed over? We hope not.*

We return to Guerreiro's Relation. Captain Hawkins next steps upon the scene.

"After the Ambassador and Fr. Manoel Pinheiro had left the court of the Mogor for India, "there came to the same court, the King being already at Agra, an Englishman who had been "Captain of two ships which had come these last years to the Bar of Surrate. He brought with "him letters of recommendation from the Captains of Surrate, and made his appearance at court in "great pomp and rich attire. He took the title of Ambassador to his King, from whom he brought a "letter in Spanish.⁴ He conversed with the King in Turkish, for he, too, understood and spoke that

Akbar by Bl. Rudolf Aquaviva. We should like to know what arguments they can allege in their favour, as we are very sceptical in the matter.

¹ Cf. *As. Soc. Bengal*, 1896, p. 74.

² Cf. François Bernier, *Travels in the Moghul Empire* (1656-1662). Westminster, A. Constable, 1891, pp. 176-7, and Sir H. Elliot, *History of India*, *op. cit.*, VII, pp. 35, 42-3. Della Valle in his letter from Surat, March 22, 1623, had already expressed his surprise that a picture of the Madonna formerly hung up by Jahángir in the Palace of Ahmadábád had disappeared. He attributes its disappearance to the bigotry of Prince Khurram (later Sháh Jahán), who then ruled over Gujarat.

³ Compare *Hawkins' Voyages*, *op. cit.*, p. 436.

⁴ Our modern historians and art-critics know little of the enormous influence which Western works of art must have had on the Eastern schools of painting from the times of Akbar and Jahángir.

⁵ The Jesuits seem to have doubted the official nature of Hawkins' mission. "Receiving very kindly the Letter of me, viewing the Letter a prettie while, both the seale, and the manner of making it up, he [Jahángir] called for an old Jesuite that was there present to reade it. . . . The Jesuite. . . told him the effect of the Letter, but discommending the stile,

"language. The first conversation he had with him turned on matters of religion, on which the King "questioned him, chiefly on the mystery of the most holy Sacrament. The Englishman answered, as "the great heretic he was, going counter to the truth and the Catholic doctrine of this mystery, which "the Fathers had explained in a disputation they had had on the subject with the King and the Moors. "The King next asked him why he had come to his kingdom, and what he requested. Showing his "letter, he answered that he came as Ambassador to his King, to ask that the English ships might "come to trade and traffic in his ports. The King readily granted him permission, won over by the "great present the Ambassador brought. It might have been worth 25,000 cruzados; one stone alone, "which formed part of it, was valued about 20,000. To honour him the more, the King created him a "Captain of 400 horse, with a salary of 30,000 Rupees, *i.e.*, 15,000 cruzados. With this, he felt himself "so much bound to the King's service that he could now no longer return to his country without the "King's permission. To please the King, he wore the Moorish dress; still, he declared publicly that, "though he wore the dress, he did not accept the law. With all that, the heretic now grew so insolent "that he behaved haughtily towards the Fathers, thinking that he was more favoured by the King than "they then were. He had brought with him two servants, also heretics, one of them being his minister. "And when the other came to die, the heretic was much offended because the Father refused to bury "him among the Christians. But, he was still more incensed at his refusing to marry him with the "daughter of an Armenian, who insisted much, on his side, with the Father to do so. The Father "excused himself saying that he could not communicate with him *in divinis* [in religious matters], as he "was a heretic. Notwithstanding, the Englishman insisted that the Father should act as Parish-priest, "from the great desire he had to please his father-in-law in the matter, and because he had made this "affair a point of honour. To be rid of him, the Father finally told him he would do what he "requested, on condition that he would publicly, before all, acknowledge the Pope as the head of the "universal Church. The heretic refused to accept this condition, and, as a last resource, the minister "whom he had brought with him married him to the daughter of the Armenian.¹

"The Englishman continuing in the King's favour, the King asked him once, in a conversation he "had with him, how he would be able to wrest the fortress of Diu from the Portuguese. He answered "that 14 English ships by sea and 20,000 men by land would be sufficient to reduce the Portuguese by "sheer famine.

"After this, other Englishmen happened also to come to Cambay. They had left London in March "1607² on board two ships and a dilapidated patash, which they fitted out (*armarão*) in Saldanha Bay, "where they hibernated. But, after leaving that place, they had to weather such a violent storm for the "space of 20 days, off the Cape of Good Hope, that the flagship, which was very large, got separated

saying it was basely penned, writing Vestra without Maiestad: my answere was unto the King, and if it shall please your Maiestie, these people are our enemies: how can this letter be ill written, when my King demandeth favour of your Maiestie? He said, it was true." Cf. *The Hawkins' Voyages, op cit.*, p. 400. The old Jesuit must have been Fr. Jerome Xavier.

¹ Compare *The Hawkins' Voyages, op. cit.*, pp. 399-404. "For want of a Minister, before Christian Witnesses, I married her: the Priest was my man Nicolas [Ufflet], which I thought had been lawful, till I met with a Preacher that came with Sir Henry Middleton, and hee shewing me the error, I was new married agayne." Cf. *ibid.*, p. 404. Nicolas Ufflet (Offlet) was not a full-fledged minister, therefore. Perhaps, he was nothing of the kind, though the Jesuits took him for a minister. We find him in 1611 at Lahore, interested in indigo. Cf. Sir E. D. Maclagan, *Journal of the Punjab Historical Society*, Vol. I, 1912, p. 112.

² This was the party that had come in the *Ascension*. One of the historians of the voyage of the *Ascension*, Capt. John Coverte, states that they set sail on March 14, 1607, and left Plymouth on March 31. Coverte is evidently in error when he fixes his departure from England in the March of 1607, a date which several historians have reproduced without closer examination. If it were correct, a careful study of the dates set down by Coverte would show a gap of a whole year which it is impossible to account for. Thomas Jones, who was on board the *Ascension* in the same expedition, entered in his diary that he left Woolwich on March 14, 1608. This must be the correct date. How did Guerreiro come by the same date as Coverte? John Jourdain states that the voyage began at the Downs on the 23rd March 1607-08, which explains the discrepancy in the accounts. Cf. Sainsbury, *Cat. of State Papers. East Indie (1513-1616)*, London, 1862, p. 170 (No. 400).

“and disappeared. The other ship and the patash, after passing the Cape, made for the island of Socotorá, whence they went to cast anchor in the harbour of Aden. Here the Turks obliged them to disembark their goods and, after taking the best and paying them what price they pleased, they made them ship the rest again, but not before having made them pay 15% of entrance and as much as exit duties. From here they set sail for Moca [Mocha], where the Xarife [Sheriff] of the harbour did not agree to their disembarking, saying they were robbers and corsairs. On arriving at the bend of Cambaya (*fazendose na volta de Cambaya*), with the intention of calling at Surrate, they ran on a sand-bank which runs out at Danú in front of Medafaval (*em hũa restringa que chega a Danú de fronte de Medafaval*), where they were lost, saving their lives and some money in two boats, but leaving seventeen chests (*caixões*) of reals and much other property at the bottom of the sea. The two boats, with about seventy men, made for Surrate, where the Captain, in view of what he hoped from them, received them very affably.¹

“Andre Furtado de Mendoça, the Governor of India, who had lately arrived,² was informed of this incident, and of how the English had been received at Surrate.³ These grounds of complaint, added to the others we have mentioned above, *viz.*, the fact that the English Ambassador stayed at the Mogor Court, the great honours the King had bestowed on him, and the permission he had granted the English to establish a factory at Surrate, made the Governor consider that the King had broken the peace with the Portuguese. And though, at the beginning of his tenure of office and before he knew of these events, he had written to the Ambassador [Mukarrab Khán] that he looked forward with pleasure to his visit, he wrote to him to the contrary on being apprized of these further developments, giving him to understand not to come, since the King, his Master, had broken the peace. Forthwith he ordered to issue throughout Goa and all the fortresses of the North a manifesto that no one was to proceed to Cambaya. This prohibition the public generally felt keenly; in particular the merchants, both gentios and Moors, as also the Portuguese. Without further delay, war broke out in the territory of Damão and looting was going on on either side. But, because after this the Moors signified in many ways how much they regretted that there was war, that the peace had been broken and their traffic interfered with, the Council of the Estado of India considering this and the many reasons they had on their side not to wage war, but rather to procure by every possible means the maintenance of peace, the Governor and his Councillors agreed that, before coming to a more open rupture, it was necessary to despatch a representative to the Ambassador of the Mogor. He was to treat with him of the overtures

¹ The above passage contains a faithful summary of the experience of the *Union* and the *Ascension*. Coverté's party in the *Ascension* reached Saldanha Bay on July 14, launched a pinnace and left on Sept. 20. On Sept. 26, they were caught in a gale and lost sight of the *Union* and of the pinnace *The Good Hope*. On April 10, [1609], they came to Aden, and had good reasons to be dissatisfied with the Turkish Commaudant. Here they were joined in May by the pinnace. They next sailed for Mocha (July 3), left this on July 18, cast anchor near Sajos (Aug. 5-18) and called at Moa (Aug. 28). On Aug. 29, they struck a shoal on the Coast of Cambay, and lost their rudder. They felt a new shock on Sept. 2, at 6 P.M., and, in spite of their exertions at the pumps, had already shipped 28 inches of water. They could hold out no longer. The merchants had about £10,000 in specie lying between the great and second masts. The General, Alexander Sharpeigh, told the men to take with them what they could. Some took a hundred pounds, others 50 or 40, more or less. About 1 A.M., Sept. 3, they left the ship in a skiff carrying 16 men, and the long boat carrying 55, and landed at Gandevi. The dates and particulars of Thomas Jones agree in the main with those of Coverté. He does not say that part of the money was saved, but laments the loss of so much valuable cargo. Coverté came to Surat and left for Agra, Sept. 23, with the General and 50 of the men. The pinnace was eventually taken by the Portuguese near Surat. The *Union*, after arriving in the East and trading with some success at Acheen and Priaman, was wrecked on her return in the Bay of Biscay. This expedition, the fourth of the Company, for which £33,000 had been subscribed, was thus a dead loss for the shareholders.

Is Guerreiro our only authority for the fact that 17 chests of gold reals were abandoned in the wreck of the *Ascension*?

² D. Andre Furtado de Mendoça assumed office of Governor of India on May 27, 1609. He had been 30 years in India, and had proved himself, especially in the siege of Malacca by the Dutch (1606), to be the greatest captain Portugal then had in the East. Cf. *Voyage of Pyrard de Laval*, by A. Gray and H. Bell, Hakluyt Society, Vol. II, pp. 151, 267.

³ Surat was then in Jahāngir's power.

"which the Estado was ready to make to the King, his Master, and represent to him the reasons he had for continuing the peaceable and friendly relations formerly concluded with the Portuguese and for undoing whatever had been done to the contrary. The Governor and his advisers judged that, to carry through a matter of such moment, no one was better qualified than Father Manoel Pinheiro then at Goa. Presently he begged of the Father Provincial kindly to allow him to be sent on this mission. The request was granted. The Governor gave him [Pinheiro] his letters to the Ambassador and full powers to conclude with him terms of peace or war; he would approve of anything he [Pinheiro] would do and he might himself signify at once to all the fortresses in the North that the merchants were as hitherto allowed to go freely to Cambaya.

"The Father endured great fatigues on the voyage. It was out of season and in winter.¹ Twice he was driven ashore, and on turning back to India [Goa], he could get no further than Tarapor, twenty-three leagues from Goa. Here he entered the river to await a favourable opportunity, but the bar closed on him and made it impossible to return to sea. The negotiations which he was entrusted with being of such consequence, he made his journey across the territory of the Moors, sometimes on foot, sometimes in a palanquin. It was a painful journey, by reason of the many large rivers, mountains and mountain-chains to be traversed. The Moors, knowing that the Father belonged to the Society, showed him much honour and hospitality. However, the Captain of Danda,² in the domains of the Daquini,³ detained him, on the plea that his [the Father's] journey would cause prejudice to the King, his Master, who was at war with the Mogor, in whose Court the Father had resided so many years. Thanks to his industry and his knowledge of Persian, the Father extricated himself from this danger. On his way through the fortresses of the North, he had it proclaimed in the Governor's name that all merchants could freely go to Cambaya as before.

"The Father was received with great rejoicing not only in the settlements of the Portuguese, but in all the towns of Cambaya. Moors and gentios felicitated and thanked him for having come to restore peace. Coming to the Ambassador, he was received with great demonstrations of joy; such was the friendship between them. He adjusted the matters which he brought for settlement, and everything went on to their mutual satisfaction and the advantage of both the Estado of India and the Mogor. Hostilities had been rife near Damão and booty had been taken on either side. Orders were issued to give up the spoils immediately. Next, both wrote to the King concerning what was going on, urging how essential it was to preserve the peace with the Portuguese and remove every occasion of disturbing it. The King at once agreed to it all. He revoked the permission he had granted to the English of establishing a factory at Surrate; hence, the poor English Ambassador at the Court, of whom we spoke above, found himself of a sudden sadly fallen from the King's favour and good will. He sent him off by way of Bengal, thus turning him away from Cambaya and making him lose all hope of communicating with his countrymen.⁴

"The Ambassador [Mukarrab Khán] and the Governor of that kingdom [Cambaya] directed the Captain at Surrate not to receive in future the English into the city. And when they asked for leave to build or freight a ship in which to return home, they were told to apply to the Viceroy of India.

"Almost driven to despair, these poor people determined to go and see the King; but, the way being infested with marauders, a body of horsemen set upon them, robbed them and killed the greater number, among others, the Captain.⁵

¹ By winter is meant the rainy season; in Western India, the period of the S.-W. monsoon, May—September. Cf. Yule, *Glossary*, s. v. "Winter." Fr. Pinheiro's voyage must have begun about the middle of June 1609.

² A town near the coast-line, to the N. of Goa.

³ The ruler of the Dekhan.

⁴ This represents the last information Fr. Pinheiro had concerning Capt Hawkins, by the end of 1609. Hawkins alludes nowhere to Jahángir's design of making him quit his dominions by way of Bengal.

⁵ This was a false rumour which Father Pinheiro must have received before leaving Surat. At the date of despatching his letter from Goa (Dec. 1609 or Jan. 1610) no correct information had yet come in. No attack on Sharpeigh and Coverte's party between Surat and Agra is mentioned in the accounts we have at hand. Hawkins does not chronicle it.

"Of those who remained at Surrate, some went to Goa with the same Father, and from him and the rest of the Society in that city they experienced well enough the charity which the Society tries to show to every fellowman.¹ The Viceroy Ruy Lourenço de Tavora² was expecting the arrival of the Ambassador. He invited him by letter to come freely, and sent simultaneously our fleet to fetch him. But he did not come, for at this juncture he was summoned to the King. Hence the mission he had been charged with as Ambassador was performed by Father Manoel Pinheiro, who assumed the responsibility of it. He arrived at Goa on the feast of St. Catherine.³ The next Sunday, the Viceroy received the King's letter to the loud discharge of artillery and every demonstration of joy at seeing the peace re-established under such cordial tokens of goodwill. The Father offered to the Viceroy in the Ambassador's name the present he had brought. In his turn the Viceroy thanked the Father for all he had done and suffered while conducting those negotiations in a manner so advantageous and honourable to the State.⁴

This passage of Guerreiro, with which we shall wind up the study of his *Relacam*, invites comment.

When making their estimate of the action taken by the Portuguese Government against the English at their first apparition in Indian waters, modern English historians seem too often to have started from the assumption of the present hegemony of the British power in India. This is absurd, and it would be no less unfair to judge by the

¹ "It pleased God in his goodness," writes Thomas Jones, "that I made the acquaintance of a Father of the Order of St. Paul, a Portuguese, who had come by land from Cambay to Surat. He promised that, if I entrusted myself to him, he would make me get home, or at least to Portugal, which he faithfully did. I left then [Surat] on Oct. 7, in the company of this Father, and three others of our people, Robert Mellis, who died on board during the voyage, Johan Elmor and Robert Fox." They arrived at Goa at the end of November. Pyrard de Laval says they came to Goa with the great fleet or *Cafila*. At Goa they were at first very well received, having a lodging given to them among the servants [of the College of St. Paul?]. Somewhat later, they were thrown into prison by order of the Governor, together with Pyrard de Laval, some Hollanders or Flemings, and a number of other Englishmen, the survivors of the seventeen who had been captured in one of Hawkins' boats off Surat. The pretext was that the season was at hand when the Hollanders were wont to cast anchor before Goa. An edict had just reached Goa from Spain (Nov. 1609) forbidding the Viceroy to permit Frenchmen, Hollanders or Englishmen to remain at Goa. The Jesuits interceded for the prisoners, among them Fathers Gaspar Aleman, a Castilian, Thomas Stephen, the Englishman, Jean de Seine, a Lorrainer of Verdun, Nicolas Trigault from Douay, and "the good Fr. Stephen de la Croix of Rouen." They were released after a three weeks' detention. The Jesuits obtained further, for the four Englishmen who had come with Pinheiro, a (free?) passage in the homeward-bound fleet commanded by Don Andre Furtado de Mendoza, the late Governor. Don Andre sailed on Dec. 26, 1609, Thomas Jones dating his own departure Jan. 9, 1609 [1610?]. Cf. *Voyage of Pyrard de Laval*, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, pp. 266-276.

² Don Ruy Lourenço de Tavora had left Lisbon in Oct. 1608 and hove within sight of Goa on Sept. 1, 1609. He assumed office as 19th (or, as Faria has it, 21st) Viceroy on Sept. 5, 1609, and remained in power till Dec. 1612.

³ November 25, though Thomas Jones asserts he arrived at Goa on Nov. 18. They may have come in different ships. Goa had been taken on St. Catherine's Day, 1510, and the Saint had been chosen as Patroness of the town.

⁴ It may be useful to sum up Fr. Pinheiro and Mukarrab Khán's movements during this period. Pinheiro arrived at Cambay from Lahore in April 1608, and, after a nine months' sojourn there, came to Surat with Mukarrab Khán. Here they found Hawkins. Pinheiro continued alone to Goa and was sent in the June of 1609 to Cambay on a Mission to Mukarrab Khán. He was back in Surat in the beginning of October, and, after befriending Thomas Jones and some of his party, he left for Goa (Oct. 7), where he arrived Nov. 25. Mukarrab Khán had remained in Gujarat. At the end of Sept. 1609, he was summoned to Agra. He fell into disfavour, was thrown into prison, liberated and reinstated. A little later, we see him on his way to Goa with Fr. Pinheiro, who had somehow joined him at Agra. In 1610, he was baptised at Goa by D. Aleixo de Menezes, the Archbishop, who left for Portugal on Dec. 31, 1610, or on Jan. 31, 1611. Mukarrab Khán was back at Surat by the time Middleton arrived there (Sept. 26, 1611). Cf. *The Hawkins' Voyages*, *op. cit.*, pp. 406, 409, 414. He reappeared at Agra "on the 16th of the month of Farwardin" (1021 A.H.—1612 A.D.)—Cf. *Wak'at-i-Jahangiri* in Sir H. M. Elliot, *op. cit.*, Vol. VI. p. 320-1. From a note communicated by Rev. Fr. L. Delaunoit, S.J., I learn that Mukarrab Khán was baptized at Goa, during his sojourn there. He is the renegade Christian Nawáb who in 1620 invited the Jesuits of Hugli to come and build a Church at Patna. Cf. *Catholic Herald of India*, Calcutta, 1906, pp. 804-5.

same standard the mission of arbitrator which circumstances saddled on Father Pinheiro.

The Portuguese had for over a century enjoyed the quiet and undisputed monopoly of the Eastern trade; their sway extended all along the West Coast of India, the Bay of Bengal, Malacca, and the Moluccas; they had concluded treaties of peace with the most powerful Princes of India, in particular with the Moghul Emperor. The arrival of Captain Hawkins was in their eyes fraught with the gravest dangers to their commerce and prestige. No more than the representatives of any other nation, under similar circumstances, were the Portuguese *fidalgos* prepared to brook, still less to favour, a rival, not to say an enemy. If England was to gain a footing in India, it was to be accomplished by loyal diplomacy or in honest warfare. Hawkins, even in the opinion of English historians, lacked the qualities of a diplomat. His blustering soon committed him to a serious imprudence. His utterances about the fortress of Diu were turned against him. They were made the ostensible pretext of hostilities with the Moghul Court, and brought about Hawkins' eventual discomfiture.

However much the Jesuit Provincial at Goa may have felt averse to getting himself or his subordinates mixed up in political matters, the seriousness of the situation, the threatened bloodshed, and the peculiar position of Father Pinheiro made it impossible for him to decline the request of the Portuguese Governor. Pinheiro was sent to compose matters, to restore peace. We would hardly blame him for having by his long residence at the Moghul Court and his familiar relations with Mukarrab Khán acquired a position of influence and trust which singled him out as the only acceptable arbiter of peace. His character as a Portuguese or as a Jesuit ought not to make all the difference.

Captain Hawkins was not the man to take so cool and sober a view of the situation, especially with regard to the Jesuits. He came to India at a time when for any English Jesuit to set foot in the land of his birth was tantamount to felony. Many English Jesuits were at that very time expiating in England's dungeons the crime of being Catholics and Priests. Many others had, of late years, met their death at the hands of the hangman. Hawkins had learned to look upon them as the very personification of craft and intrigue. He was not likely to form a more favourable estimate of the Jesuits in India, in particular the Portuguese Jesuits, even though the unique influence they enjoyed with the Great Moghul was solely due to the sterling virtues of a Blessed Rudolph Aquaviva, or the superior excellence of a Jerome Xavier, the nephew of no less a man than the great St. Francis Xavier.

The picture drawn by Hawkins of Pinheiro and his colleagues of Agra may have appeared dark enough to his contemporaries, and of a piece with what they had been taught to expect from the Jesuits. To us it appears little less than exhilarating for the extreme naïveté and gullibility of its author. If we were to interpret the facts in the light in which Hawkins saw them, Padre Pinheiro, far from behaving like a Christian gentleman, was not even possessed with the sense of common honesty.

Capt. Hawkins had arrived at the Bar of Surat on Aug. 24, 1608. He began by experiencing that the local authorities in Gujarat were as oppressive as they

were venal. Nothing could be done without a bribe. The Hindú and Muhammadan merchants avoided him; for, they were not anxious to incur the displeasure of their best customers, the Portuguese. A party of these found Hawkins out. "These seas belonged unto the King of Portugal, they declared, and none ought to come here without his license" (p. 393).¹ Hawkins was easily moved. He sent his challenge to the Captain of one of the Portuguese frigates lying before Surat. His ship was seized. Some Portuguese braves would lie in wait for him in the streets of Surat, intending to lay hands on him. On one occasion, "three Gallants came to the tents, armed with coats of Buffe downe to the knees, their Rapiers and Pistols by their sides, [and] demaunded for the English Captaine: upon the hearing of which, I arose presently, and told them that I was the man, and perceiving an alteration in them, I laid hand upon my weapon (p. 395). . . . Another time, they came to assault me in my house with a Friar, some thirty or fortie of them: the Friars comming was to animate the soldiers, and to give them absolution" (p. 396). The Jesuits were not called Friars; the Friar was not a Jesuit, therefore.

At this juncture, Mukarrab Khán came to Surat. He appropriated without much ceremony many of the Englishman's best goods. He only paid "such a price as his owne barbarous conscience afforded; that from thirtie-five he would give but eightene. . . . He came to my house three times, sweeping me cleane of all things that were good" (pp. 394-5). This spelt bad luck for Padre Pinheiro, who had quietly followed Mukarrab Khán, Jahángír's Ambassador, at this moment. Why should a Portuguese Jesuit, of all men, have been hanging about that rapacious dignitary, who tried to extort without adequate compensation the best of Hawkins' gold cloth? Pinheiro "profered Mocreb-Chan fortie thousand Rials of eight, to send me to Damau, as I understood by certain advise given me by Hassan Ally, and Ally Pommery" (p. 396). About the antecedents of these two Muhammadan worthies we are without information; but, that they were no friends of Mukarrab Khán and Pinheiro, we may safely take for granted. Mukarrab Khán had many enemies and the Jesuit Missionaries of Agra were not without theirs. Father Pinheiro was the bearer of valuable presents sent by Jahángír to the Jesuits of Goa, for presentation to their friends and supporters at home. It was easy enough to accuse him of trying to bribe Mukarrab Khán into surrendering Hawkins to the Portuguese. But, granting even so preposterous an accusation, what must have been the result of Pinheiro's step? Hawkins was, perhaps, not aware that one of his own countrymen, a Jesuit, Father Thomas Stephens, was still alive in Salsette near Goa. Would he have countenanced such an outrage on a fellow-countryman? Or were the Jesuits of Goa so little enlightened in the ways of the world as to have approved of such proceedings, on the part of one of theirs, against the accredited (?) representative of a foreign Power? Some twenty years before, when the Portuguese, jealous of England's growing commerce in the East, brought Ralph Fitch and his party from Ormuz to Goa, the Archbishop and the Jesuits interposed their authority in their behalf.² Foremost

¹ We quote *The Hawkins' Voyages*. Ed. Cl. R. Markham. London. Hakluyt Society, 1878.

² Cf. *Ralph Fitch*, by J. Horton Ryley. London, T. Fisher Unwin. 1899. pp. 78-9. "And the two good Fathers

among them were Father Thomas Stephens and Father Mark Machil.¹ It would not have been different now. That very year, 1609, several Jesuits of Goa successfully exerted themselves to liberate from the prisons of Goa Pyrard de Laval and other unfortunates, a kindness gratefully referred to by the French traveller.²

Hawkins' suspicions once excited against Pinheiro, he deemed him capable of every villainy, murder not excepted. Hawkins had fallen out with the Jesuit in Mukarrab Khán's presence "for vile speeches made by him of our King and nation to bee vassals of the King of Portugal: which words I could not brooke, in so much, that if I could have had my will, the Father had never spoken more. . . ." (p. 397). This preposterous accusation shows how badly Hawkins' mind was poisoned against Pinheiro. "The Father. . . . put into Mocreb-Chan his head that it was not good to let me passe: for that I would complain of him unto the King. This he plotted with Mocreb-Chan to overthrow my journey, which he could not doe, because I came from a King: but he said he would not let me have any force to go with me. And what else hee would have him to doe, either with my Treuchman and Coachman, to poyson or murther me, if one should faile, the other to do it: this invention was put into Mocreb-chan's head by the Father. But God for his mercie sake, afterward discovered these plots, and the Counsell of this Jesuite tooke not place" (pp. 396-7).

On Febr. 1, 1609, Hawkins left Surat for Agra. Five days later "my Coachman being drunk with certaine of his kindred, discovered the Treason that hee was hiered to murther me." The next day, the man, even under a cruel beating, refused to confess who had hired him. He was sent a prisoner to the Governor of Surat. "But afterward by my Broker or Truchman, I understood that both hee and the Coachman were hired by Mocreb-Chan, but by the Fathers perswasion, the one to poyson me, and the other to murther me: but the Truchman received nothing till he had done the deed, which hee never meant to doe, for in that kind hee was always true unto mee: thus God preserved me" (p. 398). The idea that Father Pinheiro should have been a party in so iniquitous an onslaught is too absurd to entertain; but, of course, the 'Truchman's' evidence, though negatived by the Coachman's under torture, was enough for the valiant Captain. It goes far to explain why modern historians have discredited the entire incident. "A guard of Patans," writes Mr. Stanley Lane-Poole, "hardly sufficed to save the traveller from several attempts at assassination, or what he believed to be such (for one cannot but suspect that the gallant captain made the most of his perils)."³

We need not go so far as to reject the incident of the drunken coachman. Indeed, what of the surprise expressed on a later occasion before William Finch by Mukarrab Khán that Hawkins had come safe to Agra and "was not murthered or poysoned

of S. Paul, who travelled very much for us, the one of them is called Padre Marke, who was born in Bruges, in Flanders, and the other was borne in Wiltshire in England, and is called Padre Thomas Stevens."

¹ He came out to India in 1563. Anthony Franco, S.J., calls him in one place "Machil," in another "Malchierius." His name was probably Machiel or Michiels. We know Van Linschoten's aspersions on Padre Marco's character, but R. Pitch, whose business he transacted, may be taken as a safer guide.

² See also at p. 18, n. 1, what Pinheiro and other Jesuits did at Goa for four helpless Englishmen.

³ Cf. *Medieval India under Mohammedan Rule*. London. Fisher Unwin, 1906, 2nd ed., p. 296.

by the way?" (p. 401). Mukarrab Khán was Hawkins' debtor to a considerable amount. He coveted many of the precious things which the traveller took with him to Agra or had left at Surat. He refused to the end to pay Hawkins and cheated him out of 12,500 Mahmudies or pieces of gold.

But, even if Mukarrab Khán had nothing to do with this *guet-à-pens*, another explanation lies before us, *viz.* that the plot—a bogus one?—was a clever scheme concocted by Mukarrab Khán's enemies to ruin his reputation before Jahángir. This supposition may even have occurred to Hawkins on his arrival at Agra. "Calling mee unto him, the first thing that hee [Jahángir] spoke, was that he understood that Mocreb-Chan had not dealt well with mee, bidding mee bee of good cheer, for he would remedie all. It should seeme, that Mocreb-Chans enemies had acquainted the King with all his proceedings, for indeed the King had spies upon every Nobleman." (p. 400, 401). Was it necessary for Jahángir to dog Mukarrab's movements at this moment, when he was charged with a peaceful mission to Goa and instructed to procure "toyes" for the King? Self-appointed spies could do this work as effectively.

Hawkins was received with great honour at Agra; but in one of his first interviews with the King he forgot himself so far as to indicate the means of capturing the fortress of Diu. He was either overheard by the Portuguese, or the substance of the conversation was taken down by the scribes hard by. "There is no matter passeth in the Mogols Court in secret but it is knowne halfe an houre after, giving a small matter for the writer of the day." (p. 410). The Portuguese were highly incensed, and information was at once despatched to the authorities at Goa. Hawkins would like us to believe that the Jesuits had organised a regular system of espionage against him, but we may observe that the Jesuits were not the only Portuguese at Agra. The Portuguese officers in Jahángir's army could not well have remained indifferent.

The reception of the news and the honours accorded to a rival caused the greatest displeasure in the political circles of Goa. The Portuguese would show at once that they did not mean to be slighted. They boycotted the Moghul harbours. There was a show of hostilities near Damán. The merchant communities everywhere declared themselves for the Portuguese. The Council of Goa, seeing they had gained their point, felt as if they had been too hasty. Pinheiro happened to be at Goa. They sent him to conciliate Mukarrab Khán.

Hawkins will tell us the result of the negotiations. "The Jesuite Pinheiro being with Mocreb-Chan, and the Jesuites here, I thinke did little regard their Masses and Church matters, for studying how to overthrow my Affaires, advice being gone to Goa by the Jesuites here, I mean in Agra, and to Padre Pineiro at Surat or Cambaya, hee working with Mocreb-Chan to be the Portugals assistancè, and the Vice-Roy [of Goa] sending him a great Present, together with many Toyes unto the King with his Letter.¹ These presents and many more promises, wrought so much with Mocreb-Chan, that he writeth his Petition unto the King, sending it together with the Present, advertising the King, that the suffering of the English in his land, would be the cause

¹ Hawkins does not appear to have known of Father Pinheiro's journey to Goa and back.

of the losse of his owne Countries, neere the Sea-coasts, as Suratt, Cambaya, and such like: and that in any case he entertaine me not, for that his ancient friends the Portugalls murmured highly at it, that I was General of ten thousand Horsemen, readie to give the assault upon Diu, when our shipping came.

"The Vice-Royes letter likewise was in this kind: the Kings answeare was that he had but one English-man in his Court, and him they needed not to feare, for hee hath not pretended any such matter, for I would have given him Living neere the Sea ports, but he refused it, taking it neere me heere" (p. 403).

At this time, Hawkins' boy, Stephen Gravoner, died rather unexpectedly; his man, Nicolas Ufflet, was very ill, and Hawkins himself began "to falle down too." Was this entirely accidental? Was it the first tribute exacted from inexperienced travellers by a tropical climate? Or was there foul play at work? Hawkins adopted the latter interpretation. After the King's answer to the Viceroy of Goa, "the Portugalls were like madde Dogges, labouring to work my passage out of the world." His suspicions fell on the Jesuits once more. He mentioned the facts to the King. "The King presently called the Jesuites, and told them if I dyed by any extraordinary casualtie, that they should all rue for it." To avoid all danger of poisoning, Jahángír suggested to Hawkins to marry a Moorish "white mayden out of his Palace. . . that by this meanes my meates and drinckes should be looked unto. . . , and I should live without feare." Hawkins, with good reason, objected to marrying a Muhammadan girl. An Armenian girl, the daughter of one Mubárah Sháh, was found. The Fathers refused, we have seen on what grounds, to bless the marriage. In December 1609 "came some of the Ascensions Company unto the King (whom I could have wished to be of better behaviour, a thing pryed into by the King)." Then came Mukarrab Khán. "He was sent for up to the king, to answeare for many faults, and tyrannical In-justice, which he did to all people in those parts, many a man being undone by him, who petitioned to the King for justice." Mukarrab Khán was found guilty and thrown into prison. He quickly liberated himself by means of heavy bribes and was reinstated into his former office. Hawkins had been instrumental—whether directly or indirectly, it did not matter to Mukarrab Khán—to bring him into disfavour. He could expect nothing in future from that great man or from his many friends at Court, among them the King's Chief Vizir, 'Abdul Husain. Hawkins' mission, as far as they were concerned, was a foregone conclusion. To cut short a long story of disappointments, after much tergiversation on the part of Jahángír, and many attempts on the part of Hawkins to bring the most powerful influences to bear on him, Mukarrab Khán and the Portuguese prevailed. Hawkins turned his back on the Moghul Court on Nov. 2, 1611. He had intended to leave at an earlier date, and on that occasion had been compelled "to currie favour with the Jesuits, to get mee a safe conduct, or *Seguro*, from the Vice-Roy to goe to Goa, and so to Portugall, and from thence to England,—thinking, as the opinion of others was, that the Vice-Roy giving his secure Royall, there would be no danger for me." (pp. 412-3). The Jesuits applied for two "secures," one guaranteeing "free libertie of conscience in Goa," the other "an absolute grant for free passage into Portugal with his wife and goods." Hawkins considered

himself little obliged to the Fathers. "This and much more the Fathers would have done for me, only to rid me out of the Country; for being cleare of me, they should much more quietly sleepe." That was true, we may suppose. Nothing could allay Hawkins' disappointment or his resentment. The kind offices of Jerome Xavier towards Coverte and his companions had found no mention in his diary, no more than Pinheiro's charity towards Thomas Jones and three other Englishmen. What they did at his departure, in his own behalf, to convince him, if it were possible, that his ill success was not to be laid at their door, would meet with no better recognition.

He arrived at Cambay on the last of December 1611, and received news that Sir Henry Middleton had arrived with three ships near Surat. The Portuguese got wind of it, too, and prepared to thwart him. Pinheiro was kind enough to write to Hawkins, affirming "for a truth that the Vice-Roy had in readinesse prepared to depart from Goa, foure great ships, with certaine Gallies, and Frigates for to come upon them, and Treasons plotted against Sir Henry Middletons person, of which newes I was wished by the Fathers to advise Sir Henry." Who did that? Pinheiro, the would-be murderer! But, of course, it was found afterwards "to bee but their policie, to put him in feare, and so to depart." (p. 416).

Using every secrecy, Hawkins embarked on Middleton's ships. They departed Febr. 11, 1612.¹ By way of farewell to the Portuguese, they seized near Dabul a Portuguese ship and Frigate, "out of which we tooke some quantitie of goods," seemingly in compensation for the capture of Hawkins' boat in 1608 and that of the pinnace of Alexander Sharpeigh (about Oct. 1609). Hawkins hove off, a discontented man, determined to vent his spleen against the Portuguese, and the Jesuits.

It needed another Ambassador, not the son of a merchant, but an accomplished courtier, a talented statesman, to improve the situation created by Hawkins. Such a man was Sir Thomas Roe. He succeeded where Hawkins had failed. He created the first English factories on the coast of Cambay, and thus built up the foundations of England's present imperial greatness (1615-18).

¹ The date '1611' in the *Hawkins' Voyages*, *op. cit.*, is manifestly erroneous.

[THE END].

Land Revenue Administration under Maharajah Ranjit Singh.

By L. SITA RAM KOHLI, M.A.,
Alexandra Research Scholar, Panjab University.

*A few leading features in administration of Land-Revenue under Maharajah
Ranjit Singh.*

[Paper read on 18th November, 1916.]

Information on the subject, which I take in this paper, "The Working of the Revenue System under Ranjit Singh," is so meagre, that I often thought of giving up the quest. The historians of the period, whether Indians or Europeans, who have attempted to trace the rise and fall of Ranjit Singh's power, have contented themselves with making only a passing reference to his administration, while they have given a detailed and exhaustive account of the various battles he fought and won.

Nature of the material
available.

In the second place, no trustworthy information is forthcoming from the people, who have forgotten the old ways and methods. Some forty years back this difficulty could have been easily overcome; for some of the men who played an important part during the Sikh days were still alive.

Whatever little information is obtainable on the subject can be had from the records of the Khālsa Government itself, which—thanks to the Panjab Government—have been preserved so well up to this time. But even these records do not supply sufficient information on the details as to how the work was carried on in actual practice, since these papers are the abstract returns of revenue and the account sheets submitted to the Lahore Durbar by its various revenue officers. It is only here and there that one comes across a rule or an *Āin* issued by the Maharajah to one of his *kārdars*, that enables one to corroborate or test the accuracy of the conclusions otherwise arrived at. The *khasrās* and *jamabandis*, which are the only sources of information on the assessment part of the Revenue System, were kept in the *ta'aluqa* or District records, and as a result of subsequent revolutions and change of Governments were either neglected altogether or thrown into the lumber-room of the *kardar's* house. A few of them I succeeded in obtaining from two old families in my native town,¹ and I am sure that they will be forthcoming in numbers if further quest be made in different towns of the province. The entire sources have not been

¹ Hans Raj Chopra and Raja Dhan Raj Singh, B.A., representatives of two different families in Bhera whose members held respectable posts under the Government of Maharajah Ranjit Singh, placed their family archives at my disposal, for which they deserve my best thanks.

exhausted, but whatever I could investigate in a short period of four months, I beg to submit the results thereof in this paper. The facts have been taken from the records of Ranjit Singh's government and the conclusions are my own.

On the 27th Har Sambat 1856 (July, 1799 A.D.) Ranjit Singh, then a young lad of nineteen, invested with a formal authority from Shah Zamān of Kabul, entered and occupied Lahore without much opposition. A couple of years later, he wrested Amritsar from the Bhangi Sardars, and within the next six years he reduced a portion of Rachna and Sindh Sagar Doabs. Having taken possession of the political and religious capitals of the Panjab, Ranjit Singh now more seriously thought of creating a kingdom for himself. In 1806 A.D., he turned his attention towards the rich plains of Sirhind and Malwa, which, in all probability, must have succumbed before his rising power had not the British Government taken them under their protection by a well-known treaty which confined Ranjit Singh's boundaries to the right bank of Sutlaj river. Being thus shut out from this "golden harvest," Ranjit Singh had to seek for fresh fields in another direction. He moved northwards to take possession of the historic fort at Kangra, and on his way back reduced the Jalandhar Doab to subjection. Multan, Kashmir and Peshawar each fell in turn and felt the weight of his arms. In 1834 A.D., he pushed his conquest farther than Peshawar and established a military post at Jamrud. It may be noted that he was the first monarch after Anang Pal, who not only rolled back the wave of conquest which continued to flow from the North-West for full eight hundred years, but succeeded in establishing his rule in those regions. By force and strategy he reduced each independent Chieftain to the position of a mere fief-holder, amalgamating his possessions with his own kingdom of Lahore. The means by which he gained this large territory may not have been very honourable, although every praise must be conceded to the views he entertained of reducing the various provinces and tribes to one consistent Government. On his death in 1839 A.D., the boundaries of his kingdom extended from the highest chain of the Himalayas in the 35th degree North Latitude to the 28th degree, and from the 70th degree to the 79th degree Longitude. In order to give a more familiar idea of the extent of his kingdom, we may say that it comprised the entire area covered by the British possessions in the modern Panjab, if we exclude from it the districts of Ferozepore, Ludhiana, Hissar, Rohtak, Gurgaon and Karnal from the east and add to it the present boundaries of Kashmir State together with the whole of the North-West Frontier Province on the north and north-west side.

For the purposes of administration Ranjit Singh maintained the chief territorial divisions into which the Great Akbar had divided this part of his empire, and retained the very designation which the Mughals had given to each of the following three subas :—

- (1) Suba Lahore which comprised the Central Panjab.
- (2) Suba-i-Kashmir-i-Jannat Nazir, or the paradise-resembling province of Kashmir.
- (3) Suba-i-Dar-ul-Aman Multan (the abode of peace).

The Frontier territory was denominated as Alkai Peshawar. In addition to these chief *sūbas* which were governed by the officials directly appointed by the Lahore Darbar, there were several hill states which paid *nazrāna muqarrari*, a regular and fixed tribute to the Lahore treasury. Further, for revenue purposes, a *sūba* was divided into *pargannās*, a *pargannā* into *ta'aluqas*, and a *tacaluqa* into *mauzas* or villages. The *mauza* or village constituted the lowest unit in the scale of territorial divisions. The management of a *ta'aluqa* was invariably placed in the hands of an official, called a *kārdār* or *āmil*, while the governor of a *sūba* was styled as *Nāzim*. Other functionaries connected with the department were *muqaddams chaudharies*, *patwāris*, and *qānungos*, whose functions and duties will be detailed later on this paper. This appears to have been the *ta'aluqa* organization of the revenue department.

As with the preceding monarchs of India, whether native or foreign, the chief source of revenue in Ranjit Singh's time was land. The remaining sources of the income of the *Khālśa* Exchequer are grouped under four different heads, namely :—

Sources of revenue.

- (1) *Sāirāt*,
- (2) *Nazrāna*,
- (3) *Wajuhāt-i-muqarrari*, and
- (4) *Zabti* or forfeiture and escheats.

The term *Sāirāt* seems to have been used with most convenient latitude of meaning. Any tax which could not be readily referred to any other class, was placed among the *sāir* duties. It includes income from *Mahāl-i-Ābkārī* (excise), *Āmdani chaukiyāt* (custom duties), *Āmdani Guzar* (tolls and ferry dues), *mandvi rāmras* (salt), and *mahāl mandiyāt*, i.e. duties on almost every marketable commodity.

The second group, i.e. *Nazrāna*, includes, firstly, *nazrāna mustamri* or perpetual tribute, which was levied mostly on the tributary states and other big *jāgīrs*; and, secondly, *nazrāna mutafarriqa* or extraordinary. The *nazrāna mutafarriqa* was a sort of present which the sovereign claimed from the recipient of a favour, on the bestowal of a *khila'at*, the grant of a *jāgīr*, on the renewal of a *jāgīr*, or on its *bahāli* or restoration, as well as on succession.

The third group or *wajuhāt-i-muqarrari* contained a number of *rusūm* or fees: (1) *rusūm-i-zābitāna* and *sarāfāna* on *hundwiyāt* or bills, which roughly corresponded to the stamp duty of modern times, and was charged at the rate of ten annas per thousand. (2) *Rusūm-i-muhārāna*, a sort of fee on each paper that required the royal seal.

The fourth and last head is that of *Zabti*, which covers confiscation of property whether of a fallen foe or of a degraded servant of the state, or by escheats.

In this paper, however, I propose to take up the administration of land revenue alone.

LAND REVENUE.

The history of the revenue system during the forty years of Ranjit Singh's government reveals an interesting evolution. In the beginning of the reign the simple method of *Batāi*, or division of

History.

the crops, was mostly prevalent throughout the kingdom, but towards its close we find that the practice of levying cash rates was introduced in certain parts of his territory. The entire length of time occupied by this change may be broadly divided into three periods ; although it would not be very easy to draw any hard and fast lines dividing one period from the other.

The first period, beginning with Ranjit Singh's occupation of Lahore in 1799 A.D., ends with 1823 A.D. This was the busiest period of his life. He was always on horse-back leading his armies to distant fields. He reduced the Sikh misls, occupied the Central Panjab, conquered and annexed Multan and Kashmir, and pushed the boundaries of his kingdom on the west side to the river Indus. Being thus busy with the expansion of his territory, he had hardly any leisure to attend to any improvements in the system of his government. The utmost he desired at this time was a consolidated rule in the territories he conquered and annexed. Under these circumstances, as was natural, the old system was allowed to continue and we consequently find that during this period the mode of raising the revenues from land consists in a pure and simple division of the crops between the state and the cultivator. The state demand is, as a rule, collected in kind.

The second period, beginning from 1824 A.D., extends over nearly a decade. It was a time of comparative peace, and Ranjit Singh, therefore, busied himself in the reorganization of his civil and military establishments. Among several reforms introduced in various branches of his government, the reform in the revenue system is the one that I shall have occasion to describe. The rude device of taking corn from the ryot, besides its attendant evils, e.g. the practice of grain stealing on the part of the cultivators, the inconvenience and the cost of carriage of grain to distant markets, could not meet the requirements of the government which had to defray the cost¹ of its civil and military establishments in hard cash. Ranjit Singh, therefore, gave greater encouragement to the system of assessment known as *Kankūt* which already prevailed in certain parts of his territory. According to this system, the standing crops were estimated, and the share of the state converted into its money value which the cultivator had to pay in cash. This was in itself a step in the change from grain to money payment, concealed by a fiction—the assessment was nominally in grain but was levied in cash by means of an artificial valuation. The practice gradually replaced the older mode of division of crops, and the revenue of government is henceforth realized in cash.

The third stage in the evolution begins with the nineties of the Bikrami era. By this time the reduction of Peshawar had been complete, and Ranjit Singh had practically rounded his little kingdom and secured for it a scientific frontier. Consequently he had his hands now more free to apply them to the internal improvement of his government. The number of his regularly paid forces was daily increasing and the salary expenditure alone of this army was thirty lacs in 1835 A.D., which rose to forty-six lacs in 1840, and ultimately reached one crore of rupees in 1844, viz. five

¹ مبالغ نقد برائے خرچ پلاہٹی ہر وقت درکار است Ranjit Singh's confidential instructions to his Revenue officers were to try to collect the revenue in cash.

years after Ranjit Singh's death. Besides this rise in military expenditure, the expenditure of the civil government shows a considerable rise during this period, though it in no way keeps pace with the former. To meet this ever-swelling demand on his revenues, Ranjit Singh had, perforce, to devise some methods such as would enable him to estimate his receipts, in order to adjust them to his expenditure. In the *Kankūt-Batāi* systems the Government share was determined only at the close of the harvest time, and it could not, therefore, enable the Government to forecast its budgets. With this end in view Ranjit Singh began to give greater encouragement to the practice of farming out the revenue of large districts for a period extending from three to six years, to contractors who undertook to pay the amount in cash. This practice is noticed even as early as the seventies of the Bikrami era, but the difference in the contracts of the first and those of the third period is very marked. The first point of difference in the contracts of the two periods is that in early years Ranjit Singh farmed out the revenues of only the outlying and troublesome districts in order to be saved from the trouble of local control, while there is no such distinction underlying the contracts of the third period. The second point of difference lies in the term of the leases. The term in the former case was invariably of one year, while the engagements of the latter period were mostly made for a term of three to six years. The lessee paid the stipulated amount to the State and was free on his own part to realize the sum from his tenants by applying *kankūt* or *batāi* as was convenient to him, but, in order to prevent extortion and oppression, he was required to furnish to the State a detailed account of the cultivation and produce of the districts leased out to him, and was bound to accord good treatment to the king's subjects.

Still a third point of difference in the contracts of the two periods is in the position of the farmers themselves. In the beginning the contractors were invariably selected from the nobility round the court, but in the latter years petty contractors and speculators were allowed to become revenue-farmers. The application of this practice was still further extended, and the direct contracts of revenue, by way of fixing cash assessment for the whole village or of *mauzas* and *ta'aluqas*, were made with their *zamīndārs*, thus dispensing with the farmer or the middleman and allowing the cultivator to reap the full advantage of his labour. Such instances, though rare, are there, and prove the existence of such a principle, though in an embryonic stage. But individual wells were, as a rule, leased out for a fixed sum as we shall see later on. The advantages of such a system to both the parties are manifest—the State could count upon a fixed income in cash, and the farmers felt sure of pocketing the remainder after paying to the state the stipulated amount, and could reap the benefits of short periodical settlements. The extension of the principle underlying this policy of farming was carried still further when the State tried experiments of levying cash *jama'* in some of the *pargannās*, for instance, in Gujrat during the Kardārship of Dewan Kirpa Ram and afterwards of John Holmes, an Anglo-Indian officer in the army of the Maharajah.

To sum up: the practice of short periodical settlements, direct settlements with zamindars, and lastly the practice of imposing cash *jama'* were initiated and set on

foot towards the close of Ranjit Singh's reign. The actual division of the crops in the first period gave place to *kankūt* in the second, and the practice of farming out the revenues found a general favour in the third, and culminated in fixed cash *jama's*. As already pointed out, the dividing lines of these periods are by no means very sharp, for none of the above three systems was totally absent in any one period. I have denoted the periods as each of the systems—*batāi*, *kankūt* or farming—was in general favour at the time. From the above survey it appears that there was a gradual drift towards cash assessment, and a letter from Ranjit Singh to the Ludhiana Agency of the E.I. Company asking for a copy of methods of their government points to such a tendency on his part.

Zabti Jama'.—Simultaneously with the above three systems we find that, from the very beginning, certain crops, the produce of which could not stand the delay of division or could not be appraised very accurately, were assessed in cash. This cash *jama'* is in revenue language known as *zabti jama'* and such crops are known as *zabti* crops.

So much then for the history of the revenue system. Let us now consider the methods of work connected with the assessment. Here, too, Assessment and Records. we notice the same sort of evolution. With the change of the system there comes a change in the method of work.

In earlier years when *batāi* was in vogue the process was extremely simple. It neither required any elaborate measuring of the fields, nor the preparation of any detailed revenue record. The crops, when ready for harvest, were cut and brought to the thrashing-floor where, after the thrashing was over, a division was effected by means of a wooden measure. A fixed proportion of the grain—by way of *kharch* for '*āmil*, *muḥāṣil*, and the village menials or *kamīns*—was taken out from the common heap and the remainder was divided half and half between the State and the cultivator. The State's share was either disposed of then and there, or stored to secure better prices.

In this case a single document called *Jama' bandi* was prepared giving the total outturn of the crops of the whole village, and showing further the disposal of the shares allotted to the Government and the ryot.

In the later period, however, when the system of appraisal receives general encouragement the settlement operations assume a somewhat elaborate form. The area under cultivation is regularly measured, and a few registers, by way of revenue records, are prepared and kept in the office of the *qānun-go* for future reference. The office of the *Kārdār* henceforth becomes one of importance, and he is given an additional staff or '*amla* consisting of a clerk or *mutaṣaddi*, a *sandūkchi* or treasurer, and a few surveyors and appraisers (*Kāchchūs* and *Kanoīs*). The process was still very simple and did not take more than a couple of months for its entire completion. The measurement commenced at the harvest time when the *Kārdār* visited each field under crop and got it measured by surveyors. The unit of measure applied was the local *Karam*. The measurement was effected mostly by a man's paces, but it appears that sometimes

other methods were resorted to as well. Nisār Ali, on page 438 of his *History of Parganah Mamdot*, mentions that an interesting mode of measuring fields by the paces of a horse was prevalent during the Sikh rule. He does not, however, say anything further as to how the area was calculated or converted into *kanāls* and *bīghās*.

Having measured the fields, its dimensions (*tūl* and '*arz*') and the total area (*arāzi*) with the description of the crop were noted in separate columns against the name of the *assāmi* or tenant in the *khasra girdāvari*.

Simultaneously with the measurement, the Kardar, with the help of the professional appraiser, estimated the produce of each field and noted its outturn in the same register after the column for the area figure. This practically completed the assessment. The only other points worthy of notice in this connection are the few contrivances devised by the State to check the accuracy of the results so obtained, and the mode of preparing revenue records. These appraisers, it may be noted, were in the first place drawn from a professional class, and could, therefore, judge the outturn with great accuracy. Authorities so far removed from each other in space of time as Abul Fazal, author of the *Ain-i-Akbari*, and A. Brandreth, Settlement Officer, Rawalpindi Division, 1856 A.D., concur in testifying to the above statement. The Government, in order to be more sure of the correctness of these calculations, further laid down a rule that the Kardar must compare his results with those obtained by his predecessor, and in case of any considerable discrepancy between the two, he was to report the matter and wait for the subsequent orders from the Darbar before he announced the final *Jama'*. In another place we meet with still further provision to safeguard the interests of the ryot. In some of the despatches issued to the Kardars, they are instructed to consult the leading and respectable men of the village on *Bandobast Mu'āmla*. The wording runs thus:—

بمشورۂ چودھریان و پنچان شائستہ کس بندوبست معاملہ باید ساخت *

In short, the policy to be pursued by a Kardar in assessing the land may be fairly estimated by the standing orders of the Maharaja that آبادی رعایا و افزونی مال سرکار ہر وقت مدنظر دارند which purports that he should so assess the land as to enable the Government, on one hand, to receive its due proportion of the produce, and, on the other, not to deprive the cultivator of his profit, nor endanger the prosperity of the *Ta'aluqa*.

The next point that claims our attention is in regard to the records. The first and the preliminary register was prepared as the measurements proceeded and is known as *Khasra-zabt-Kankūt*—there being no *Shajra* or field map.

(1) The *Khasra* has five separate columns giving:—

- (i) the name of the *assāmi* or tenant and the description of the crop.
- (ii) and (iii) *tūl* and '*arz*', i.e. the dimensions of the field.
- (iv) '*arāzi*' or the total area, and
- (v) *ghallā* or the estimated outturn of the crop.

The fields in the *Khasra* are arranged according to tenancies and not by crops, and the arrangement is, therefore, *assāmiwār* and not *kishtwār*.

(2) The second register—its designation I have not been able to decipher—was excerpted from the *Khasra* arranging the field by crops. Here columns (ii) and (iii) disappear, but the rest of the arrangement is the same.

(3) Third in the order was *Jama'bandi*. Here the column form totally disappears and it gives in a narrative form:—

- (i) The total outturn of the crops for the whole village ;
- (ii) Under each crop is shown the allotment of the shares of State and the cultivator ; and
- (iii) The value of the State's share. On this point again, we meet with a standing order of the Maharaja, to the effect that in commuting the State's share into its money-value, the Kardar should apply only such rates as were allowed by the Durbar, and in case of any alteration therein he must obtain the royal sanction. These rates, I may here add, were determined by the Durbar from the price-lists prepared by the *qānungos* or else submitted by the principal grain-dealers of the district. The prices were not however uniform for the entire province, but varied with each district.

The above registers were meant only for the record of the District Office. The final register to be submitted to the Head Office (Durbar) was only a concise abstract prepared from the above. It is divided into three distinct parts. The first deals with the receipts under different heads showing : —

- (1) *Baqāya sāl Guzashṭa* or arrears collected for the preceding year, with the name and description of *assāmis* and the amount received from each.
- (2) The amount realizable for current year headed *hāl* (or current), with comparative demand statement showing assessment fixed for each *mauza* for the first year of the new assessment, with details of progressive demands claimable in future years in case the assessment was made for a term of years more than one.
- (3) *Jāgirāt khārij az jama'*, i.e. assignments with the name of the assignees and description and value of the Jagir land exempted from revenue.
- (4) *Kharch ta'aluqa*, i.e. cost of collection and administration.
- (5) Net revenue.

The second part covers disbursements and is headed *mutasālik*, which means *kharch*. Each item with the date of its disbursement and a brief remark about its nature is clearly put down.

The third part shows the balance outstanding or *bāqī*, with the description of the *assāmis* and the arrears due from each.

Simultaneously with the assessment in kind, the Government used to impose cash *jama* in one or other of the following ways:—
Cash assessment.

- (1) The *zabti jama'*. This *jama'* as referred to in the history of revenue was a cash assessment upon selected crops. The method followed in this case was little different from the one followed in the *kankūt*. The Government share was not determined with reference to the total output of the field, but

the entire area under cultivation was assessed at cash rates per *kanāl* or *bigha*. Consequently in the *zabti* part of the Khasra papers there are additional columns, one showing the area *Nābūd* or spoiled, and the other, area *Pukhtā* or matured. In *jama'-bandi* again, it is only the matured area that appears, the area spoiled not being charged.

(2) *Chahāt-i-igrārī*. Still another method which is found to have prevailed only in certain areas was that of assessing wells at a lump sum. Such wells were known as *chahāt igrārī* or *qarārī chahāt*. The *jama'bandi* papers give us only the names of such wells and the *jama'* imposed upon them, but the area irrigated by them is very seldom given. However, there is no doubt that the area attached to these wells was specified, and the *jama'* was imposed with reference to the area attached to the well. In *ta'aluqa* Ranghar Nangal, Rs. 2-8 per *ghumāon* was uniformly levied on each well in *manza* Kuthala, where 32 wells with 568 *ghumāons* of land between them paid a *jama'* of Rs. 1,420. *Bārāni* land in the same village paid at a rate of Re. 1 per *ghumāon*. The amount was to be paid in two instalments of *Rabi* and *Kharif*, though not exactly half and half. In Multan and Jhang divisions, where there was much waste land to be reclaimed, there was another class of wells known as *chahāt istamrārī* upon which a *jama'* of Rs. 10 to Rs. 15 was imposed in perpetuity. In its efforts to encourage the cultivation the State carried this practice further by sinking the wells at its own cost and charging their dues as *chakdārs* in addition to the revenue ordinarily leviable. These wells are known as *chahāt shahāna* or royal wells.

Farming.—Under this system there is nothing very particular that deserves any notice. The farmer entered into a contract with the State agreeing to pay the amount stated in the contract-deed. However, it would not be without interest to give a specimen of the *pata-nāma*.

منکه راجہ گلاب سنگھ ملازم قدیم سرکار والا ام - درینوقت بحضور انور دام اقبالہ نوشتہ میدہم و اقوار میںماتم کہ آنچہ تعلقات مفصلہ ذیل بمقابلہ ہفت لکھ و سہ ہزار روپیہ ضرب نانکشاہی امرتسریہ بلا خرچ سرکار والا تفویض فدوی از ابتداء فصل خریف - سمت ۱۸۹۲ فرمودہ - فدوی بجان و دل در تقدیم خدمات مامورہ بخیر خواہی و دیانتداری مصروف حاضریہ باشد - وجہ معاملات را بحضور انور فرستادہ ام تا درم داخل نمود و ہر یکدام از پیدوار ملک از جناب والا پوشیدہ بخواہم کرد و آنچہ کمی و بیشی در معاملات ملک مفوضہ مفصلہ خواہد بود در حضور انور عرض خواہم نمود و رعایا را بحسن و سلوک خود راغبی و ملک را آباد خواہم داشت *

The farmer was required to submit to the Government a detailed return-state-ment of the produce and collection, etc. Ordinarily he was to receive from the ryots that which was fixed or customary, or in other words he had to adhere to the '*hast-o-būd*' practice, and was prevented from demanding any illegal charges. Strict orders were given to prevent the farmer from robbing the cultivators, and the lessee was further bound to treat His Highness's subjects well, and to add to the resources of the country.

The ruling power in India has always, by the ancient law of the land, been entitled to a share in the produce of the soil. The theory as expounded by the Hindu Sovereign seems to have been that the king who governs for the good of his subjects should take a share of their income only to give it back in a more useful shape, as the sun takes away water from the earth and gives it back in the shape of rain a hundredfold greater in volume. (Manu). Manu, the greatest of the Hindu law-givers, prescribes the State's share of the income from land at $\frac{1}{6}$ th of its gross produce. As regards the early Muhammadan Emperors, with the exception of Ferozshah and a few others, sufficient information is not forthcoming as might enable us to form any correct idea of their revenue system. It was only under Akbar that Muslim government acquired form and consistency in India, and we learn from Abul Fazl that the Government share of the produce of land was fixed at $\frac{1}{3}$. Aurungzeb—the last in the first group of the illustrious Mughals—raised it to $\frac{1}{2}$, probably to meet the heavy drain on his resources caused by his long campaign of twenty-five years in the south. No records, giving any detailed information as to the working of the system in the imperial days, have come down to our hands; it is consequently very difficult to form any definite opinion as to the charges *in toto* levied by the State in actual practice. But of the Government of Maharajah Ranjit Singh, besides the abstract statements of revenue-returns submitted by various Kardars to the Head Office at Lahore, which are fortunately still preserved in the Civil Secretariat in their entirety, I succeeded in obtaining from other places several papers throwing a good deal of light on the practical working of the system in the Maharajah's days. The perusal of this record shows that the State's share of the gross produce was not rigidly fixed at any one uniform rate, but rather varied with the quality of the soil and other facilities of cultivation. From the lands of peculiar fertility with great facility for natural irrigation, and where, therefore, the capital and labour necessary to work the soil were very moderate, 50 per cent of the gross produce was taken, and in the case of less fertile tracts the State demand varied from $\frac{2}{5}$ ths to $\frac{1}{3}$ rd, but it never fell lower than this in central Panjab, or Subah Lahore as it was then denominated. The *jama'bandi* papers further show that a surcharge of one seer per maund on the Government share was levied in addition to its ordinary demand of 50 per cent, which raises the total demand to 51.25 per cent of the gross produce, but the land newly brought under cultivation and requiring extraordinary labour, paid at reduced rates for the first few years—the rate varying from $\frac{1}{4}$ th to $\frac{1}{3}$ rd of the total yield.¹

In Multan, on the other hand, land was assessed at a much lower rate. Fifty per cent of the gross produce, which is a general rate in the central Panjab, is rather occasional and uncommon in Multan, where the Government share varies mostly from $\frac{1}{3}$ rd to $\frac{1}{6}$ th of the gross produce. In this province, I may here mention, a peculiar sort of tenure known as the *chakdāri* tenure was prevailing at this time. It probably originated with the desire on the part of the ruling power to reclaim the waste land

¹ آنچه علی جدید آمان شود سال اول معامله از زمینداران چهارم و بعد مناصف می گرفته باشد *

that was lying in abundance in the country. Where the owner did not cultivate the land, the Governor Madan Hazari and his successor Sawan Mal granted patents to individuals other than the owner to sink wells and earn the profit for themselves—paying only a nominal rent to the proprietor through the State. The tenant, or the occupant as we may call him, paid the revenue to the State which the latter divided with the proprietor in the ratio of 2 to 1. The holders of these wells were termed *Chakdārs*, from the *Chak*, or the frame of wood, on which the well is built.

With regard to the territory in *Alkāi* Peshawar our records do not furnish any details, but in the Punjab Administration Report for 1847-49 A.D. on page 82, we read: "except from the peculiarly rich lands the Government demand never exceeded $\frac{1}{3}$ rd, and usually averaged $\frac{1}{4}$ th or $\frac{1}{5}$ th, and fell even lower down to $\frac{1}{8}$ th of the crop."

Besides the ordinary share of the produce the Government charged a number of cesses. As will appear from the table below, there was no uniform rate at which the amount was imposed on different districts. I have, therefore, thought it better to give a few instances which might enable us to form a rough idea of percentage on the revenue proper.

In sambat 1876 (1821 A.D.) the maximum recorded under this head in the returns for ta'aluqa Wazirabad amounts to Rs. 4,790, where the revenue proper is recorded at Rs. 40,060, which gives a percentage of nearly Rs. 12.

In ta'aluqa Surban (Gurdaspur) the cesses imposed give us a total of Rs. 4,930 where the revenue proper is recorded at Rs. 59,070, which means a percentage of 8.3, and the minimum amount recorded in the year gives a percentage of 5.15 on the Government demand. These cesses are very complicated and confusing in their details, and are so irregular in their incidence that it is difficult for me at the present stage of my work to advance any theory in regard to them, more especially when it is not clearly demonstrated anywhere in the records for what particular object they were levied. What I have been able to make out is that the amount so imposed was collected with the revenue proper, and is very seldom shown on the debit side of the *Kharch Pargana*, i.e. the cost of collection and local administration. It probably found its way to the royal coffers, or was shared by the court favourites in the shape of *rusūm* or perquisites.

Ranjit Singh's Government did not appear to have recognized the modern principle that local taxation should be raised only to meet the local needs. The theory governing these cesses cannot, therefore, very fairly be compared to the one governing the cesses of the present day. If we eliminate the *Panjotra* cess which is common to both systems, the remaining charges at the present day are usually spent by the District Boards on improvements of roads, spread of primary education, and the establishment of charitable dispensaries—objects undoubtedly of far greater public utility and promotive of the general level of enlightenment.

It will not be without interest to note one other point in connection with Ranjit Singh's demands from the farmers of the revenue. The contractor was required to supply, as a part of stipulated revenue, the special products both vegetable and animal of the district under his charge: the *bāra* rice from Peshawar and wheat from

Chach (near Attock) found their way to the *langar khās* (kitchen royal), the curiosities of Kashmir and cotton and silk manufactures of Multan were stored in the *Tosha-khāna*. Dhani, Rohtas, Jhelum, and Katchi supplied the horses for his cavalry. Rawalpindi, Kālar Kahar, Hazara, Kalabagh, and Multan each supplied its quota of camels for the transport and commissariat supplies to the army, while hounds and hawks for royal sport formed a part of the tribute from the hill states of Mandi, Kulu and Nurpur.

Although Ranjit Singh's demands, as will appear from the above, were rather heavy, we cannot at the same time ignore the fact that he bestowed his greatest attention in watching the interest of the poor ryot. No *Dastūr-ul-'amal* or '*Ain* issued to a Kārdār could be regarded as complete without the one important instruction آبادی ملک مقدمہ - دارند و بحسن سلوک خود رعایا را راضی و آباد سازند - i.e. "prosperity of the subject should be your paramount care." The husbandman was encouraged in every possible way to become a good cultivator. The Kārdar was instructed to supply the needy cultivator with:—

Encouragement to
cultivators.

- (i) The *taqāvi* advances for the purchase of good seed,
- (ii) The material for the repair of his well, if it was out of working order.

In addition to the above facilities given to a cultivator we meet with a standing order of the Maharajah forbidding the creditor to attach the bullocks, fodder, and other implements of the cultivator in execution of his decree.¹

Further, in the province of Multan, where the country was little better than a desert and the cultivation more or less depended upon artificial irrigation, the State undertook the task of sinking wells, and the celebrated Sawan Mall started other irrigation works by way of repairing the old canals and digging of several new ones. Compared with the network of canals and other similar large undertakings, and the manifold encouragements given to the cultivator at the present day, the achievements of Ranjit Singh may not seem very great; but considering the time and resources of the Governments of those days, it is certainly satisfactory to note that the Government of Ranjit Singh was not unconscious of its duties towards its subjects.

COLLECTION.

The collection of revenue formed the principal part of the duties of a Kārdar, but the work of actual realization from the *assāmis* was done by the agency of Muqaddams and Chaudharis, who were selected from amongst men of local influence. They correspond to the present Lambardars and Zaildars, and like the latter had a right to commission on the revenue payable through them—the rate being generally 5 per cent of the total collection. The amount collected was paid into the district treasury, and the Kārdār, in turn, remitted it to the *khazāna āmrā*

Collection of revenue and
method of payment into
treasury.

¹ برورد پروانه والا مبلغ عاقلتری مذکور بموجب آبادی رعایا سواحی نرگاوان و توڑی وغیرہ از زمینداران مذکور ادائیگی کذابہ دھند مددائی کہ نرگاوان و توڑی وغیرہ کسی شاہکار را از زمینداران گرفتن بدھند *

or the treasury-in-chief at Lahore, or else handed it over to one of the Receivers-general of revenue.

The payment of Government revenue when it was realized in cash could not be made in one sum by the cultivator, and the power of the people to pay without difficulty largely depended on the suitability of the time of demand. The dates of the payment were, accordingly, so fixed that the cultivator could find time to sell his produce, or could conveniently borrow from the village *sāhukār* (banker) and was consequently in a position to pay his liabilities to the Government. The first instalment of *Rabi* revenue was made good in Jeth-Hār, viz. a month after the reaping was over, and that for *Kharif* was effected during Katik and Mangh. The Kārdār was instructed so to manage the realization of the Government demand as not to impoverish the payee.

بشروط آبادي رعایا معامله از دام تا درم وصول ساخته معه زمینداران در حضور والا بهره یاب شدند *

In recovering its dues from the defaulting *assāmis*, the Government had not to go a long way off. Ordinarily it was the agent, whether a Zamindār or a Kārdār, who was held responsible for the payment of the arrears and not the defaulter himself. The procedure was simple, and, on the whole, appears to have been mild.

In the first instance it was effected by the issue of a *Parwāna* or writ of demand served by a Government peon or *sipāhi*—fifteen days being generally allowed as a period of grace during which time they were to realize the amount and pay it into the treasury. If the first summons was not obeyed a *Dastak shadīd* (warrant of arrest) was issued and the defaulter sometimes fined, but usually only threatened with a fine. The absconding defaulters, when they migrated to another *Ta'aluqa*, were summoned back to their holdings through the Kārdār of the district to which they migrated. As a rule the absconding *assāmis* were induced to come back, coercion being only applied as a last resort. But how such defaulters as totally refused to pay the revenue were treated, I have not come across any Aīn on the point, nor any recorded instance of the attachment of his crop or other real property, in the record. A careful reading of the despatch books unmistakably leads one to believe that the Government demand was not in many instances collected *vi et armis* as has often been alleged, and that even the application of coercive processes was confined to very few cases. Mere threats or notices to the careless rather than serious action against defaulters was always the case.

Under a system like that of Ranjit Singh, where the assessment was made at the close of the harvest time, there was hardly any necessity for a regular provision on this point. From the despatches issued to the Kārdārs at different times, it however appears that the Government recognized such a necessity and dealt with the individual cases as they arose. On folio 17a of Volume III we meet with recorded instances where the Kārdār is instructed to go round the fields in order to inspect the crops personally and estimate the damage on the spot.

Suspension and remission
of revenue.

Further, whenever the cultivators were found really unable to pay their dues, the Kārdār was directed to postpone the collection to next harvest, thus preventing desertion on the part of the cultivator. (*Vide folio 112a, vol. V*).

The Government of Ranjit Singh, though it did not make any rules to regulate the collection, suspension, and remission of revenue such as the present revenue law provides, yet in actual practice does not seem to have overlooked such a necessity. As it will appear from what has been said above, the Maharajah at times reduced his demand, and adjusted its collection, to suit the convenience of the ryot.

The district organization of the revenue department had two different sets of officials each with its own sphere of work.

The term Kardar or 'āmil was used to denote the collector of revenues of a *ta'aluqa* under the Sikh Government. His principal duties were to supervise and carry out the settlement work, assess and announce the revenue *jama'* and subsequently to realize the revenue thus imposed. But this was not all he had to do. In absence of any established law courts over the country the 'amil was called upon to act as a judge and a magistrate in the district of which he was appointed the revenue collector. The different capacities in which he was called upon to act may be enumerated as:—

- (i) Supervisor of the settlement work.
- (ii) Collector of Government revenue.
- (iii) Treasurer and accountant, inasmuch as he had to keep the amount collected in his *tahwīl*, and was required to submit a detailed account of the money disposed of.
- (iv) A judge and a magistrate, to decide the civil and criminal cases in consultation with the arbitrators.
- (v) Administrator of the excise and customs of the *ta'aluqa*—though not often.
- (vi) He was to remain in touch with the different men around him and keep himself informed of anything of note that happened in his district. Lastly, he was in duty bound to watch the interests of the Government and to look to the welfare of the people whom he was appointed to govern. It would be better to quote in original the instructions given to him on his appointment to office.

آئین ابتدائی خریف سمت ۱۸۹۴ چودھری کنتیا برکاداری تعلقہ بمبر مامور فرمودہ باید کہ بدین موجب عمل ساز باشند - معامله خریف سمت ۱۸۹۴ تحصیل کردن تردد ربیع سمت ۱۸۹۵ بقرار واقعی دارند - آبادی رعایا و خیر خواہی و فزونی مال سرکار مدنظر دارند - چہار طرف بہمراہ آنها راستی و درستی حسن سلوکی و علاج دارند - آنچه مقدمہ عدالتکلان باشد بدون عرض بحضور انور انفصال سازند و حساب تعلقہ مذکور ابتدائی فصل خریف سمت ۱۸۹۳ لغایت ربیع سمت ۱۸۹۴ سہ فصل از کارداران سابق نرائن داس و ہر نامداس فہمیدہ سازند جست و جوی معاملہ مذکور بجای خود دارند - آنچه بیوپاریان مال از زیر بالا برند و از بالا کوشستان زیر آرند کاغذ قرار واقعی و پختگی باید ساخت - کوائف تعلقہ مفصل عرض رسانند *

As I have used modern terminology in illustrating the nature of his duties, I think it necessary to add here that his authority, functions, dignity and salary should not be taken to correspond to those of the modern functionary of that rank. There were no set rules governing the salaries of these officials. But, on the whole, it appears that his pay was in proportion to the annual value of the *ta'aluqa* in his charge. The ratio as worked out by me ranges from -/1/- to -/1/9 per diem for every thousand of the *jama'* imposed. This statement will be found to be applicable only in the case of petty Kārdārs with an allowance of one to five rupees per day. The *nāzims* or governors of provinces were decently paid—the governor of Kashmir, Diwan Kirpa Ram, used to get Rs. 1,00,000 as *talbzāt*, of Peshawar General Avitabile Rs. 41,000, and Lala Sukh Dayal of Multan Rs. 36,000 per annum. The Kārdār was generally paid for only ten months in a year. How this practice originated is not traceable anywhere in the record, but it appears very probable that this deduction of two months' pay in the year was made on account of the *nazzar* Dussehra and Diwāli. It was customary with Ranjit Singh to hold a public Durbar on such occasions and receive *nazzars* (presents) from his big Sardārs in person and bestow *khila'ats* and *in'āms* in return. With regard to the subordinate officials this *nazzar* was deducted from their annual salary, and from his subjects in general it was collected with the Land Revenue under the head of *نذر دسهره*. The Kārdār was allowed a small establishment consisting of one *sandūkchi* or treasurer on 15 to 20 rupees a month and a writer or *Mutasadi* on 20 to 25 rupees a month.

Quite separate from, and in a sense independent of, the Kārdār's staff, was the office of the Qānungo or the Registrar of collection. This branch of the revenue department was mainly composed of the Qānungo himself, the Patwāris, and the surveyors and appraisers. The exact nature of his duties is not described in any one place, but whatever I have been able to gather from the scattered āins and despatches issued at different times, I give below: His office, it appears, was intended as a check on the financial transactions of all the other revenue officers. He was required to maintain in his office papers of different nature, viz:—

- (i) for the compilation of statistics for the area of land under cultivation, in the district,
- (ii) the nature of the produce and the results of each harvest;
- (iii) a detailed account of the disposal of the produce according to the shares allotted by the rules to the Government and the ryot;
- (iv) he had to keep in addition to the above a sort of register showing the boundaries of each village, as one finds that references are constantly made to his office for the determination of contested boundaries, the use of rivers, and other sources of irrigation. This roughly corresponds to the records in the modern agriculture and land-records department. He was paid either by an allotted share of the produce or in cash (Rs. 30 per month). This, in main, formed the district organization

of the revenue department under Ranjit Singh and it appears to have been a simple machine suitable to the times. In running this machinery Ranjit Singh had not to spend any considerable part of his revenue. As will appear from the annexed table, the cost of provincial government, including the cost for the realization of revenues, did not go higher than 6·30 per cent of the total land revenue from the subah Panjab. Whether the Government, run at so cheap a cost, could ensure efficiency, I am not prepared at this stage to consider; but that it continued to work for thirty years is an argument in its favour.

Statement showing the Annual Receipts and Disbursements of the Khalsa Exchequer for the Sambat 1877 (1821 A.D.).

of the Subah or Province.	Receipts.				Jagirs or petty alien- ations in the talu- gas.	Expenditure.										Total expendi- ture.	Balance in Treasury.	
	Mál or Land Revenue gross.	Sáirát Cus- toms, Salt, Mohrana and miscel- laneous duties, tolls, etc.	Nazrana Tributes from Hill States and other mis- cellaneous presents.	Total receipts.		Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.			
ah Panjab ..	27,39,579 (Nānak- shāhi).	14,12,846	12,63,500	54,15,925	80,751	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.
ah Kashmir	40,67,861 (Kashmir Coins).	13,11,139 (Kashmir Coins).	....	53,79,000 (Kashmir Coins).	..	1,79,000 (Kashmir Coins).	..	..	..	....	20,42,448 (Kashmir Coins).	..	..	..	..	(a) 4,60,846 (b) 2,17,299 (c) 2,08,985 (d) 1,67,834 (e) 78,617	48,39,326	5,76,599
ah Multan ..	5,80,975 (Nānak- shāhi).	75,000	....	6,55,975	..	75,330	..	..	..	....	1,42,556	..	..	..	..	....	2,17,886	4,38,089
ah Peshawar	not yet.	annexed.	annexed.	annexed.	80,751	2,47,411	26,500	32,168	31,939	28,25,138	4,70,135	12,786	61,178	24,047	1,11,578	11,13,581	50,57,212	10,14,688 (Nānak- shāhi).
	40,67,861 (Kashmir Coins).	13,11,139 (Kashmir Coins).	....	53,79,000 (Kash- miri).	..	1,79,700 (Kash- miri).	..	..	..	....	20,42,448 (Kashmir Coins).	..	..	..	..	2,00,000 (Kashmir Coins).	24,21,448 (Kashmir Coins).	29,57,552 (Kash- miri).

Footnote : The above statement contains receipts from the Khālāsa or crown land alone (the Jāgīrs or fiefs producing a revenue of about one crore of rupees held by the ancient families or granted by Ranjit Singh in lieu of military service are not included herein).
The Kashmiri rupee was equal to -10/- of the Standard Nānakshāhi rupee containing 11 māshās and 2 ratīs of Silver.

JOURNAL

of the

PANJAB HISTORICAL SOCIETY

Vol. VII, No. 2, pp. 91-205.

	PAGE
History of Suket State. <i>J. Hutchison and J. Ph. Vogel</i>	91
The Struggles of the Hindu Sahi Rulers of Kabul and Panjab against the Central Asian Turks. (870-1027). <i>Gulshan Rai, B.A., LL.B.</i>	115
History of Kulu State. <i>J. Hutchison and J. Ph. Vogel</i>	130
A Journey to Toling and Tsaparang in Western Tibet. <i>G. M. Young</i> ..	177
Meetings, 1917	199
Hony. Treasurer's Report for 1917	200
Panjab Historical Society : List of Members	201

Calcutta :

PRINTED AT THE BAPTIST MISSION PRESS AND PUBLISHED BY
THE PANJAB HISTORICAL SOCIETY, LAHORE.

1919.

NOTICE.

Correspondence relating to membership, meetings, papers and publications should be addressed to—

A. C. WOOLNER, ESQ., M.A.,
Hon. Sec., Panjab Historical Society, University, Lahore.

Subscriptions and letters containing enquiries concerning subscriptions should be sent to—

H. U. LANGHORNE, ESQ., M.A.,
*Hon. Treasurer, Panjab Historical Society,
Government College, Lahore.*

History of Suket State.

J. HUTCHISON and J. PH. VOGEL.

Suket is bounded on the North by Mandi, on the East by Sarāj-Kulū; on the South by the Satluj and the small states of Shāngri, Bhajji, Bhāgal and Māngal; and on the West by Bilāspur. In the time of its greatest prosperity it also included all the territory now in Mandi and a large portion of Kulū.

A small portion of the State, containing the capital, is situated in the Suketi Nālā, a tributary of the Biās; but the major part is in the Satluj valley.

¹ Sir A. Cunningham was the first to draw attention to the *vansāvali* of the ruling family, in his paper on the history of Mandi, in the reports of the Archaeological Survey. More recently a vernacular history of the State has been published by Sirdar Hardayāl Singh of Kāngra, who acted for a time, first as Tahsildār and later as Manager of the State. It is called *Tawārīkh-i-Riyāsthā-i-Kohistān Punjāb*.

It seems to be almost the only authority available, and most of the material for this paper has been drawn from it. There are also references to Suket in the records of Mandi and Kulū as well as other States, which help to elucidate events. Suket does not seem to be referred to in the Rājataranginī or by any of the Muhammadan historians.

² The early history of the State is similar to that of other parts of the hills. Previous to its foundation the whole tract was under the control of numerous petty barons bearing the titles of Rānā or Thākur, the Rānās being Kshatriyas and the Thākurs of some lower caste, and the vernacular history gives a graphic account of their subjection by the early Rājās. This account fully coincides with what we know of the general political condition of the hills in former times, and down to a comparatively recent period. In the case of almost all the hill States whose histories are known to us, there is a similar record of long and continuous warfare between the Rājās and the petty chiefs. The Rājā was an alien among them and it was only by superior force that he succeeded in gaining an ascendancy. Revolts were of frequent occurrence and the usual tribute money, the only symbol of subjection, was forthcoming only when there was no other alternative. The rule of these petty Barons was of ancient origin; and if they ever acknowledged the supremacy of a paramour

NOTE.—Sirdar Hardayāl Singh collected his historical material from many sources, of which folklore and common tradition seem to have been an important part. He does not tell us what ancient records, if any, were available, and we are therefore ignorant of their nature, and cannot vouch for the reliability of much that has been included in his paper. Again, it and the historical chapter in the Suket Gazetteer are largely from the same source, and there is therefore much in common between them.

¹ Cf. Arch. Survey Reports. Vol. xiv, p. 123.

² Vide Journal Punjab Historical Society. Vol. iii, p. 45 et seq.

power before the advent of the Rājās, it must have been purely nominal. They bear an evil reputation traditionally as quarrelsome and contentious, and their unhappy feuds rendered them an easy prey to the invader, against whom they seem to have been unable to take concerted action. These feuds the Rājās fostered, and often succeeded in gaining by treachery what they had failed to acquire by force. Such was the condition of the tract, now embraced in Suket and Mandi, when the founder of the dynasty first appeared upon the scene.

¹ The Chiefs of Suket and Mandi are from a common ancestor of the Chandarbansi line of Rājputs, and they therefore claim descent from the Pāṇḍavās of the Mahābhārata. Traditionally the origin of the line is carried back to a remote period. The original dynasty is said to have ruled in Delhi for 1700 years, but this is highly improbable.

The last Rājā, named Khemrāj, was displaced by his Wazir and retired to Bengal. There he established a dynasty, and thirteen of his successors are said to have ruled for 350 years as the Sena Kings of Eastern Bengal, with their capital at Lakshmanpuri on the Ganges. The most distinguished ruler of this dynasty was Lakshman Sen who is said to have extended his conquests to Kanauj, Nepāl and Orissa, and to have founded the city of Gaur in Mālda, calling it Laknauti after himself. The later capital was at Naddia, where they continued to rule till expelled by Bakhtiyār Khilji in A.D. 1198.

The last ruler of the dynasty retired to Prayāg or Allahabad and died there. His son, Rup Sen, then went north to Rupa near Ambāla, where he settled for a time. Having been attacked by the Muhammadans he was killed in battle, and his three sons fled into the hills, and after a time founded separate States. Bīr Sen became ruler of Suket, Giri Sen of Keonthal, and Hamīr Sen of Kashtwār.²

It is not a little remarkable that the tradition of a common origin from the Sena Rājās of Gaur, Bengal, survives in the records of all these families. Kashtwār, however, must have been founded at a later date than Suket. The history of three brothers having each founded a kingdom is found in the annals of several of the ruling families of the hills.

The above is the traditional account of the origin of the family, but Cunningham assigns the foundation of Suket to a much earlier period, which seems to be more in keeping with the available data. According to him, it seems probable that there was an earlier Sena dynasty in Bengal, whose ancestor, named Vīra Sen, reigned in the seventh century, and from whom the later dynasty was descended. The founder of Suket may thus have been a cadet of the earlier Sena dynasty, and the emigration from Bengal may have taken place at an early period.³

A review of the data at our disposal seems to give support to this conclusion.

¹ Manu Gaz., p. 6.

² The name Hamīr is derived from Arabic *Amīr* and does not occur among Hindu princes until after the Muhammadan conquest. Kashtwār State was founded at a later period than Suket, probably about A.D. 1000. The founder's name was Kāndō Sen, who may have been descended from Hamīr Sen.

³ Reports of A. S. Survey of India, Vol. xv, p. 156.

The earliest approximately ascertained date is that for the reign of Arjun Sen, who was a contemporary of Bahādur Singh of Kulū (A.D. 1530-59).

From Arjun Sen to Ugar Sen (A.D. 1876) inclusive, there were eleven reigns in 376 years, giving an average of about 31 years to a reign. Again Jit Sen (A.D. 1663) was a contemporary of Shyām Sen of Mandi (A.D. 1644), and from him to Ugar Sen there were six Rājās in 213 years—giving an average reign of 35 years.

Now, according to the *Vansāvali* there were 35 reigns anterior to that of Arjun Sen, and allowing an average of 20 years to each we get 1530-700=A.D. 830 as the approximate date for the foundation of the State.

Another computation over a longer period leads to much the same result. Assuming, as there are grounds for doing, that the separation of the Mandi branch took place about A.D. 1000, there were 37 reigns from that date to 1876—a period of 876 years; giving an average reign of 23 years, which is the common average in most of the other hill States, whose *vansāvalis* have been examined. ¹ Allowing this average to the eight reigns preceding the separation, we get 1000-184=A.D. 816. Cunningham's conclusion, therefore, seems to be confirmed that the State was founded about A.D. 800. An examination of the *vansāvali* also confirms this conclusion. We know that Arjun Sen (A.D. 1530), the 35th Rājā in descent from Bīr Sen, was a contemporary of Bahādur Singh of Kulū. Supposing the State to have been founded about A.D. 1200, in accordance with the accepted chronology, there are 35 reigns to be allowed for in about 300 years, which gives an average of only nine years to each. This is extremely improbable, as the average reign in the other States is seldom less than 20 years.

² An interesting incident is on record in the Chamba *Vansāvali*, which lends support to the above conclusion. About A.D. 800, Brahmapura, the original capital and nucleus of the Chamba State, was invaded by a race of foreigners called "Kīra," and the Rājā was killed in battle. His queen who was *enceinte* was carried away for safety by the officials, and on the way to the outer hills a son was born, named Mushan Varman.

Ultimately the Rānī and the young prince found an asylum with the Rājā of Suket, who made liberal provision for them. On growing up to manhood Mushan Varman was married to the Rājā's daughter and received in dowry a *ḥājir* in Pāngā, evidently a clerical error for Pāngnā, which was then the capital and nucleus of the State. An army was also furnished, with which Mushan Varman expelled the Kīras and recovered his country.

The clan name of the Suket royal line is Suketi or Suketr, in accordance with ancient custom in the hills.

The suffix is 'Sen' but the younger members of the family take 'Singh.'

Vīr or Bīr Sen c. A.D. 770-800.—After crossing the Satluj at Jiuri ferry, Bīr Sen, the founder of the State, along with his followers, probably Rajput adventurers like him-

¹ Cunningham gives ten names which would put back the date to A.D. 770, as noted by him. Cf. A.S. Reports, Vol. xiv, p. 123. Some names may have been dropped in copying.

² Chamba Gaz., p. 72.

self, advanced into the interior, and began the conquest of the country. The Rānās and Thākurs naturally resented the invasion of their domains and offered opposition, but their mutual jealousies rendered combined action impossible, and one after another yielded to his superior force.

The first to take the field against him was the Thākur of Karoli, whose state was called Daret, and he was quickly subdued and his fort captured. Then Sri Māngal, the Rānā of Batwāra, who had come to help the Thākur of Karoli, was also attacked and overcome.

Following up his initial successes, Bīr Sen then advanced against the Thākur of Nāgra whose territory was Kot and Paranga. He was subdued, as also the Thākur of Chiragh, who ruled Batāl and *thāna* Chawindi. The Chinidiwāla Thākur ruling Udaipur undertook to become tributary, and being at feud with the Rānā of Sanyārto, who was the overlord of the district, the Rājā was advised to attack and kill this latter chief, otherwise it would be impossible to extend his authority. Bīr Sen, accordingly, proceeded against the Rānā, and on his approach the Thākur of Khunu fled, and his fort was captured, and held for a long period. Sanyārto was then attacked and the *thānas* of Kajun and Dhyārā Kot were taken after a severe contest, the Rānā being captured. He was treated with consideration and set at liberty, a *jāgīr* being assigned for his support, which remained in the possession of his descendants till the reign of Shyām Sen (A.D. 1627-58). The fact of this *jāgīr* having been granted is proved by the circumstance that in the reign of Udai Sen, the 31st Rājā after Bīr Sen, the then Rānā, named Madan Pāl, gave a *sāsan* grant from his *jāgīr* to Khemwal Brahmans, by a *patta* or title deed dated S. 1769, which is still extant. When Madan Pāl's son died childless in the time of Jīt Sen, the *jāgīr* was resumed, but the *sāsan* grant is still in force.

Having subjected all the Rānās and Thākurs within a certain area Bīr Sen sent for his family, probably from the east of the Satluj, and settled them in a palace which he had erected on the skirts of the Kunnu Dhār, which he made his first residence. The palace still bears the name of 'Narot' meaning "Privacy" owing probably to its seclusion.

Bīr Sen then resumed the campaign against the petty chiefs, and with the help of a force from *thāna* Kajun, which he had acquired from the Rānā of Sanyārto, he attacked the Thākur of Koti Dhār, defeated him and seized the *ilāqās* of Nanj, Salālu, Belu and *thāna* Magra. He also built forts at Kajun and Magra which till then had only been open villages.

When Bīr Sen had in this way conquered all the petty Chiefs immediately to the west of the Satluj he next invaded the territory of the Thākur of Kandli Kot to the south-west, who offered no resistance. The next petty ruler to feel the weight of his hand was the Thākur of Surhi who owned the *thānas* of Chandmāri and Jahor and also the *ilāqā* of Pāngnā. The Thākur at once gave in his submission and urged the Rājā to attack the Thākur of Haryāra, with whom he was at feud. On hearing of the invasion, the Thākur fled and his territory was annexed, and a fort built which is called Tikar down to the present day. Bīr Sen then selected a site in the Surhi *ilāqā*,

at 5,000 ft. above sea level, called Pāngnā, where he built a palace, and made it the capital of the State. The Pāngnā palace is still in a good state of preservation, but it is not known if the present building contains any portions of the original structure as it has never been examined by an expert.

Bīr Sen then built the fort of Chawāsi and also conquered the fort of Bīr Kot on the borders of Kumhārsen. With Chawāsi as a base he then advanced into Sarāj and captured the forts of Srigarh, Naraingarh, Raghupur, Janj, Madhupur, Banga, Chanjwāla, Magru, Māngarh, Tung, Jalauri, Himri, Raigarh, Fatehpur, Bamthaj, Raisan, Godah and Koth Manāli from different Thākurs, who probably till then had been more or less under Kulū.¹ He also invaded Parol, Lag, Rupī, Sāri and Dumhri, all of which are in Kulū. The Kulū Rājā, called Bhupāl, probably Bhup Pāl of the Kulū *Vansāvali*, advanced to oppose him and was defeated and taken prisoner. Bhupāl, however, was soon released and restored to power on condition of paying tribute.

After returning from the conquest of Kulū, Bīr Sen captured Pandoh, Nāchni and the following forts: Chiryahan, Raiyahan, Jurahandi, Satgarh, Nandgarh, Chachiot and Sawapuri.

Having overrun and subdued the northern portion of the State he next turned westward towards the Balh *ilāqā*, and advanced as far as the Sikandar ki dhār, now in Mandi. The Rānā of Hatli was defeated and a fort, named Bīr Kot, founded to commemorate the event. The name is now Bīhar Kot.

Thereafter Bīr Sen fixed the boundary with Kāngra by erecting a fort on the Sir Khad, called Bīra, now also in Mandi. The conquered tracts thus extended from the Satluj on the south to the Bīās on the north, and from the latter river on the east to the Sir Khad on the west, forming the boundary with Kāngra.

The extensive conquests ascribed to Bīr Sen are hardly in keeping with what we know to have been the condition of things in other States, which were consolidated only after centuries of warfare. It seems probable, therefore, that many of these conquests should be referred to a later period in the history of the State.

Bīr Sen was succeeded by his son, Dher Sen, whose reign was short. He probably continued the struggle with the petty chiefs, but no details of his time have come down to us.

Bikram Sen the next Rājā seems to have been of a religious disposition, for soon after his accession he installed his brother, Tribikram Sen, as regent of the State and took his departure on pilgrimage to Hardwār, and was absent for two years. Kulū, which was still tributary, was then under the rule of Hast or Hait Pāl, grandson of Bhup Pāl. Tribikram Sen proved unfaithful to his trust and aimed at supplanting his brother. For this purpose he sought the help of the Kulū Chief, whom he freed from tribute on condition of receiving his support in the struggle with Bikram Sen, after the latter's return.

¹ According to tradition, Kulū State originally included all the territory now in Suket and Maudi. This tradition is current in Suket, Mandi and Bashahr as well as Kulū.

On learning of what had occurred, Bikram Sen went to his kinsman the Rājā of Kionthal, who furnished him with an army. The opposing forces met at Jiuri on the Satluj and both Tribikram Sen and Hast Pāl fell in the battle, and their forces were dispersed. Bikram Sen then resumed his position as Rājā.

In revenge for the action of Hast Pāl he invaded Kulū, subdued the country and appointed his own officers, assigning a *jāgīr* to Hast Pāl's son which was held by his descendants for three generations, during which they exercised no authority and were merely *jāgīrdārs*.

On Bikram Sen's demise his son Dhartari Sen succeeded, but there are no records of the events of his reign. He had two sons who both died during his own lifetime. Of these the younger was named Kharak Sen and his son Lakshman Sen, a minor of two years of age, was installed as Rājā on Dhartari Sen's death.

Lakshman Sen being of tender years the State was under the control of the officials, and Hashir (Hamir) Pāl, the Rājā of Kulū, took advantage of the opportunity to assert his independence. When Lakshman Sen came of age—fourteen years later—he invaded Kulū and overran the Wazīris of Rupī, Lag, Sāri and a part of Parol, and again made the State tributary.

On Lakshman Sen's death, probably after a long reign of which we possess few details, he was followed by his son, Chandar Sen, who also had a long reign and died childless. His brother Bijai Sen then came to the *gaddi*. He too seems to have reigned long, but the records tell us nothing of these reigns. We can only conjecture from the analogy of other States that the struggle between the Rājās and the petty barons went on as before, and was probably much the same in Suket as elsewhere.

Sahu Sen c A.D. 1000.—Bijai Sen left two sons, named Sahu Sen and Bahu Sen, of whom the elder succeeded. The brothers unfortunately seem to have been unfriendly and Sahu Sen's reign was marked by a quarrel which was fraught with grave consequences to the State. As the result of this quarrel, Bahu Sen retired to Manglor in Kulū, where he acquired a small tract from Kulū and established himself as a petty chief. His descendants in the twelfth generation founded Mandi State, which ultimately acquired large possessions chiefly at the expense of Suket.

Ratan Sen c A.D. 1020.—We have no details of this reign which seems to have passed in comparative quiet. On his demise Ratan Sen was succeeded by his elder son, Bilās Sen, who was of a tyrannical disposition. After enduring oppression for four years, the officials poisoned him and placed his brother, Samudra Sen, on the *gaddi*. Bilās Sen left an infant son, named Sewant Sen, and learning that the officials intended to put him out of the way, the Rāni fled to Sarāj and found a refuge with a *zamīndār*, where she lived for some years without disclosing her identity.

One day a *jogi* passing by saw the boy, and marking in him the signs of greatness asked the *zamīndār* whose son he was, and added that he would one day become a Rājā.¹ The *zamīndār*'s curiosity having been aroused, he pressed the Rāni for an

¹ This is probably a reference to the *Urdh Rekha*, a line, like the "line of life" on the hand, which runs along the sole of the foot from the toes to the heel, and is peculiar to Rajputs of royal birth. A similar story is told in the Chronicles of Chamba and Kulū.

answer, and she told him the boy's parentage, but begged him not to disclose her secret to any one.

Meantime Samudra Sen had been installed as Rājā and ruled for four years, leaving at his demise two sons, minors, named Hewant Sen and Balwant Sen. Both of them in succession were placed on the *gaddi*, but died before attaining their majority, leaving no heirs. A question then arose as to who should succeed, and the officials recalled the fact that Bilās Sen's infant son had been smuggled away and concealed. A search was therefore instituted and he was discovered and restored to his rights.

Sewant Sen c A.D. 1120.—On his accession Sewant Sen, in gratitude for the kindness shown to his mother and himself, conferred on the *zamindār* in *jāgīr* the village in which he had lived, and built a *Kot* or fort, naming it Rānī kā Kot. The building is no longer in existence, but the *tālūka* in Chawāsi is still called Rānī kā Kot. Sewant Sen died after a long and prosperous reign of which we possess no records. He was followed by four Rājās whose names have been lost and whose reigns seem to have been uneventful, as there is nothing known regarding them. We may, however, assume that they ruled in the twelfth century. Mantar Sen, the next Rājā, died without issue, and the succession devolved on one, Liyun Phiyun, a member of a collateral branch of the ruling house, who was of an indolent disposition and incapable of holding power. The State officials, therefore, resorted to a device to ascertain who should succeed. A fast was ordered and the second day a special feast was held, attended by the Miāns, or royal kinsmen, at which a sham message was announced in the middle of the feast, that a revolt had taken place among the Rānās in one part of the State. Liyun Phiyun remarked that there was no need for immediate action, and that the matter could stand over till after the feast. Miān Madan, however, who had been a miller, sprang to his feet, declaring that it was no time for feasting when the country was in danger, and seizing his arms he left the assembly. The officials and people being impressed with his courage and prompt action went after him and brought him back. He was then acclaimed Rājā, being in fact next after Liyun Phiyun in the succession, and at once started to suppress the rebellion.

Madan Sen c A.D. 1240.—Madan Sen had a long and prosperous reign. On his first expedition against the Rānā of Nāchan, immediately after his installation, he found the country quiet and the petty chiefs submissive, and thus he came to know the device which had brought about his elevation to the *gaddi*. He built a fort two *kos* to the north of Pāngnā the capital, and called it Madan Kot. It is now in Mandi and is called Madangarh. Madan Sen was a strong ruler, and greatly extended the area of the State by conquest. Till his reign the Biās was the boundary on the north, probably separating Suket from Bangāhal. He undertook an expedition across the Biās and overcame the Rānā of Drang, and captured the salt mines at that place. The large scales for weighing the salt he carried off to Pāngnā, where they may still be seen. In crossing the Biās he promised the ferrymen a *patha* of grain from each house and, though the ferry is now in Mandi, they still receive an allowance of grain from that State.

Advancing north of Drang, Madan Sen was opposed by the Rānā of Guma whom he overcame after a severe struggle, and took a wooden drum as a war trophy, which is still preserved in the fort of Pāngnā. He then turned in the direction of Kulū, which some time before had thrown off the yoke of Suket, and reconquered the country, fixing the boundary at Kothi near Manāli in the Biās valley; and at the Pārbati in Wazīri Rupi. On his return journey he built the fort of Madanpur, the ruins of which are still to be seen in Kothi Khokhan in Kulū.

The Kulū records state that the Suket Raja, probably Madan Sen, granted the territory from Manāli to Bajaura, on the right bank of the Biās, to one Rānā Bhosal, either a local petty chief or an importation, who was married to a Suket princess. His principal stronghold was the fort of Baragarh opposite Nagar. Rānā Bhosal was notorious for his stupidity, and on the advice of his Wazīr, who had a grudge against the Rānī, he had her buried alive in the line of a water-course to ensure a plentiful supply of water to his rice-fields. A similar story is told in the Chamba annals in connection with the foundation of the present capital.¹

On hearing of the tragedy,² the Suket Rāja came with an army, killed the Wazīr, deposed the Rānā, and resumed the territory. The Kulū records state that he granted the Wazīris of Lag and Sāri, in the Sarvari valley, to his Purohit, as an act of expiation for some sin which he had committed. This, however, seems to be incorrect, and according to the Suket record the grant was made by Parbat Sen at a later period, as will be related.

Previous to Madan Sen's reign the State supremacy had been enforced on the small states to the south of the Satluj. Bhajji, Shāngri and Kumhārsen had refused the annual tribute, so Madan Sen marched against them and reduced them to submission. Soon afterwards the Rānā of Batwāra, named Sri Māngal, made an alliance with Kahlur (Bilāspur) and rebelled. On his defeat Madan Sen expelled him from the State, and he crossed the Satluj and founded the small principality of Māngal, which still exists, naming it after himself.

There were other encounters with rebellious Rānās, for Madan Sen had also to lead a force westward against the Rānā of Hatli, and he also subdued the *thākurs* of Mahal Morian and crossed the Samlui range, now in Kāngra, and the Galauri range now in Kahlur. He then reached the borders of Kutlehr and built a fort and a well at Katwāl wāh, which still exist, and fixed his boundary with Kutlehr, annexing a small portion of the State.

Another expedition took him towards the south where he restored the forts of Seoni and Teoni now in Bilāspur, and erected the fort of Dhār in consequence of an omen, and this fort, it is said, has never been captured. He then returned to Pāngnā by way of Balh, and this seems to have been his last expedition.

Towards the end of Madan Sen's reign an incident occurred which had important issues, for it led to the abandonment of Pāngnā as the capital of the State. One

¹ Chamba Gaz., pp. 73-4.

² The name is given as Rup Chand (? Sen) in local tradition, perhaps a relative of Madan Sen's. He was the Rānī's brother.

night while he was asleep in his palace a *devi*, it is said, appeared to him in a dream and told him that the spot on which he lay was her ancient *asthān* or place, and that he must leave it or evil would befall him. On awaking in the morning with the dream still in his mind and looking around, he found an image with a throne, and a sword lying beside it. He therefore erected a temple on the spot, which is still extant. He then decided to abandon Pāngnā, and transferred the capital to Lohāra on the Balh plain, between Mandi and Suket. He also built the temple of Asthambnāth in Pāngnā.

Madan Sen probably reigned in the middle or towards the end of the thirteenth century. Under his rule Suket reached the zenith of its prosperity and power, and from his death we may count the period of decline which reduced the State to its present limits. Madan Sen was succeeded by seven weak rulers of whom we have no records. Even their names have dropped out of the *vansāvali*. The eighth was Sangrām Sen, who was 28th in succession from Bir Sen, the founder of the State.

It was presumably during these weak reigns that the Mandi Rājās found an opportunity to push their conquests on the Biās, largely at the expense of the parent state.

Mahan Sen c A.D. 1480.—Mahan Sen bears an evil reputation in the record. Lohāra was still the capital, and Mahan Sen, who resided there, had become enamoured of a Brahman's wife, whom he frequently visited in disguise during her husband's absence. This went on for some time till some one made the husband acquainted with the matter. He lay in wait one night and killed the intruder, discovering afterwards that it was the Rājā. He then went to the Rānī and told her what had happened, and she had the body cremated without question. As Mahan Sen had no son, his uncle, Haibat Sen, succeeded. He is said to have been a just and beneficent ruler, but his reign was a short one, and he was followed by Amar Sen and Ajimardan Sen.

Parbat Sen c A.D. 1500.—The records are silent regarding the events of this Rājā's time, but we read of an incident of his reign which has an interesting bearing on Kulū history. It is said that the Rājā disgraced a Brahman Purohit without inquiry or proof, who was accused of intimacy with a *bandi* or slave girl, presumably in the royal Zenana. The Purohit in consequence committed suicide, but before doing so he protested his innocence and pronounced a curse on the Rājā. Immediately after this Parbat Sen's health began to fail. He sought to expiate his sin by conferring the Wazirīs of Lag and Sāri on the Brahman's family in *jāgīr*, but to no purpose, and died soon afterwards.

Now the Wazirīs of Lag and Sāri are in Kulū, which seems to have been still under the control of Suket from the reign of Madan Sen, who according to the Kulū records may have made the grant. It seems more probable, however, that the incident is correctly associated with the name of Parbat Sen.

From the Purohit's family was descended the line of Lagwati Rājās, who, after acquiring the Wazirīs of Lag and Sāri in the Sarvari Valley, became independent rulers, on the final overthrow of the Suket power in Kulū. They then extended their

sway over the main Biās Valley, from Raisin to Bajaura, with portions of Sarāj and Bangāhal, until finally overthrown by Jagat Singh of Kulū about A.D. 1650.

Kartār Sen c A.D. 1520.—The incident above noted led to another change of the capital. Lohāra was looked upon as under a curse in consequence of what had occurred, the Purohit's suicide being regarded as Brahman-murder, and the Rājā, therefore, removed his place of residence to a palace which he built above the Taramari forest. Below it he founded a town, naming it Kartārpur after himself, now called Suket or Purānā Nagar, two miles north of Baned, the present capital.

Kartār Sen had a long and prosperous reign. His queen was a Jaswān princess, who bears a revered memory in Suket for her generosity and pious endowments conferred on Brahmans.

Arjun Sen c A.D. 1540.—¹ Arjun Sen was a contemporary of Bahādur Singh of Kulū, and during his reign much territory was lost to the State. Sidh Singh of Kulū, father of Bahadur Singh, had come back from the outer hills, where his family seems to have been driven by an uprising of the Rānās and Thākurs, and on being acclaimed Rājā he began the reconquest of the country, much of which was still under Suket. The Baragarh fort was held by a garrison, and this he captured by stratagem, and drove the Suket force out of the main Biās Valley. Wazīri Rupi still owned allegiance to Suket, and the *Zamīndārs* went to Arjun Sen to present some requests. Being of an arrogant and overbearing nature he treated them uncourteously, kept them waiting for some days, and on coming out to see them he gruffly asked, "Why the crows of Rupi had come to him," and refused their requests. Being incensed at this treatment they agreed, on the way back, to tender their allegiance to Bahādur Singh, who had succeeded Sidh Singh in Kulū. On presenting themselves before him, Bahādur Singh, more politic than the ruler of Suket, received them with the question, "Why have the lords of Rupi come to me?" Being gratified at this kind reception, they replied that they had formerly been the subjects of Kulū, and desired to become so again. Thus Rupi was also lost to Suket.

Many of the Rānās and Thākurs in other parts also revolted. Mandi too had risen into power and began to encroach on Suket, and it is said that in Arjun Sen's reign half the territory was alienated from the State and never regained.

Udai Sen c A.D. 1560.—Arjun Sen was succeeded by his son, Udai Sen, who did much to repair the loss sustained during his father's reign. He subdued the rebellious petty chiefs, more especially the Rānā of Chedi, whose estate he confiscated, and built a fort named Udaipur to commemorate his victory; but his efforts to restore the prestige of Suket were only partially successful. He must have been a contemporary of Akbar, but there is no reference to the Mughals till a later period. We know, however, from other sources that most of the hill States were subjected during Akbar's reign, and we may assume that in Suket, too, the Mughal influence was felt, either in this or the following reign.

Dīp Sen c A.D. 1590.—This Rājā is said to have had a long reign, but we have

¹ In the Kulū chronicle Arjun Sen is a contemporary of Sidh Singh, but this is probably incorrect.

no further details. One thing seems clear, that from Arjun Sen onwards the average reign cannot have been less than 30 years, unless some names have dropped out of the list, which seems unlikely at that late period. Where this has taken place it has usually been at a much earlier period in any of the State histories.

Shyām Sen c A.D. 1620.—A strange story of intrigue is told in connection with this Rājā's reign. He had two Rānīs, one from Guler and the other from Bashahr, who became *enceinte* about the same time, causing much jealousy between them.

The Guleri Rānī's son, Rām Sen, was born first, and was recognized as Tika or heir-apparent. The same Rānī afterwards bore a second son, named Prithi Singh, and a daughter who on growing up was married to Kaliān Chand of Kahlur.

In due course the Bashahri Rānī also had a son, named Hari Singh, and then she intrigued to get Rām Sen out of the way, in order to make room for her own son. For this purpose she entered into a compact with one, Miān Jugahnun, who undertook to carry out the plot, and one day finding a favourable opportunity, he pushed Rām Sen into a cellar. When the boy was missed diligent search was made for him, and at last it occurred to Naurang Singh, the Rājā's younger brother, to search the cellar, and the child was found alive and saved. On this plot being discovered, the Bashahri Rānī was banished from the State along with her son, and Miān Jugahnun, and his whole family, except one woman who was pregnant, were executed. From this woman are descended the Jugahnun Miāns, who are still found in the State. Hari Singh was also displaced from the position of Duthain or heir-presumptive in favour of Prithvi Singh.

The first mention of the Mughals in the annals occurs in the reign of Shyām Sen. It is said that he and his brother Naurang Singh were summoned to Lahore by Aurangzeb and ordered to capture a strong fortress, in which duty they were successful. As a reward for their valour the Emperor conferred on the Rājā a *khilat* or dress of honour, with permission to issue his own coinage, which long continued in currency. The reference, however, is probably to an earlier period and in the reign of Shāhjahān.

The chief event of Shyām Sen's reign was the war with Kahlur or Balāspur. As already stated, his daughter was married to the Rājā of that State, named Kaliān Chand. One day he and his Rānī were playing chess when some hill bards, in sounding his praises, called him "the lord of seven *dhārs* (ranges)." On learning the names of these *dhārs*, the Rānī remarked that one of them was in Suket, and this so enraged the Rājā that he struck her on the forehead with the chess-board and drew blood. He then issued orders for an invasion of Suket, and sent to Suraj Sen of Mandi for help. The Rānī, hearing of what was purposed, sent a letter secretly to her father, written in blood from the wound on her forehead, to warn him of the danger.

The two armies met near Mahādeo, and after a fierce encounter, Kahlur and Mandi were defeated, and Suraj Sen fled from the field. Kaliān Chand was less fortunate. Early in the conflict his horse was wounded and lamed by Naurang Singh. He then asked the loan of a horse from a Sanghwāl Miān in his service, and was refused. Soon afterwards he was attacked and mortally wounded by Pathāns in the

service of Suket, and trying to flee was pursued and captured. His army then dispersed.

A chivalrous incident is recorded in connection with this war. Before leaving Bilaspur Kaliān Chand had vowed to water his horse at the tank in Suket. Hearing of this, Shyām Sen gave orders that the wounded man should be carried to Suket from the battlefield so that he might perform his vow. He was then handed over to some Brahmans of his own State, who carried him in a *pālki* to Bilāspur, but he died on the way. The Brahmans who conveyed his corpse to Bilāspur were rewarded by being granted an exemption from ferry dues, which their descendants still enjoy, and the place where Kaliān Chand died is still called *Kaliān Chand ki Dwāri*. On account of the disloyalty of the Sanghwāl Miān, who refused his horse to Kaliān Chand, his descendants to this day are forbidden the use of horses from Kahlur.

Shyām Sen was probably a contemporary of Jagat Singh of Nurpur, and a reference is found in the history to that Chief. On account of the great favour he enjoyed at the Mughal Court in the time of Shāhjahān, Jagat Singh seems to have conceived the design of making himself paramount in the hills. Chamba and Basohli were both subdued by him, and he next turned his attention to Mandi, Suket and Guler. The Mandi Rājā, Suraj Sen, escaped the plot laid for him, but Shyām Sen and Mān Singh of Guler were not so fortunate.¹

An expedition had been sent into the Jammu hills to suppress a revolt, and when called upon to furnish a contingent Shyām Sen failed to do so, owing to his relationship to the Jammu Chief. A complaint was then lodged against him by the Nurpur Rājā, and he and his brother, Naurang Singh, were summoned to Delhi and cast into prison. Mān Singh of Guler had also been imprisoned on a similar complaint. During his captivity Shyām Sen is said to have prayed to Mahun Nāg, who appeared to him in the form of a bee and promised an early release. Accordingly, both Rājās were soon afterwards set at liberty, possibly in consequence of Jagat Singh's rebellion in A.D. 1640-1, and returned to their respective States.

On their way back from Delhi by way of Aiwan they were opposed by the Rānā of Bashahr, who entertained a grudge against Shyām Sen on account of the banishment of his sister. He was defeated, and had to pay a *nazarāna* of Rs. 50,000, after which he was granted the title of Rājā. A fort was then erected with the money twelve miles east of Suket and named Māngarh, which is now in ruins.

On his return from Delhi Shyām Sen, in gratitude for his deliverance, granted a *jaḡir* of Rs. 400 a year to the temple of Mahun Nāg, so called from Mahun (bee), owing to the Nag having appeared to the Rājā in that form. At a later period the grant was reduced to Rs. 300 a year, which is still maintained. Naurang Singh, the Rājā's brother, is said to have died in prison.

During Shyām Sen's imprisonment the Rājās of Kulū and Mandi combined against Suket and invaded Sarāj, a portion of which still remained in the possession of the State. These Rājās probably were, Jagat Singh of Kulū and Suraj Sen of

¹ Vide Journal, Punjab Hist. Society. Vol. vi, No. 2, pp. 116-7.

Mandi. The Kulū Rājā seized the *parganas* of Srigarh, Pir Kot, Naraingarh, Janji, Jalauri, Raghapur, Bari, Dumhri, Madanpur and Bhamri, while Mandi acquired Garh, now called Sarāj-Mandi, Raigarh, Chanj-wāla, Magrah, Tungasi, Madhopur, Bunga, Fatehpur, Bāj-Thāj, Bagrah, Bānsi, and the Gudah *ilāqās*. Some of the Thākurs in these districts joined the invaders, and in this way much territory was lost to the State, including the portion of Kutlehr conquered by Madan Sen.

On hearing of these invasions on his return, Shyām Sen petitioned the Emperor through the Nawāb of Sirhind to have his territories restored, and orders were given to this effect; but before they could be carried out the Nawāb died, and there the matter ended. This want of success he attributed to an incident recorded in the annals.

Though fortunate in his wars with Bashahr and Kahlur, Shyām Sen's reign marked the beginning of the rapid decline in the fortunes of Suket, and this was ascribed to the fact that he parted with a special *chola* or coat given him by a *jogi* to wear in battle. The story goes that on one occasion a *jogi* named Chand Piri came to Suket, and took up his abode in a cave near the village of Pareri, close to the capital.

The Rājā was very kind and indulgent to such people, and one day in gratitude the *jogi* gave him a *chola* the wearing of which in battle would ensure victory.

The coat was thoughtlessly made over to his groom, and on putting it on the latter was reduced to ashes. On this the *jogi* was angry, and cursed the Rājā and died soon afterwards in his cave. Shyām Sen did every thing in his power to avert the curse; he built a temple to the *jogi*, and endowed it, and also assigned one *patha* of grain from each house, as well as all fines imposed on faqirs. These dues continued to be paid down to the time of Bikrama Sen, but were afterwards somewhat modified.

Rām Sen c. A.D. 1650.—From this time onwards Mandi began to enlarge her borders more and more at the expense of Suket. The entire country north of the Biās had already passed away from the State, as well as Sarāj-Mandi, and also the territory towards the west around Kamlahgarh. The Mandi Rājās then cast covetous eyes on the fertile Balh plain, lying between the two capitals, and the struggle between the two states was long and fierce. As Sir Lepel Griffin remarks: "Mandi and Suket have always been rivals and generally enemies, but for several generations there was little to show on either side as the result of their warfare. When a powerful Rājā ruled at Suket he won back all the territory which his predecessors had lost, and at one time Suket possessions extended to the very walls of Mandi. In the same manner when a powerful chief ruled in Mandi the borders of Suket were much reduced, and its outlying forts and districts fell into the hands of its rival. The plain of Balh lying between the two capitals was common ground of desire and dispute."¹

In Rām Sen's reign the struggle for this fertile tract began, and it was the scene of many a fight. To protect the people of Madhopur on the plain from the inroads of Mandi, Rām Sen erected a fort and called it Rāmgarh after himself.

Rām Sen's reign does not seem to have been a long one, and a tragic occurrence

¹ *The Rājās of the Punjab*, p. 579.

darkened the latter years of his life. As the result probably of a palace intrigue, suspicion was aroused in his mind by the Brahman Purohits regarding the chastity of his own daughter, and he had her removed to Pāngnā. The suspicion was groundless, but she took the disgrace so much to heart that she poisoned herself. Soon afterwards she appeared to him in a dream, and warned him against the unfaithful Purohits, but they were too powerful to be touched, and compunction for his deed seems to have affected the Rājā's mind, for he soon afterwards became insane and died.

Jit Sen c. A.D. 1663.—Owing to his father's insanity Jit Sen had been appointed regent. He seems to have been of a weak disposition and also suffered from epilepsy, but was cured by a Bhat Brahman from Bengal to whom a *jagīr* was assigned, which is still held by Bhats. This illness as well as other misfortunes seems to have been attributed to the influence of the dead princess in Pāngnā, who was worshipped as a malevolent spirit. To appease her Jit Sen had an image set up in the female apartments in Pāngnā palace, and a *jagīr* assigned, and also one pice from each house which continued to be given till the time of Ugar Sen.

The Purohits, who had been the cause of her death, were also forbidden to visit Pāngnā. They were, however, too powerful to be dealt with in any other way, and so the injunctions of the *debi* or dead princess could not be fully carried out.

Jit Sen's twenty-two children died in infancy, and during his reign much territory was lost to the State. As the record says: "Jit Sen was defeated in every battle he fought." Shyam Sen was then Rājā of Mandi and strong feeling existed between the two chiefs. Shyam Sen being of a dark complexion,¹ Jit Sen used to refer to him tauntingly by the name of "Tikarnāth," meaning "an iron vessel for parching grain." On one occasion the Mandi agent had been sent to Suket and on appearing in Darbar, Jit Sen asked him in a taunting manner what Tikarnāth was doing. The agent with ready wit replied that Tikarnāth was red hot and ready to parch grain. This incident stirred up feeling on both sides, and an immediate rupture was the result. The two armies met near Lohāra on the Balh plain, and after a short contest Jit Sen was defeated and fled from the field. He was pursued and overtaken by a Katoch Miān in the service of Mandi who was about to kill him, when he begged for his life as being a ruling prince.

His life was spared, but the Katoch snatched the insignia of royalty from his head-dress, and carried them to Shyam Sen. For this service he was assigned a quantity of salt from the Drang mines, which is still duly granted to his descendants. Mandi then annexed the Balh plain as far as the Suketi Nālā. Soon afterwards Gur Sen of Mandi, son of Shyam Sen of that State, in conjunction with the Rājā of Kahlur, conquered Gaḥl Dhanyara, Bera and Peri.

The next Raja of Mandi, Sidh Sen, aided by Bhīm Chand of Kahlur, also attacked Suket, and seized the Dhar of Tahl, and the forts of Birkot and Maryauli. The last named was annexed by Kahlur and the other two by Mandi. Other severe reverses were sustained through the treachery of the State Wazir, a Purohit named Anup, who was secretly in league with Sidh Sen of Mandi. He invited the Mandi Rājā to

¹ Skr. *Shyāma*, means "dark."

attack the Rānā of Nāchni, promising that no help would be sent from Suket. The Rānā was too weak to stand alone, and on applying for assistance through Anup his letters were held back and no help was given. Still the Rānā bravely fought on for two years till at last he was killed and his son, Harnāth, fled to Kahlur. Nāchni was then annexed to Mandi along with the following forts: Nāchan, Churyahan, Rayahan, Madangarh, Chaurahandi, Mastgarh, Nandgarh, Jajios, Rājgarh and Shivapuri, also called Hāt.

Garur Sen A.D. 1721.—Jit Sen died childless in A.D. 1721 after a long but inglorious reign of 58 years, and the succession, therefore, descended to Garur Sen, grandson of Hari Singh, who with his mother had been banished from the State in the reign of Shyām Sen. For a time the people refused to tender their allegiance, probably owing to the fact that his grandfather had been displaced in favour of his younger half-brother, Prithvi Singh. Meanwhile the administration was in the hands of the Prithipur Miāns, who had formed a kind of council. The Rājā of Bashahr then wrote to some of the people, pointing out that Garur Singh was the rightful heir, and the officials and people brought him to Nagar and installed him at the Narsinghji Temple. Even then, however, the people of the capital refused to acknowledge him out of fear of the Miāns and Purohits.

Seeing the feeling against him and fearing for his own life, Garur Singh retired to Kulū, where he was received with all honour as the rightful Rājā of Suket. He also went to Kāngra where he had a similar reception, and was sent back to claim his rights. On the way he married the daughter of the Rānā of Himli, and on becoming aware of the support accorded by Kulū and Kāngra the people bowed to his authority and tendered their allegiance. The Prithipur Miāns then fled to Garhwāl.

In Garur Sen's reign Baned was founded on the small plain two miles south of Nagar, and it became the capital in the reign of Bikrama Sen. Then Garur Sen's Rānī, who seems to have been a wise and capable woman, constructed the Suraj Kund Temple which is still extant. By her Garur Sen had two sons, Bhikam Sen and Bahādur Singh. As has been related, Shyām Sen's daughter, who poisoned herself at Pāngnā, was afterwards regarded as a malevolent spirit. She had previously appeared to her father and her brother, Rām Sen, and now in a dream she also warned Garur Sen against the Purohits, who had brought the false accusation against her. Till then they were so powerful that no one dared meddle with them, but they had now fallen into disfavour, probably on the flight of the Miāns, and this was increased by the fact that Wazir Anup, who played into the hands of Mandi, was one of them. They were, therefore, excommunicated, so that no one would eat or associate with them, and the name *Nachhuhan* or "untouchable" was given them.

It will be recalled that on the fall of Nāchan and the death of the Rānā, his son, Harnāth, fled to Kahlur. On hearing of the excommunication of the Purohits he returned to Suket and a *jagīr* was conferred on him at Churagh, which his descendants continued to enjoy till the reign of Ugar Sen, when the last of the line, Bhagwān Singh, died without issue. A yearly allowance of Rs. 300 was then granted to the widow at her own request, in lieu of the *jagīr*, which was resumed.

Garur Sen had a long reign, and died in A.D. 1748.

Bhikam Sen A.D. 1748.—This reign covered a period of great political importance in the Punjab. Ahmad Shāh Durāni had, in the year 1747, invaded the province for the first time, and in 1752 it was ceded to him by his name-sake, Ahmad Shāh of Delhi. Taking advantage of the anarchy that prevailed, Suket, like many other hill States, became independent, and remained so till about 1765-70, except for a short break in 1758, when all the eastern hill States and even the Mughal Governor of Kāngra were subject to Adina Beg Khān. This remarkable man had risen from a humble position to be Governor of the Doāb under the Mughals, and afterwards, the Durānis and ultimately Viceroy of the Punjab. He built Adinanagar near Paṭhānkot, which is named after him, but died in 1758.

Meanwhile the Sikhs had risen into power and Jassa Singh Rāmgarhia was the first to invade the Kāngra hills and subject to his suzerainty several of the hill States, among which probably was Suket. There is, however, no reference to the Sikhs in the State annals of the period.

Some unimportant wars took place during Bhikam Sen's reign of which we have no record. He had two sons, Ranjīt Sen and Kishan Singh, the former of whom succeeded on his father's death in 1762.

Ranjīt Sen A.D. 1762.—In this reign an attempt was made to recover Nāchan from Mandi, and Kishan Singh, the Rājā's younger brother, set out with a force for this purpose. After severe fighting he captured Shivapuri or Hāt, but his lead and powder ran short, and he sent messengers to Suket for a supply. They however were unfaithful, having been bought over by Mandi, and instilled into the Rājā's mind the suspicion that Kishan Singh was disloyal and meant to make himself independent in Nāchan. No supplies were sent, and Kishan Singh was compelled to abandon the expedition. He then went to Sansār Chand of Kāngra, who was his son-in-law, and obtaining help he returned and in revenge sacked and burnt Suket. He then retired to Jagannāth. This must have occurred after 1776, the year in which Sansār Chand became Rājā of Kāngra.

For some time before this, as we have said, the State may have been tributary to Jassa Singh Rāmgarhia, who was the first Sikh leader to invade the Kāngra hills, and to subject several of the States. His authority lasted till 1775, when being defeated on the plains, he retired from the hills leaving the suzerainty in the hands of Jai Singh Kanheya, who held it till 1786.

Ranjīt Sen contracted marriage relations with Sirmaur and Guler, and the latter marriage especially was celebrated with great pomp. The Sirmaur Rānī had a son named Bikrama Sen, and the Guleria Rānī's sons were, Amar Singh and Miān Singh, but they both died young.

During Ranjīt Sen's reign the administration was in the hands of an able and faithful Minister named Narpat, on whom the Rājā placed great reliance. The records speak of Narpat's rule as having been a time of peace and prosperity in Suket, when the law was strictly upheld and property was secure.

For some reason ill-feeling was aroused between the Minister and Bikrama Sen,

the heir-apparent, and on one occasion the young prince in anger drew his sword and was about to strike the Wazir when his father intervened. On this Bikrama Sen withdrew to Mahal Mori in Bilāspur and resided there till his father's death. Ranjit Sen died in 1761 from poison accidentally administered by a physician.

To make the subsequent course of events clear it is necessary here to advert to the political condition of the Kāngra hills, during the latter part of Ranjit Sen's reign. By that time Mughal rule had entirely disappeared from the hills, except in Kāngra Fort, where Saif Ullah Khān, the last of the Mughal Faujdārs or Governors, still held out. Though surrounded by enemies on all sides and owning almost nothing outside the walls, this brave man continued to maintain his position for upwards of 40 years. Ghamand Chand of Kāngra, who had been appointed Governor of the Jalandhar Doāb by Ahmad Shah Durāni, in 1758, besieged the fort, but failed to capture it, and his grandson, Sansār Chand, also attempted the task but in vain. He then called in Jai Singh Kanheya, and after the death of the old Nawab in 1781, the fortress fell into the hands of the Sikhs with whom it remained till 1786. On Jai Singh's defeat on the plains it was ceded to Sansār Chand and along with it he acquired the paramount power over the hill States, between the Satluj and the Rāvi, including Chamba and probably also Basohli.¹

With the prestige conferred by the possession of the fort, Sansār Chand arrogated to himself supreme authority over the hill Chiefs, whom he compelled to attend his court and accompany him on his military expeditions. In this manner he ruled despotically over the hills for twenty years, and no one dared to resist his will. Suket was tributary, but seems to have suffered less than other States at his hands, perhaps owing to his relationship to Kishan Singh, Ranjit Singh's younger brother, whose daughter he had married.

Bikrama Sen A.D. 1791.—On his father's death Bikrama Sen returned from Mahal Mori in Bilāspur, and was installed as Rājā. His first act after his father's funeral obsequies was to consign Narpat the Wazir to prison in the fort of Batwāra, where he was soon afterwards executed.

In 1792 Sansār Chand, on some pretext, invaded Mandi, made the Rājā, Ishwari Sen, then a minor, prisoner, and plundered the capital. On his approach Bikrama Sen gave in his allegiance and assisted the invaders. Sansār Chand's force was accompanied by Kishan Singh, who had retired to Jagannāth after sacking Suket, and he now tendered his allegiance to his nephew, and advanced Rs. 80,000 of his own money to prosecute the war with Mandi. With the help of Sansār Chand's troops he captured six strongholds and made them over to Suket.

The attack on Mandi was rendered easy by the capture of Iswari Sen and his retention as a prisoner for twelve years by Sansār Chand at Nadaun, and during the whole of that time war continued between the two States.

Punnu Wazir was killed in battle at Sikandra where Mandi had the help of Kahlur, and Ghorkan, his brother, was then appointed to the Office of Wazir, but he was shot

¹ Kangra Gaz., pp. 33-34.

while out hunting, by Miān Bishan Singh, son of Kishan Singh, to whom he had acted discourteously.

Early in his reign Bikrama Sen removed the capital to Baned, two miles south of Suket, which had been founded by Garur Sen. Suket, or Nagar, then came to be called Purāna Nagar, but it has greatly declined since a third town, named Bhojpur, sprang up half-way between it and Baned.

Meanwhile events of great political importance had been taking place in the hills to the east of the Satluj. On the break up of Mughal authority the Gurkhas of Nepāl also took advantage of the anarchy that prevailed on the plains to extend their sway over the hill tracts to the west, as far as the Satluj; and all the hill States bordering on that river, including Bilāspur, were subject to them. They also, it is said, cast covetous eyes on the country still farther west, under Sansār Chand, and even aimed at the conquest of Kashmir.

By 1805 Sansār Chand's arrogance had reached such a pitch that the hill Chiefs of the Kāngra States all combined against him and, through the Rājā of Bilāspur, sent an invitation to Amar Singh Thapa, the Gurkha Commander, to invade Kāngra, promising him their support. This invitation he readily accepted, and crossed the Satluj at Bilāspur, where he was joined by contingents from the hill States. Sansār Chand's forces were defeated in Mahal Mori, and the Gurkhas then advanced into the interior of the country and laid siege to Kāngra Fort. On reaching Nadaun they liberated Ishwari Sen of Mandi and sent him back to his capital. On hearing of the loss of territory which the State had sustained during his captivity, Ishwari Sen sent a letter to the Rājā of Kahlur to ask his help in recovering the lost territory.

Bikrama Sen was, therefore, invited to Bilāspur and was persuaded into going by Ablu the Wazīr who had a grudge against him on account of the murder of Goorkan, who was Ablu's brother. On arrival he was placed under a Gurkha guard for six months and compelled to surrender the six forts, including Hatli and Balh, which had been taken from Mandi. But even then he was not set at liberty, and fearing for his life he sent secretly to some of his officials who came and carried him off by night leaving his *huqqa bardar* in his place. He was conveyed across the Satluj on a kind of raft called *khatnau*, and reached the fort of Dehr in his own territory on foot.

The forts of Hatli and Bīr Kot had meanwhile been seized by Mandi. This was in 1808. After his defeat Sansār Chand had taken refuge in Kāngra fort which was besieged by the Gurkhas for four years, 1806 to 1809, but they were unable to capture it. At last in despair he, in 1809, called in the help of Ranjit Singh, and the Gurkhas were compelled to retire across the Satluj. The fort and the supremacy over the hill States then passed into the hands of the Sikhs, to whom all the States including Kāngra became tributary.

In the case of Suket the tribute money was fixed at Rs. 10,000, but was soon afterwards raised to Rs. 15,000, and in collecting it the Sikhs took as much as Rs. 22,000. The money was raised by a process called *dhāl*, which is still in force.

Bikrama Sen had two sons, named Ugar Sen and Jagat Singh, and one daughter

who was married in Nurpur. On growing up to manhood Ugar Sen, the heir-apparent, seems to have been associated with the Rājā in the administration.

The yearly *nazarāna* was soon felt to be too heavy a burden for the State to bear, and as it was paid through Mandi the latter state had to be considered in any plan for its reduction. The question was discussed by the Rājā along with the heir-apparent and the officials, but without any result. At last Ugar Sen and Narendar Singh, a grandson of Kishan Singh, privately agreed to make an attempt to have it reduced, and set out for Patiala and thence to Lahore. Narandar Singh was known to Ranjit Singh, and on their presenting a request the tribute was reduced to Rs. 11,000 with the right to pay it direct.

The erection of Pali fort was one of the events of this reign, and also that of Dudar to protect Dhār, when Birkot fell into the hands of Mandi.

¹ During Bikrama Sen's reign Mr. William Moorcroft, in 1820, travelled through the hills on his way to Kulu and Ladakh, and was probably the first European to visit Suket.

Mr. Forster had also passed through the outer hills in 1783 from Bilāspur to Nurpur, but does not appear to have visited the State. Mr. Moorcroft's account of his journey is as follows: "From Dehr to Suket the road lay partly over cultivated ground and partly over rugged paths obstructed by large blocks of lime-stone. As it approaches Suket several forts are seen on the mountains to the left amongst which is Bagra, belonging to the Raja of Mandi. We encamped near a spring which forms one of the sources of the Suket river."

"On the arrival of the first of our party at the village (Suket) a general panic prevailed, and many of the people prepared to make their escape into the neighbouring thickets. A report had spread that the Feringis or Europeans were approaching with a numerous host to occupy and devastate the country, and the villagers imagined those of my people who had been sent on in advance to be the precursors of the invading host. When they found, however, that our proceedings were wholly pacific and that we paid for the supplies we required, their terror was allayed, and gradually confidence succeeded to apprehension. They had never yet beheld a European, and curiosity brought crowd after crowd to look at the Sahib log, until it was dark. Night set in with a thunderstorm, and in the darkness we were disturbed by the singular howling of the hyænas, which approached our encampment, and are said to be common here."

"The valley of Suket is not very extensive, and except to the south where it is bounded by the Satluj and part of Kahlur, the whole Rāj is shut in by the mountains of Mandi. The land is well cultivated and more productive than any tract of similar extent I have seen in the Himālaya. The western side is watered by the Suketi, and the eastern by the Kams, which rivulets unite and fall into the Bayah or Byas river above Mandi. The division between Suket and Mandi is indicated by a narrow ditch called "Mukhi."

Mr. Moorcroft gives no particulars about the capital, and does not seem to have

¹ Moorcroft : *Travels*, pp. 43-44.

met the Rājā. From his encampment he travelled through the Balh plain towards Mandi, where the whole caravan was halted for some time while Mr. Moorcroft retraced his steps to Lahore, to obtain permission to his further progress into the hills.

Bikrama Sen was tall and handsome in person, and in his State administration he is said to have been strict and severe. He punished theft, robbery and traffic in women with the utmost rigour.

There is no record of the experiences of Suket under Sikh rule, but from the absence of these we may conclude that the period passed without any special events. While other hill States were being ruthlessly overturned by Ranjit Singh, Kulū, Mandi and Suket for long remained unmolested, and continued to enjoy comparative peace. Bikrama Sen died in 1838 and was succeeded by his son Ugar Sen.

Ugar Sen A.D. 1838.—Ugar Sen was married four times, first in Kutlehr and by this Rānī he had two sons, Shib Singh and Rām Singh, and a daughter, Dei Sārda, who in 1853 was married to Rājā Sri Singh of Chamba. His Jamwālī Rānī bore the heir-apparent, Rudar Sen, and the Patiala Rānī, Miān Narain Singh. Ugar Sen also had three sons by concubines. In the early part of his reign a revolt occurred in Kahlur, and though there was long-standing ill-feeling between the two States, Ugar Sen was applied to for help and gave a loan of Rs. 25,000 to the Kahlur Rājā, with which he raised a regiment of Pathāns for the suppression of the revolt. Ugar Sen also made an attempt to bring about a reconciliation between the Kahlur Rājā and his people, but while the proceedings were in progress the former died.

Suket was visited by Mr. Vigne, the traveller, in 1839 on his way back from the inner mountains. Unfortunately his notice of the place is very meagre, and he does not appear to have met the Rājā. He says: "The country of the Sukyt Rājā commences at the ferry (on the Satluj) and the town of the same name only a few miles distant is situated at the southern end of the valley, known by the name of Sukyt Mandi. The principal stream by which its surface is watered rises above Sukyt and flows northward towards Mandi where it joins the Beyas. Sukyt-Mandi is eight or ten miles in length, and three or four in breadth, richly cultivated, and containing numerous villages; and on each of the picturesque hills around are numerous forts; and perhaps no country of equal extent could boast of so many strongholds or what appear to be such." By Sukyt-Mundi Mr. Vigne evidently means the Balh plain lying between the two capitals and reaching to within two or three miles of Mandi, where the valley contracts to a quiet well-wooded and romantic glen such as may often be seen in England.

¹ Till 1840 the State seems to have enjoyed comparative immunity from interference under Sikh rule, but in that year a force was sent into the hills by Nau Nihāl Singh, grandson of Ranjit Singh, under the command of General Ventura, with orders to seize the Rājās of Suket, Mandi and Kulū. There was about that time much talk in Lahore of an invasion of Central Tibet by way of Kulū, and it was considered necessary first to bring these countries fully under control, and capture the strong fortress of Kamlahgarh in Mandi.

¹ *History of the Punjab*. Prinsep. Vol. ii, p. 218-9.

On the approach of the Sikh army, Ugar Sen gave in his submission and was treated with consideration. The Mandi Rājā was not so fortunate, for he was inveigled into the Sikh camp, made a prisoner, and sent to Amritsar. The Kulū Rājā fled into the mountains and for a time escaped.

But soon after this trouble was over a disagreement arose between the Rājā and his heir-apparent, Rudar Sen, then only 14 years of age, in consequence of which the latter retired to Mandi. Ugar Sen followed him there, and through the good offices of Balbir Sen of that State, who had returned from the plains, peace and good feeling were restored, and Rudar Sen came back with his father to Suket.

In the same year, 1843, the Tika or heir-apparent married a daughter of the Katoch family, and a little later Narendar Singh, son of Bishan Singh, was reconciled to Rudar Sen, the heir-apparent, resulting in another estrangement between him and his father, of which Narendar Singh seems to have been the cause.

Narendar Singh had married his daughter by a ¹*khawās* to Mahārāja Sher Singh of Lahore and thereby secured his support for himself and Rudar Sen; and Purohit Devi Dat, Gordhan Kayat, Miān Kesu, Thākur Dās Khatri and Tanā Gitāl all espoused the Tika's cause for this reason. One Shib Dās had great influence over the Rājā, and his removal was the ostensible object; but the disclosure by Pādha Narotam Adadhāri of some papers written by Gordhan revealed the fact that it was intended to poison the Rājā. Narendar Singh was absent, but the Tika was arrested; and Pat the Kotwālī Wazīr imprisoned Gordhan, Pādha Tanā and Devi Dat, and treated them with great harshness. Gordhan was dismissed from his position of Purohit, and his house was sacked, while Narotam was appointed Purohit in his stead. Narendar Singh was also banished, and his *jāgīrs* were confiscated.

The Tika on being liberated sought refuge in Kahlur, but was soon afterwards reconciled to his father through Mr. G. C. Barnes and returned to Suket. Wazīr Pat was next arrested and dismissed, and a fine of Rs. 10,000 was imposed upon him, while Narotam succeeded him. These events must have taken place in 1844-5. In the autumn of 1845 the Sikh army invaded British territory by crossing the Satluj, and Suket was called upon to furnish a contingent. But Ugar Sen having expelled the Sikhs from the State joined with Balbir Sen of Mandi immediately after the battle of Sobraon in sending a confidential agent to Mr. Erskine, Superintendent of the Simla Hill States, tendering their allegiance to the British Government, and requesting an interview. This was granted and the two chiefs, on 21st February, 1846, visited Mr. Erskine at Bilāspur, and tendered their allegiance in person.

On 9th March, 1846 a treaty was concluded between the British Government and the Sikh Darbar, whereby, among other provisions, the whole of the Doab between the Satluj and the Biās was ceded in perpetuity to Government. Mandi and Suket being within the ceded territory came directly under British control, and were placed in charge of the Commissioner of Jālandhar. In October 1846 a *sanad* was granted to Ugar Sen confirming him in his possessions and defining his rights and obligations. By virtue of the *sanad* the suzerainty of Suket State was finally transferred from the

¹ Concubine.

Sikh to the British Government, and the tribute-money was fixed at Rs. 11,000, the sum payable to the Sikhs. The right of adoption was also granted at a later date, on the failure of direct heirs.

In 1853 Tika Rudar Sen, the heir-apparent, contracted two marriages, one in Garhwāl and the other in Kahlur, and in the same year Dei Sārda was married to Rājā Sri Singh of Chamba, the marriage being celebrated with great pomp.

In 1857 family trouble again came to the front owing to an attempt to arrest Narotam the Wazir, who wielded supreme influence with the Rājā, and the Tika again left Suket. The immediate cause seems to have been a case in which the Wazir imposed a fine on a Brahman which the Rājā remitted, but in spite of this its payment was enforced. On this, Rudar Sen and his supporters demanded the arrest of the Wazir, but the Rājā while agreeing, put off the matter for a year and a half, and the Tika left the State, and went to Jālandhar and Lahore. Wazir Pat and Ishria Kayat resisted the Wazir for one and a half years more, and then fled to Mandi.

In 1859 Tika Rudar Sen returned to Mandi on the occasion of the marriage of Bijai Sen of that State to the daughter of the Rājā of Datārpur. He was accommodated in the Ghasun Palace, and sent to Suket for his *rānīs*. Owing to his proximity, disaffection began to show itself among the people of the State, and Ugar Sen then represented to Col. Lake, the Commissioner of Jālandhar, that if the Tika did not agree to make peace he should be directed to remove himself to a distance, so as not to cause trouble in the State. Accordingly Rudar Sen left his *rānīs* in Mandi and went to Haripur in Patiala, where he was afterwards joined by the Kahluri *rānī*, and a son, Arimardan Sen, was born in 1863. The Garhwali *rānī* had died in Mandi. Two years later a daughter was born who was afterwards married to the Rājā of Sirmour. In 1866 a second son, named Dusht Nikandan Sen, was born.

Meanwhile Narotam Purohit continued to hold the office of Wazir, and he was also Wazir of the Narsingh Temple. It is said that he made a law that widows should be sold and the proceeds credited to the State, and their property to the Narsingji Temple, and this law remained in force while he was Wazir. He also built the Durga Temple from the revenues of Narsinghji.

Narotam appointed one Lungu as his deputy and placed all the hill tracts under him; but this seems to have led to his downfall, for soon afterwards Lungu's brother Dhaingal was appointed Wazir, and Narotam was dismissed from office. The change of officers does not seem to have been an improvement for Dhaingal's administration was oppressive. He realized the fines called *dānd* from respectable people, a custom which seems to have originated at the time of Ugar Sen's accession. The people bore with his tyranny for a time, but when he was on tour in the hills they seized him and kept him a prisoner for twelve days in Garh Chawāsi, releasing him only on receipt of the Rājā's order.¹

Soon after, Ugar Sen himself went on tour in the hills, and the complaints against Dhaingal Wazir were such that he was imprisoned for nine months, and then fined Rs. 20,000. Lungu, his brother, seems to have been appointed in his place, but in

¹ Such an uprising is locally called a "Dum." Cf. P.H.S. Journal. Vol. vi, No. 2, pp. 76-77

1873, during a tour by the Rājā in the hills, the people were fined Rs. 72,000 and some of them fled to Haripur to take counsel with Rudar Sen against the Rājā. Lungu Wazir and one Bansi Lal, once a favourite of the Rājā's, were both involved in this plot, and Lungu fled to Kahlur, and Bansi Lal was caught while escaping to Mandi and put in prison.

Ugar Sen built the temple of Shiva at Amla Bimla, and in A.D. 1876 he was seized with paralysis and died in the same year. In spite of his severity to his people he was respected for his liberality, courtesy and courage. He was well versed in Sanskrit, and was also acquainted with music and medicine.

Rudar Sen A.D. 1876.—On hearing of his father's death Rudar Sen came to Suket from Haripur, and was installed as Rājā by Col. Davies, Commissioner of Jālandhar. He then re-appointed Dhaingal as Wazir, and Rāmditta Mal to examine the State accounts. Having done this he returned to Haripur and brought his family, after marrying the daughter of Jai Singh of Ārki. On his return he imposed a revenue of Rs. 4 to 8 per *khār*, called *dhāl*, instead of a tax on each house, and resumed a *sāsan* grant of about 540 *khārs* of land. A year later Dhaingal was dismissed and Rāmditta Mal was made Wazir.

As time went on Rudar Sen's rule seems to have become more and more oppressive, the land revenue was increased, and other exactions levied on the *zamīndārs* till disaffection was created, and on applying to the Rājā for redress of their grievances no satisfactory answer was given. Some of the Miāns or royal kinsmen, suspected of fomenting disturbance, were banished from the State. At length the condition of things became so serious that the Commissioner of Jālandhar had to intervene. After enquiry, punishments were awarded, but this did not satisfy the Rājā who left for Lahore.

On further inquiry Rudar Sen was deposed in 1879, and after living some time in Lahore and Jālandhar he finally settled in Hoshyārpur where he died in 1887.

Arimardan Sen A.D. 1879.—He was only 15 years old at the time of his installation and Miān Sahib Singh, the brother, and Jagat Singh, the uncle of Rājā Rudar Sen, were appointed Managers of the State. Sardār Hardayāl Singh of Kāngra was appointed Tahsildār, and three years later became Manager. The Rājā died at Dharmsala soon after his accession, and was succeeded by his younger brother, Dusht Nikandan Sen.

Dusht Nikandan Sen A.D. 1879.—Being a minor the administration remained in the hands of the Manager and officials. On Sirdār Hardayāl Singh's retirement in 1884 Mr. Donald was appointed to the office of Manager. In 1886 the Raja came of age and was granted full powers, Mr. Donald continuing to act as Manager.

In 1888 the land assessment was reduced $2\frac{1}{2}$ annas in the rupee in Chawāsi, Bagrah, Rāngarh and Kajaun, and two annas in the rest of the State.

In March 1891 Mr. C. I. Hallifax, I.C.S., was appointed Manager and remained in charge till May 1893.

Dusht Nikandan Sen during his reign carried out many improvements in the State. Shortly after his accession a dispensary was opened at Baned, the Capital,

and in 1893 a school was started at Bhojpur. A Post Office followed in 1900, and a Telegraph Office in 1906. The administration was improved, unnecessary posts abolished and considerable economies effected. The finances of the State were placed on a sound footing and all debts cleared off.

Much attention was also given to the construction of Public Works. The bridge over the Satluj at Jiuri was completed in 1889. The roads in the State were maintained in good repairs, new offices, granaries and sepoy lines were erected at Baned, and also a new Jail.

Rājā Dusht Nikandan Sen was married in 1881 to a niece of Raja Dhiān Singh of Arki, and his sons were Tika Bhīm Sen born in 1885, and Duthain Lachman Singh in 1894. The Raja died in 1908 and was succeeded by his elder son, Tika Bhīm Sen.

Raja Bhīm Sen A.D. 1908.—His Highness Raja Bhīm Sen was educated at the Chiefs' College, Lahore, and was installed by Sir Louis Dane, K.C.S.I., Lieutenant-Governor of the Punjab.

Since his accession His Highness has carried out many improvements in the State, more especially in the vicinity of the capital at Baned. The roads have been widened and gardens laid out with much taste. Of public buildings recently erected the most important are a fine new Hospital, also a commodious Guest-House and a Dāk Bungalow. His Highness recently received from the King-Emperor the distinction of knighthood in the Most Exalted Order of the Indian Empire, for his War Services and his capable administration of the State.

LITERATURE.

Tawarikh Riyasathāi kohistān Punjab.—Hardayāl Singh.

Moorcroft, *Travels*.

Vigne, *Travels*.

Chamba Gazetteer.

Kangra do.

Suket do.

History of the Punjab—Prinsep.

The Rajas of the Punjab—Griffin.

Journal, Punjab Historical Society.

The Struggles of the Hindu Sahi Rulers of Kabul and Panjab against the Central Asian Turks. (870-1027).

By GULSHAN RAI, B.A., LL.B.

[Paper read Jan. 15th, 1917.]

The period with which the subject of this evening deals is comparatively a short one, and forms only a portion of the great cycle in the world's history which began with the appearance of the great apostle Muhammad. In 641 A.D. at Nehawand the great and magnificent Persian Empire was brought to an end by the new power that had taken its birth among the followers of the Arabian Prophet. The tide of Arab invasion, on the disappearance of the intervening Persian Empire, now advanced in full force to the confines of the far-famed Hindustan. In 642 Kirman, the south-easternmost province of Persia, was reached. In 652 Khorasan was subjugated. In 658 Kizkanan (modern Kelat) was raided, and in 664 the Arabs invaded Kabul. Ratnapal, the Buddhist ruler of the mountain kingdom, however, checked the rushing tide, and for more than a hundred years we find the contest between the Arabs and the Indians going on without any decisive results. During this period Kabul, Ghazni, and Kandahar changed masters several times, for every time the conqueror had to be displaced by the superior forces of his adversary. It was not till the time of Harun-al-Rashid that the rulers of Kabul and Ghazni had agreed to pay to the Caliph of Baghdad a regular tribute. But even this was for a short period, for after the death of Harun-al-Rashid, when quarrels arose between his sons Muhammad Amin and Mamun, and the latter, on his victory over his brother, departed from Khorasan in 813, the Indian rulers of Kabul found an opportunity to shake off entirely the shadowy suzerainty of the Caliph. During this contest three districts of Kabul had however to be lost for ever. Tokharistan, Bamian, and Boost had been absorbed in Khorasan and become more or less Muhammadanised. After this in modern Afghanistan the Indians possessed the districts of eastern Kandahar, Ghazni, Kabul, Lamghan, and Kafiristan. The whole of the Frontier Province, with probably the exception of Dera Ismail Khan district, then known by the name Roh, was also under the rulers of Kabul. The modern Panjab seems to have been in this period parcelled out, each portion owing allegiance to the rulers of different neighbouring kingdoms. ¹ In the reign of Lalitaditya Muktapida of Kashmir (699-736) Taxila (modern Rawalpindi, Attock, and Jhelum districts) was autonomous under Hindu Sahi rulers owing allegiance to Kashmir. The land of the Takkas or

¹ Kalhana's Rajatarangani Book V, verse 152-155.

Central Panjab sometimes recognised the overlordship of Kashmir while at other times of Kanauj. The same was the case with Jalandhar. The territory south of the Sutlej was in this period always under Kanauj. ¹ Multan Division together with the Sibi district of modern British Baluchistan and the Zhob valley formed, since the overthrow of the Umayyidiya Caliphs, the independent kingdom of Multan under Qureshi rulers. Such was the political condition of the Panjab and the North-West in the latter half of the 9th century A.D. From the first invasion of Kabul in 664 we have a period of more than two centuries which is historically absolutely dark. It is most unfortunate that even the Muhammadans, who were for 200 years in daily contact with the rulers and people of Kabul, say nothing of its affairs excepting some accounts they give of a few successful raids made by them on these territories. However, I am not at present concerned with this obscure period, howsoever interesting it may be. My subject begins after the expiry of this period. I am not concerned with the struggles of the Buddhist Sahi rulers of Kabul against their Arab invaders, whom it is evident they finally succeeded in keeping off a greater portion of their territories, but with the struggles of their Hindu successors, who maintained for 150 years their independence against the ever-encroaching power of the Central Asian Turks by whom in this period even the Arabs had begun to be guided so far at least as political matters were concerned. To trace the deeds and doings of the Brahmanic Sahis is the theme of this paper. But even this task is so ambitious and the sources of information on the subject so scanty, that it would have been far better if abler hands had dealt with so important and difficult a period in the history of India.

INTRODUCTION.

Before I attempt to fix the period of accession to power of the Hindu Shāhiya dynasty to the throne of Kabul, it is necessary that we should have some idea of the political condition of the adjoining countries in the latter half of the 9th century A.D. ² From the year 820 in the reign of Caliph Mamūn to 873 the Tahiris had held almost an independent sway in the extensive dominions of Khorasan. The rulers of the provinces of Bactria, Herat, and Seistan, owed allegiance to the Tahiri rulers at Nishapur. Tokharistan (modern Kunduz), Bamian (modern Ghour) and Boost (western half of the present Kandahar district), which were once ruled by the Buddhist Sahi rulers of Kabul, were now absorbed in Khorasan. The territories of Kandahar, Ghazni, and Kabul were therefore from 820 bounded on the north, west and south-west by the dominions of the Tahiris. These Tahiri rulers had appointed one Ibrahim as governor of Seistan. He did not however personally reside in this province, but sent in his stead, as his deputy, one Un-Nasr. The latter was succeeded in the Deputy-Governorship by his son Darhim. After Darhim's death in 865 his sons Salih and Nasr were defeated by their retainer Yaqub-bin-Laiz Saffari, who now possessed himself of the

¹ The kingdom of Multan in those days was bounded on the west by Khorasān. Since Seistan was at this time part of Khorasan, the Multan frontiers probably ran through modern British Balochistan.—Elliot, Vol. I, page 154.

² *Tabaqat i-Nāsiri*.

western portion of Seistan. The brothers Salih and Nasr retired eastward, and maintained themselves in Boost. ¹ From here the brothers, as is mentioned in the *Jāmi'ul hikāyat* (I. xiii, 21) invoked the help of their eastern Indian neighbour Rasāl in recovering their father's dominions from the usurper Yaqub. In answer to this call for assistance Rasāl advanced in person, and the united forces of Rasāl and Darhim's sons moved to destroy the rising power of Yaqub. This chieftain however sent an embassy to Rasāl seeking his pardon and requesting permission to pay his respects personally to the Indian king. Rasāl received the embassy favourably, and foolishly allowed Yaqub together with his retainers to approach him. During this interview Rasāl was treacherously killed by Yaqub. On this Darhim's sons fled to the king of Kabul. As a result of this success Boost was completely subjugated, and ² Kandahar was also probably annexed. From there Yaqub seems to have overrun Zamin-dawar and Zabulistan. These operations must have occurred in 866 after Caliph Mo'taz had ascended the throne of Baghdad: for we find it mentioned that with this Caliph Yaqub had frequent dealings, sending him magnificent presents, mostly the result of plunder gained in his struggles with the heathens of the East. In 867 Yaqub took Herat. The years 868 and 869 he seems to have spent fighting in Kirman and Fars. From there he returned to Seistan in the middle of 869. On return to his native land he again bent his attention to the rich and wealthy territories of his eastern neighbours the Hindus. He advanced to Ghazni, overran Bamian, Tokharistan, and Balkh, and on his return journey he took Kabul in the latter part of the year 870. From here he sent an embassy to the new Caliph Mo'tamid with presents, including idols taken from the locality. As a result of this embassy Yaqub was recognised by the Caliph as Governor of Seistan, Kirman, Balkh and other eastern countries as far as India. In the middle of 873 Yaqub again moved from his capital in Seistan, and marched by way of Hirat on Nishapur. This latter place was occupied in August 873, and on its conquest the whole of Khorasan lay at his feet. On this Ubeidullah, uncle of the last Tahiri ruler Muhammad, moved the Caliph in his dynasty's favour, and in the winter of 874 the Caliph Mo'tamid declared Yaqub an usurper, and his seizure of the lawful Governor of Khorasan as a grievous crime. Khorasan was at the same time divided amongst the various Governors by letters of the Caliph. In 876 Yaqub was finally defeated by the Imperial armies of the Caliph.

From this rapid survey of the political events in Khorasan and the adjoining territories from 865 to 876 we can, I think, infer the establishment of certain conditions in the neighbouring kingdom of Kabul :—

- (1) At the beginning of Yaqub's ascendancy to power Ranbils or Ratnapals were the rulers of Kabul, Ghazni, Kandahar, etc.
- (2) In 866 the administration in Kabul was weak enough to enable Yaqub to subjugate Kandahar and overrun Zabulistan.
- (3) ³ The 3rd point that we can safely infer is that Kabul must have remained

¹ Elliot, Vol. II, pages 176-7.

² Russal was probably king of Kandahar and a vassal of the kings of Kabul, Ghazni, etc.

³ Sketches from Eastern History, by Theodore Naideke, pages 186-187.

under Yaqub up to the end of the year 874, when he was actually deprived of the governorship of Khorasan and eastern lands by the orders of the Caliph.

From 870 to 874 consequently Indians did not rule Kabul. After deducing indirectly these three inferences about Kabul dominions from the history of Khorasan between the years 865 and 876, I will now quote a passage from *Jām'ai-ut-tawārikh* dealing directly with the affairs of Kabul. The quotation runs thus: "And Kank returned to his own country and he was the last of the Katorman kings.² Fortune so favoured him that he found many treasures of former chiefs, and in consequence he became proud and exalted: at length he gave way to disgraceful conduct, on which account people complained of him to his Vizier. The Vizier took him into custody for the purpose of correction, and confined him. And a second time he became ruler over the kingdom. After his death, Samand, from among the Brahmans, became King, and after him Kunulowa, and after him Bhim, etc."

Before I comment on this quotation I would invite attention to a passage in Kallhana's *Rajatarangani*, Book V, verses 149-155. There we find that Śankarvarman who had ascended the throne of Kashmir in 883, after defeating his rivals to the throne, started on a *Digvijaya*, i.e. conquest of the adjoining territories. In the verses referred to above we are told that Lalliya the Shahiya ruler of Udbhandpura (modern Ohind) was already a powerful potentate, having established his reputation as a strong ruler, and who it seems could not be subjugated by Sankarvarman. This passage in Kallhana read with the above quotation from *Jām'ai-ut-tawārikh* throws a flood of light on the condition of Kabul kingdom in this period. From these passages we can establish :—

- (1) That Kank was the last king of the Buddhist Sahi rulers.
- (2) That Kank lost his throne twice, and that he was displaced both times by his Vizier, who is called by Muhammadans by the name Kallar,³ which is now identified with Lalliya of Kallhana; and
- (3) That before 883 Lalliya had been firmly established on the throne of Kabul.

From the accounts of wars in Seistan we find that in 866 Rasāls, Ranbils or Ratnapals were the rulers of Kabul. From the history of Kashmir we find that in 883 this Ratnapal dynasty no longer existed; and that Lalliya of a new dynasty was firmly established in their place. During this period 866-883, therefore, Lalliya must have obtained the throne. During this period presumably Kank the last Buddhist ruler twice lost his throne; and during this very period, at least from 870 to 874, Yaqub held Kabul. From these facts it is open for us to infer that just before the reduction of

¹ Prinsep's Vol. I, page 316, edition 1858.

² Katurman, or Laktorman as put in some places, is, I think, the same as Laghu Torman (Little Torman) Torman probably signifies a Turkish appellation.

³ Stein's *Rajatarangani*, Vol. II, page 336.

⁴ Rasāl and Ratnapal in Persian are written practically in the same manner. Cf. رَسَال and رَتْنَبَال.

Kabul by Yaqub in 870 there was a revolution in the city of Kabul, which facilitated the work of the invader ; that about that time Lalliya displaced his sovereign Kank ; and that after the fall of Yaqub in 874 Kank again returned to his capital, but that shortly after he was again displaced by Lalliya. There is no positive evidence to establish this, but at the same time there is hardly anything to contradict this theory. How Lalliya came to possess the throne of Kabul in the first instance, and under what circumstances Kank returned, I leave as open questions to be solved after future investigations. But this much we are entitled to establish, that a good many years before 883, presumably not later than about 875, Lalliya became an independent ruler of Kabul. His first rule must have therefore commenced some years earlier, presumably after 866, up to which year Kabul is said to have been under Ratnapals. Provisionally therefore, subject of course to future correction, we may take it that Lalliya gained supremacy in 870 A.D. Elliot's view that this event took place in 850 cannot under the circumstances be correct, for then the Seistanic account of Kabul being under Ratnapals in 866 cannot be explained.

LALLIYA.—(870-892).

After dethroning Kank the first thing that Lalliya seems to have done was to change the seat of government. From the year 865, ever since the rise of the Saffari dynasty in Seistan under Yaqub, Kabul had become exposed to frequent attacks from the south and west, as well as north. By the loss of Tokharistan, Bamian, Boost and Kandahar, and by the subsequent substitution in these provinces of turbulent Saffaris in place of peaceful and degenerate Tahiris the position of Kabul, which was too near the new western frontier, had become extremely unsafe, and could not therefore any longer be kept as a seat of government. It appears that soon after the commencement of his reign Udabhaṇḍapura (modern Ohind), on the Indus some 15 miles above Attock, became the capital of Lalliya. This latter town possessed the further advantage of being in the centre of Lalliya's kingdom. In determining the extent of territory over which Lalliya ruled, I might in passing notice that the original extent of the kingdom ruled by Katorman dynasty was somewhat wider. Their dominions contained the districts of Ghour, Tokharistan (modern Kunduz), Boost, Ghazni, Kabul, Lamghan, Kafiristan, Roh or modern Frontier Province, and the Panjab districts of Attock, Rawalpindi, and Jhelum. The three westernmost districts of Tokharistan, Ghour, and Boost had been absorbed in the Arab dominions by the Caliphs Harun-al-Rashid and Al-Mamūn, while the rest remained under the Ratnapal or Katorman dynasty up to the time of its last king Kank. This territory eventually came into the possession of Lalliya. As regards the rest of the Panjab territory there is positive evidence to show that it was not under Lalliya. In Book V, verses 149-155 of *Rājataranginī* already quoted above, we find that one Allah Khan was the ruler of Gujrat and Central Panjab in 883, and that before the invasion of this territory by Sankarvarman of Kashmir, Allah Khan acknowledged the suzerainty of the ruler of Kanauj. Again from Muhammadan historians and travellers we find that the Multan Division, together with Zhob valley and the Sibi district of British Balochistan,

formed in this period an independent kingdom under a Qureshi dynasty. Lalliya's territory therefore could not extend southwards beyond the Jhelum river and the Salt Range. His kingdom was bounded on the east by Kashmir, on the south by Multan, on the west by Khorasan, and on the north by the territories of petty Turkish chiefs.

Now as regards the duration of Lalliya's reign. But before we can determine this, we must settle who succeeded Lalliya; for there seems to be some confusion on this point. Al-Biruni and *Jāma'i-ut-tawārikh* put Samanta as the successor of Lalliya. In *Jama't-ul-hikayat* (Elliot, volume II, page 172) we find it stated that Kumlowa, the 3rd ruler in Al-Biruni's list, encountered Fardaghan, the general of Amru-bin-Laiz, in Zabulistan and was defeated by him. Now this Kumlowa displaces Samanta according to *Rajataranganī*, Book V, verses 232-3 in 902. ¹ But two years before this, i.e., in 900, Kumlowa's opponent Amru had been defeated by Ismail the Samani ruler of Bukhara, and sent a prisoner to the Caliph at Baghdad, where in April 902 he was murdered. Amru could not therefore send his armies against Kamluk in 902, or after that. I have an explanation for this apparent anomaly. Kalhana styles Samanta as a rebel, and calls Kamluk the son of Lalliya. Does this passage not show that the lawful heir to the throne of Lalliya was his son Kamluk, and not Samanta? This suspicion is further confirmed when we examine the passage I have already quoted from *Jāma'i-ut-tawārikh*. The words are:—"After his death, Samand, from among the Brahmans, became king, and after him Kumlowa, and after him Bhim, etc." To my mind these words seem to make some distinction between Samanta on the one hand and Kumlowa and Bhim on the other. In this sentence only Samanta is mentioned as from among the Brahmans and not the others. This sentence read with the passage from *Rajataranganī*, therefore, seems to suggest that Samanta was a mere usurper, and that Kamluk succeeded Lalliya his father on the latter's death. If we accept this view then Kamluk's encounter with Amru's general Fardaghan in Zabulistan becomes possible, for this event could have taken place before Samanta usurped the throne. From the Saffari history we find that Ghazni was reduced by the armies of Amru in the beginning of 896. ² About the time Fardaghan entered Zabulistan, we are told by *Jāma'i-ut-tawārikh*, Kamluk possessed the reputation of a powerful ruler. Kamluk must have lost his throne, therefore, after 896. The explanation why Al-Biruni and the author of the *Jāma'i-ut-tawārikh* make Samanta instead of Kamluk as the successor of Lalliya, seems to be that Kamluk's rule before his overthrow by Samanta was of a short duration. The date of Lalliya's death and of Kamluk's accession to the throne may therefore be placed a few years before 896. We may provisionally put it in 892.

Lastly, in the reign of Lalliya there is another interesting point which is worth attention. I have already mentioned that in 883 A.D. Śankaravarman of Kashmir encountered in his *Digvijaya* one Allah Khan, ruler of Gujrat and central Panjab districts. Now this name appears to be Muhammadan, though Muhammadan rule had certainly not as yet penetrated even the westernmost territories of Kabul. I for one,

¹ *Tabaqat-i-Nasiri*.

² Elliot, Vol. II, page 172; *Hakāyat* (I. xii, 18).

however, would not be surprised if this chief really turns out to be a follower of the Apostle Muhammad. Muhammadan historians tell us that Islam had begun to spread among Afghans by the beginning of the 8th century A.D. A Muhammadan kingdom too had been established in Multan in the 8th century. We also find that in these early times Gakkhars, who are the inhabitants of northern Panjab districts, were frequently in alliance with the Afghans. It is therefore quite possible for Islam to have quietly spread in the Panjab during the time of Buddhist Sahi rulers of Kabul. We can well imagine the northern Panjab, which is known in this period as more or less belonging to the Buddhist faith, easily giving way to the spread of Islam in this territory. Hindus, Muhammadans, and Buddhists were therefore probably living peacefully together in the land of five rivers long before Muhammadan rule extended to these parts.

KAMALUKA SAMANTA.—(892-902-929).

Kamaluka then, as suggested above, succeeded his father Lalliya to the throne of Kabul in about 892. ¹ But in 896 it appears from Muhammadan historians, Ghazni was attacked by the armies of Amru, ruler of Khorasan. It is stated that Fardaghan, his general, obtained a large booty from this place including jewels, precious stones and gold and silver images, and on this victory rich presents were sent by Amru to the Caliph at Baghdad. It is just possible that this reverse to the arms of Kamuluka caused his overthrow by Samanta; or it may be that Samanta and Amru moved simultaneously against Kamaluka. Since Samanta is described by Kalhana as a rebel it is possible he was a general or minister in the service of Kamaluka, who afterwards for some reason or other turned against his master and invited Amru to join in the invasion of Kabul territory. Instances are often found in the subsequent history of India where discontented servants having turned against their masters have invited foreign princes to invade their motherland. Whatever the actual facts may have been, we find that some years after the reduction of Ghazni in 896 and defeat of Kamaluka at the hands of Fardaghan, there was on the throne of Udayanapura another ruler named Samanta. During his time, it appears, a very large number of coins were struck in his name. Mr. Edwards Thomas thinks that Samanta, being a Brahman, zealous of propagating his own faith and desirous of eliminating all things Buddhist, called in as far as possible all the coins issued by the previous rulers bearing Buddhist legends and designs, melted them down and struck fresh coins in his own name bearing Brahmanic designs of Bull and Horseman type. ² An instance like this is found also in early Kashmirian History in the time of Toramāna, and it is quite possible this may be the explanation why of all other rulers Samanta's coins are found in such large numbers in these provinces.

Samanta seems to have retained the Kabul throne only for a short period. ³ From the *Rājataranginī* it appears that Śankaravarman declared war against Samanta in the beginning of 902. We find the Kashmir army invading the dominions of Samanta in Hazara district, and in this expedition it is stated Śankaravarman was killed.

¹ Sketches from Eastern History, p. 200.

² Kalhana's *Rajatarangani*, Book III, verse 103.

³ Kalhana's *Rajatarangani*, Book V, verses 217-225.

The widowed queen Sugandhā, who, I might mention here, was a Darada princess of Gilgit, concealed from the army the death of her husband and beat a hasty retreat. Soon after, when Gopalavarman, her infant son, had ascended the throne of Kashmir, she again sent an army against Samanta under her general Prabhakaradeva. ¹This time Samanta was defeated, deposed and killed, and Kamuluka was put on the throne of Kabul. This prominent part taken by Sugandhā in the restoration of Kamuluka to the throne of Udbhandapura shows that she was in some way connected with Lalliya and his son Kamuluka. After this restoration the curtain again falls, and we are left to grope our way in the dark with very little outside guidance. From this time to the final conquest of Ghazni in 962 there is a period of 60 years which has to be filled up. In this period some Muhammadan geographers penetrated to these parts of India. Mas'udi comes to India in 915-16; Yaquti passes through the adjacent territories in 942-3; Istakhari visits these parts in 921, and Ibn Haukal in 942-3. In 915-16 Multan appears to be under the rule of Abu Dalhat al Munabbe, a Qureshi. Kabul in this period seems to have changed masters several times. Sometimes it was under the Central Asian Turks of Bukhara, who had now become rulers of Khorasan, and sometimes under the Hindus. There are two references in historical works about this period. ²In Raverty's *Tabaqāt-i-Nāsiri*, page 71, note 5, there is a quotation informing us that a Turkish slave of the Samani ruler of Bukhara, by name Alpatigin, reduced Ghazni in 934, for the first time. Again between the years 950 and 958 Bhimpal's daughter's daughter Diddā is mentioned by Kalhana as being married to King Kshemagupta of Kashmir. Unfortunately very little information of historical value about this dynasty can be gleaned from the account of the geographers. Under these circumstances then it is very difficult to determine the exact duration of Kamaluka's reign, and consequently the exact date of Bhimpal's accession to the throne cannot at present be fixed. This, however, we know, that from the death of Lalliya, which must have occurred a few years before 896, to 1002, three sovereigns—Kamaluka, Bhimpal, and Jaipal—occupied the throne. This gives an average of 37 years to each ruler. If we could adopt this calculation Kamaluka must have reigned up to the year 929.

As regards the extent of his territory we cannot exactly fix its eastern frontiers. In the west we are sure he held Kabul, Langhan, Kafirstan, and Ghazni. We can also be certain that he held Roh (modern Frontier Province) and the Panjab districts of Attock, Rawalpindi and Jhelum. As regards Central Panjab I should think this territory was added to his dominions in his time. It has already been pointed out that this territory was annexed by Kashmir in 883. ³Kashmir possessed strong rulers up to the year 906, i.e. to the end of Sugandhā's reign. After that, from Kalhana, we find that from 906-949 there were civil wars in Kashmir, and that Sugandhā's opponents held sway during these years in that country. During these times it is not probable that Kashmir could have maintained her rule over Central Panjab districts. Up to 934 when Ghazni was for the first time reduced by Central Asian Turks under

¹ Kalhana's *Rajatarangani*, Book V, verses 157, and verses 232-3.

² Raverty's *Tabaqāt-i-Nāsiri*, page 71.

³ Stein's *Rajatarangini*, Vol. I, pages 220-244.

Alptigin, the rulers of Kabul were not pressed from the west. It is more than probable that on the commencement of civil war in Kashmir, and on the overthrow of Sugandhā, Central Panjab was added to his own dominions by Kamaluka who up to this time was not pressed by his Turkish neighbours in the west. A strong neighbour, as Kamaluka is certainly stated to be by Muhammadan historians, could under these circumstances easily take these tracts. Multan, it is certain, had not till 915-16 submitted to the arms of Kamaluka. But by the end of his reign it is possible Multan was also absorbed in his dominions; for from the beginning of Bhimpal's reign we find Multan and Ghazni under Afghans as feudatories of the rulers of the Panjab.

BHIMPAL I.—(929-962).

The next ruler in this dynasty, Bhimpal I, must have come to the throne about 929. ¹From Kalhana we find his capital to be still at Udabhaṇḍapura. In his time Multan was certainly under the ruler of Lahore, for we are told that between 934 and 963 when Alptigin was making frequent attacks against Ghazni, Bhimpal engaged Afghans to defend Panjab territories against Central Asian Turks. He is said to have appointed Shaikh Hamid Lodi as Governor of Multan, Roh and Peshawar. Now this Afghan Chief could not be appointed at Multan unless the Qureshis had previously been displaced, and he could undertake the defence of Bhimpal's territories only if he was under some obligation to the ruler of Lahore. In Bhimpal's time in 934 Ghazni was for the first time reduced by Alptigin, who was a general of Nasr, ruler of Bukhara and Khorasan. ²We are told he took Ghazni from one Abu Ali Luweik. It is absolutely unknown who this personage was; but this much we know, that he fought on behalf of the ruler of Kabul. For the next 42 years, i.e. from 934 to 976, we find Ghazni constantly changing masters. Whenever the Turks brought superior forces Luweik withdrew to Kabul, but always returned and retook Ghazni whenever opportunity offered. This struggle against Turks went on for almost half a century without any sign of either party giving way. But on the whole it appears Bhimpal and his feudatories maintained a brave stand against the Turks, and the Afghans were mainly instrumental in defending the Punjab against foreign invaders. In this reign we also find strong alliances being formed by the ruler of Panjab and Kabul with the neighbouring princes. Bhimpal's daughter's daughter, Diddā, was married between 950 and 958 to Kshemagupta, who had recently founded a new dynasty in Kashmir after opposing and overcoming the rivals of Sugandhā's appty. The ³relations between the rulers of Kashmir and Panjab became so cordial that, as we are told by Kalhana, temples richly endowed by Bhimpal were established in Kashmir valley. Even from the fragmentary evidence that we can obtain about this reign we are entitled to infer that Bhimpal was a strong ruler, and was possessed of considerable political foresight. He had conciliated the refractory Afghans and kept them in his service, notwithstanding the fact that the Afghans believed in the same faith as the invaders, and consequently were more liable to oppose the interests of Bhimpal who professed

¹ Kalhana's Rajatarangni, Book VII, page 1081. VI-178.

² Tabaqāt-i-Nāsiri.

³ Kalhana's Rajatarangani, Book VII, pages 1082, 1086.

allegiance to the Brahmanic faith. By his foresight and courage he seems to have kept intact the whole of the Panjab north of the Sutlej, and to have maintained under difficult circumstances the frontier districts of Kabul and Ghazni. The chief struggle during his reign seems to have been centred in Zabulistan, which territory it appears he did not lose finally, at least so long as he lived. But on his death, when his strong personality was removed, it appears Ghazni was lost, and Alptigin established his seat of government there. This, we are told by Muhammadan historians, occurred in 962. This must have happened after the death of Bhimpal, for we are told Ghazni fell without much resistance.

JAIPAL.—(962-1002).

Bhimpal was succeeded by Jaipal probably at the time when Ghazni became the seat of government of the new Turkish principality in 962. From the beginning of this reign the struggle against Central Asian Turks, which had begun in the time of Bhimpal, assumed serious proportions. So long as Ghour, the great tableland of Afghanistan, remained the frontier between India and Khorasan, foreign invasion was more or less difficult. This fact has several times been illustrated in the history of India. So long as the Mauryan dynasty of Chandragupta held Afghanistan there could be no invasion of India. Again so long as Kabul remained a Subah under the Moghal Government at Delhi, the rulers of India had no fear of invasion from Central Asia. This was the case with the Shahiya dynasty of Panjab. Up to the end of Bhimpal's reign the scientific frontier running across the watershed between the Helmand and the Indus remained more or less in Indian hands. But from the beginning of this reign India was faced with grave difficulties. Ghazni, which is on the east of this frontier line, had been occupied by Alptigin, and he had established himself there. Zabulistan seemed therefore to have been lost for ever. The task of Jaipal had become very difficult, for his capital at Udabhandapura had, by the establishment of a strong principality at Ghazni, become too near the frontier. It was not safe to keep the seat of government in such an exposed position. Saffari invaders of Seistan had compelled his ancestor Lalliya to move the seat of his government from Kabul to Udabhandapura; and now the Turks of Central Asia forced Jaipal to move his capital from the latter place still further eastwards, beyond the great rivers. Consequently we find Lahore to be Jaipal's seat of government. Abu Ali Luweik, his lieutenant in the west, still kept on the struggle with the Turks. In 963 Alptigin died in Ghazni, and was succeeded by his son Isha'k. Luweik at once moved from Kabul and in the course of the year turned out the young ruler from Ghazni. Isha'k fled to Bukhara to his Samani sovereign for aid. Next year he returned with considerable reinforcements from Bukhara, and on his arrival in Zabulistan Luweik had again to retire. He retreated to Kabul to wait for another opportunity. Soon after his arrival in Ghazni, Isha'k died in 966. On his death Balkatigin succeeded to the government of Ghazni, by the order of Amir Nuh the Samani sovereign. From *Jāma'i ul-hikāyat* we find that Ghazni was at once occupied by Luweik after the death of Isha'k. But when Balkatigin came from Khorasan to take possession of Ghazni, Luweik had again to

abandon the city. The same *Hikāyat* tells us that once there was in Balkatigin's time a conspiracy among a body of malcontents, and that Luweik had been invited. Had it not been for the vigilance of Sabuktigin, a slave in the service of Alptigin, it is probable Balkatigin would have been taken by surprise and killed, in the middle of the night. On this occasion Luweik's brother was made prisoner, but he himself escaped to Kabul. Balkatigin died in 973, after being Governor of Ghazni for about 8 years. On his death Pirey succeeded him, but he was so unpopular that Luweik was again asked by the people to invade Ghazni. Luweik in company with the son of his sovereign invaded Zabulistan. The Indian¹ army had reached CHARAKH in Logar valley on the frontiers of Zabulistan when Sabuktigin with a body of 500 Turks suddenly fell upon them from behind and defeated them. In this battle Luweik and also the son of his suzerain were killed. Shortly after this, in 977, Pirey was deposed and the government passed to Sabuktigin. Soon after this Sabuktigin marched from Ghazni towards the adjacent parts, and took possession of the districts of Boost, Zamindawar, Kuzdar, Ghour, Bamian and Tokharistan. Thus in a short time, in addition to Ghazni and Kuzdar, he became master of all the territories which once belonged to the Buddhist Shahi rulers of Kabul, and had subsequently formed under the Arabs the eastern districts of Khorasan. On the death of Luweik, Ghazni also had now been finally lost. The province of Kabul had now become exposed on three sides, and if the ruler of Ghazni became strong, it was evident Kabul could not be retained much longer. On all sides Kabul was now threatened by the new ruler of Ghazni. Jaipal could not afford to acquiesce in this changed aspect of affairs. He advanced in person to oppose Sabuktigin, but some understanding, it does not appear what, seems to have been come to between Jaipal and Sabuktigin. In 980 Jaipal again marched towards Ghazni, but an accommodation was again come to, and Jaipal again retired. In 988 Sabuktigin again encountered Jaipal. This time Jaipal was routed and pursued. The battle² was fought at SAKAWAND, now known in the maps by the name SAJAWAND. I am satisfied that this place is in Logar valley on the confines of Kabul and Zabulistan, and not in the district of Jallalabad in Kabul province as held by Elliot. A peace was concluded after this battle, and Jaipal promised to cede to Sabuktigin four of the fortresses on the Ghazni side, and to give one hundred elephants. Jaipal, however, on his arrival in Lahore, failed to redeem his promise, and maltreated Sabuktigin's agents. On this Sabuktigin again invaded the territories of Jaipal, marched towards Lamghan, reduced its chief city, and set fire to places in the vicinity. Jaipal advanced from Lahore, but he was again defeated. As a result of this defeat the district of Kabul seems to have been annexed by Sabuktigin. The Afghans also made submission to the ruler of Ghazni. Henceforth we hear of no more fights between Jaipal and Sabuktigin. During the latter part of his reign Sabuktigin was busy on the western frontiers of his now extensive dominions. Bukhara had been invaded, and Sabuktigin was invited to defend his master in Central Asia. Rebellion had broken out in Khorasan,

¹ *Tabaqāt-i-Nāsiri*.² Elliot, Vol. II, page 578.

and he was appointed to put it down. Throughout the latter part of his reign he was engaged in extending his own frontiers on the west, and this offered good opportunity for Jaipal to regain his lost territory. But Jaipal seems to have remained at peace. On the death of Sabuktigin in 997 he was succeeded by his son Ismail at Balkh, but he was soon after deposed by his half brother Mahmūd, who ascended the throne of Ghazni in 998. After settling his affairs, in Khorasan, Seistan and Ghazni, Mahmūd turned his attention towards the dominions of his eastern neighbour Jaipal. In 1000 A.D. he marched eastwards, and after taking some forts and districts of Jaipal returned to Ghazni. Probably on this occasion he had taken Lamghan. In 1002 Mahmūd again left Ghazni, and encountered Jaipal near Peshawar. In this battle Mahmūd was completely victorious, and Jaipal and 15 of his principal chiefs and relations were taken prisoners after a loss of 5000 men. He is then represented to have marched from Peshawar to Udabhandapura and invested it. When after this defeat Jaipal was released on ransom, he felt greatly humiliated. He had passed his whole life in struggles against the Turks. He had kept up a brave front under difficult circumstances; but now in his old age he had to undergo the humiliation of being arrested and then released on ransom. After obtaining his freedom, he hastened to Lahore, and on his arrival at this place, put an end to his life. Jaipal's reign had been full of disasters. In the beginning of his rule he lost Ghazni; in about 988-9 he lost the district of Kabul; and now Lamghan, etc., was also lost. In fact Peshawar district had also been overrun. The Afghans now finally threw in their lot with the rising power at Ghazni. Out of the original kingdom possessed by Lalliya probably nothing except the settled districts of the Frontier Province remained in the possession of Jaipal's successors west of the Indus. Jaipal died in 1002.

ANANDPAL.—(1002-1013).

Anandpal succeeded his father in 1002. His task had, however become more difficult than that of his predecessors. The mountain recesses of the Frontier Province had now been penetrated, and future invasions had now become easier. On the other hand, the resistance of the Afghans had also been thoroughly overcome by Mahmūd. The plains of Hindustan consequently lay prostrate at the feet of any military chief who cared to invade India. Very soon after Anandpal's accession to the throne, in 1004, Mahmūd invaded BHERA, and besieged the fortress of the Bhātia Governor Bijai Rai. It is stated that it was after great difficulties that victory was obtained by Mahmūd. On this occasion Bijai Rai was killed. In 1005 Mahmūd invaded Multan, but was opposed by Anandpal. Abul Fatch Daud Lodi, grandson of Shaikh Hamid Lodi, who was at this time ruler of Multan, was however defeated by Mahmūd; but he had hurriedly to retire, for Ilak Khan of Samarqand had invaded his territories in Khorasan. Sewakpal, or Sukhpal, a near relation of Jaipal, who had been made prisoner along with Jaipal in 1002, and who had subsequently embraced Islam, was appointed Governor of Multan by Mahmūd. But no sooner had Mahmūd turned his back, than Sewakpal turned Hindu, joined Anandpal, and renounced allegiance to Mahmūd. In 1006, therefore, Mahmūd again invaded these parts. Sewakpal was made prisoner,

and was kept in confinement for the rest of his life. The reduction of Multan and Bhera threatened the subjugation of the whole of the Panjab by Mahmūd. On the other hand, Mahmūd realized he could not conquer the land of five rivers unless the power of Anandpal was broken. Both parties therefore began to prepare. Anandpal sent ambassadors on all sides, inviting the assistance of other princes of Hindustan. Accordingly the Rajas of Ujjain, Gwalior, Kalinjar, Delhi, and Ajmere sent their expeditionary forces to the Panjab, and Anandpal placing himself at the head of all these forces advanced towards the Indus. Mahmūd also having collected his forces advanced eastwards. The armies of Anandpal and Mahmūd came in sight of each other on the plains of Peshawar, where they remained encamped for forty days, neither side showing any eagerness to come to action. The Gakkhars who were in the army of Anandpal made extraordinary exertions to resist Mahmūd's army. They had almost defeated Mahmūd, when by an accident the elephant upon which Anandpal rode, becoming unruly from the effects of the naptha balls and the flight of arrows, turned and fled. The Indian army deeming this to be the signal for flight on the part of their general, gave way and fled. Such a decisive victory was obtained by Mahmūd, that after this he traversed without any further opposition the whole of the Panjab, and reduced the famous fortress of Bhimkot Kangra, a place where immense treasures are said to have been obtained by Mahmūd. In 1011 Multan was finally conquered, and Abul Fateh Daud Lodi taken a prisoner to Ghazni. In this attack also, Anandpal seems to have opposed Mahmūd, but without success. He fled to Uch south of the Beas river, and in about the year 1013 he died. The gradual conquest of Indian territories had continued in the reign of Anandpal, and by the end of his reign, the territory west of the Indus, the three northern districts of the Panjab, together with Multan, were also lost. The only territory that now remained with this dynasty was central Panjab, south of the Jhelum river, and the Jalandhar Doab. Anandpal was succeeded by his son Trilochanpal.

TRILOCHANPAL.—(1013-1022).—Bhimpal II—(1022-1027).

After the death of Anandpal, who had been thoroughly crushed, Mahmūd again invaded the Panjab to reduce into subjection his son Trilochanpal. This time Sangrāma, King of Kashmir, sent an expeditionary force under his general Tunga in aid of Trilochanpal. Kalhana gives a description of this battle, and says how in spite of the bravery of the Indian troops under Trilochanpal, Tunga's indiscretion led to defeat at NARDIN near Jhelum on the Poonch river. Kalhana informs us that this battle was fought in November or December, 1013. Next year, since there was now no fear of opposition in the rear, Mahmūd considered it safe to invade Thanesar, which lay in Delhi kingdom. Trilochanpal was now a vassal of Mahmūd, and the Panjab had practically been conquered. He, however, ruled over the remnants of his once-extensive kingdom till 1021-22, in which year he died. He was succeeded by his son Bhimpal II, but he may be considered a king without a kingdom; for on the death of Trilo-

¹ Kalhana's Rajatarangani, Book VII, verses 49-70

chanpal, the Panjab was annexed by Mahmūd to his own dominions, and the Ghaznavide rule was extended to the Sutlej. Five years after this, in 1027, Bhimpal II died, and with him ended the great Sahi dynasty. After this the princes of the House fled to Kashmir, where they practically lived on the generosity of their kinsmen, the rulers of Kashmir.

From the above sketch it will be found that the history of the Brahmanic Shāhiya dynasty may be divided roughly into two portions, the first containing the reigns of Lalliya, Kamuluka, Samanta, and Bhimpal I, and the latter the reigns of Jaipal, Anandpal, Trilochanpal and Bhimpal II. In the first four reigns the extent of the territory ruled by this dynasty gradually increased, and the dynasty attained to its highest position in the time of Bhimpal I. During the first 30 years the dynasty had to contend against the inroads of the Saffaris of Seistan. During this struggle, however, the Sahis did not lose anything permanently. The only possible effect of the raids by Saffaris, may be said to consist in a change of capital from Kabul to Udabhaṇḍapura. After the fall of the Saffaris in 900, the Samanis became the next-door neighbours of the Sahis, and it is known that for full $\frac{1}{3}$ of a century the kingdom of Kabul and Panjab could not be entered by western invaders. It was also during this very period, that the Sahi kingdom reached its zenith of power, for we have good evidence to believe that the Sahi rulers became in this period undisputed masters from the Sutlej to the highlands of Afghanistan. It was after 934, when Turkish generals gained ascendancy in the courts of the Samanis, that the western provinces of the kingdom, Zabulistan and Kabul, began to be troubled. But for 30 years the Indians held their own, and no portion of the kingdom could be permanently torn away. Immediately after this, however, the dynasty began to tread its downward course, and by the end of the next 60 years it was completely crushed by the Turks. In dealing with the fall of the dynasty we are more or less on surer grounds, for there are numerous contemporary records to guide us. But the records showing us the way in which this dynasty rose to power and greatness, are unfortunately very fragmentary. If we could lay our hands on the chronicles of the neighbouring Bhatti Rajputs of Jaisalmer of this period, or if we could find more about the history of Qureshi rule in Multan, or if we could have at our command ampler records of the histories of the Tahiris, the Saffaris and the Samanis, I am sure much would be added to our knowledge regarding the rise of the Sahi kingdom in the Panjab.

The sketch of the history of Sahi Kingdom I have ventured to give above is based merely on the extremely fragmentary records we at present possess. The structure of the story I have built, I admit, is liable to be completely changed, in some at least of the material points, on the discovery of some new facts, or in case some of the established facts are proved to be unreliable. I do not claim that everything I have put in my history of the Sahis is conclusively proved, for much of it remains to be corroborated and testified; but what I do hold is that it is quite inferable from the materials we have in our possession. The history as I have put it is only provisional, subject to correction on the results of future investigations. I have prepared this paper not

with the idea of dealing satisfactorily with this obscure period, but with the hope that, by means of it, I might attract the attention of abler men to this subject, and induce them to make more extensive investigations for the elucidation of the history of this dynasty, a dynasty which kept India free from foreign invasions for more than 150 years.

History of Kulu State.

J. HUTCHISON and J. PH. VOGEL.

In its most prosperous days Kulū included the whole of the territory now embraced in the Kulū sub-division of Kāngra District. It was bounded on the north by Ladākh, on the east by Tibet proper, on the south by the Satluj and Bashahr, and on the west by Suket, Mandī, Bara Bangāhal and Chambā. At times it even included a tract lying to the south of the Satluj. The total area of the principality was 6,607 square miles, but this was sometimes increased to as much as 10,000 sq. miles by temporary acquisitions from neighbouring States :—

The territory was divided into eight Wazīris or provinces.

1. *Wazīri Parōl, or Kulū Proper*, the main Biās Valley from the Rotang Pass to the Phojar Nālā; the Malāna Valley, and the right side of the Pārbatī Nālā, from the west of the Malāna Nālā to its junction with the Biās.
2. *Wazīri Rupī*, the tract between the Pārbatī and Sainj Nālās on the left bank of the Biās, including the whole of the Upper Pārbatī Valley tract, known as Kanāwar.
3. *Wazīri Sarāj*, the southern portion of the State, divided into Outer and Inner Sarāj by the Jalauri Range.
4. *Wazīri Lag-Mahārāja*, the right bank of the Sarvari Nālā to Sultānpur, and of the Biās from there to Bajaura.
5. *Wazīri Lag-Sāri*, the tract between the Phojar and Sarvari Nālās on the right bank of the Bias.
6. *Wazīri Bangāhal*, a portion of Chhota Bangāhal.
7. *Wazīri Lahul*, the tract now called British Lahul.
8. *Wazīri Spiti*, the Valleys of the Spiti and Pin rivers.

The materials at our disposal for a history of Kulū are scanty and unreliable. This we may perhaps ascribe to the proverbial ignorance of the people; for Kulū seems never to have known an age of literary activity.¹ Such as they are, however, many historical documents bearing on the history of the country do exist, and for an interesting account of them we are indebted to a paper by Pandit Hirananda Shāstri of the Archaeological Survey of India.²

Chief among these documents is the *Vansāvalī*, or genealogical roll of the Rājās, of which the original is not now forthcoming.³ That there were family records seems certain, as Mr. Howell states that they were all destroyed in the reign of the

¹ Cf. The popular sayings, *Kullu ke Ullu*, and *Gaye Kullu hoe Ullu*.

² Annual Report, Arch. Survey of India, 1907-08, pp. 261 to 276.

³ Journal P.H.S., Vol. vi, No. 2, p. 76.

last ruling Rājā, Jit Singh (1816-41). That Rājā had two chamberlains (Kaiths), called Hukmu and Gohru of the Bhunhan family, who were keepers of the State archives. Being under suspicion for some reason, they were summoned to appear before the Rājā. Before leaving they gave orders that if anything happened to them the State documents were to be destroyed. The Rājā in a fit of anger had them executed, and on sending messengers for the papers he found that it was too late, they had all been burnt. Along with them were lost the secret formulae for extracting silver from ore, and the Rupi silver mines were in consequence closed down.

The late Colonel (then Captain) Harcourt was the first to draw attention to the *Vansāvalī*, in his book, "Kooloo, Lahoul and Spiti," published in 1871. Colonel Harcourt was for three years Assistant Commissioner of Kulū, and thus possessed special advantages for inquiry and research, of which he fully availed himself. It was his intention, as he states, to have written a history of Kulū, for which he had collected a large amount of material. This, however, he was unable to do, and some time before his death he placed the whole of his manuscripts at our disposal. To Colonel Harcourt, therefore, we are under very special obligation, which we desire to acknowledge.

As an historical document the *Vansāvalī* seems to be open to suspicion, and some have regarded it as wholly unreliable previous to the accession of the Singh or Badāni dynasty about A.D. 1500.¹ Sir James Lyall, who was Settlement Officer of Kāngra District including Kulū in 1868, considered that the history of the State began with the reign of Rājā Sidh Singh, the founder of the Badāni dynasty. There is undoubtedly much confusion in the document, which weakens its reliability, more especially in the older portion dealing with the Pāl dynasty, and for which we unfortunately possess little corroborative evidence of any kind. So far as the Singh or Badāni dynasty is concerned, however, the *Vansāvalī* is corroborated by copper-plate deeds and inscriptions, as well as references in the Tibetan records, Mughal histories, and the *Vansāvalīs* of neighbouring hill States.

We know from historical documents that next to Kashmīr and Kāngrā, Kulū was probably the most ancient State in the Panjab; and in view of this fact the errors and discrepancies of the *Vansāvalī* must be lightly dealt with. Such errors are not peculiar to Kulū, and a careful consideration of the whole question leads to the conclusion that the document is evidently based on an authentic *Vansāvalī*, and may be accepted as fairly reliable.

² The oldest historical record in the country is the legend on a coin of a Rājā of Kulū, named Virayaśa, which reads as follows: *Rājña Kōlūtasya Virayaśasya*. "(Coin of) Virayaśa, king of Kulūta" or "of the Kulūtas." The name of this Rājā is not found in the *Vansāvalī*, but according to Professor Rapson this coin can be ascribed on palaeographical grounds to the first or second century of the Christian era, perhaps rather to the second than the first.

¹ Cf. Kangra Settlement Report, Part ii, p. 75.

² Arch. Survey Report, 1907-08, p. 265.

This ancient Kulū coin, which is of interest as the earliest document of Kulū history, was first published by Sir A. Cunningham (*Coins of Ancient India*, p. 67, plate IV, No. 14), but the correct reading of the legend was established by the Swedish scholar, Dr. A. V. Bergny (*Journal, Royal Asiatic Society* for 1900, pp. 415 sq. and 420). Professor Rapson, while admitting the correctness of Dr. Bergny's reading says: "This is a most important correction, for it adds one more to the list of Indian States of Ancient India which are known to us from their coinage." (*Ibidem*, p. 492; cf. also p. 537 sq.)

The coin of King Virayaśa (or Virayaśas) of Kulū bears the full Sanskrit legend in Brāhmi, and one word (*vānā*) in the Kharoshthi character. Other instances of biliteral coins in these two scripts are those of the Audumbaras and the Kunindas. It is remarkable that the earliest inscriptions found in the Kāngra Valley are two rock inscriptions, each of which has the same legend in Brāhmi and in Kharoshthi. One of these, namely that at Kanhiyāra near Dharmśāla, records the foundation of a monastery (*ārāma*) by an individual of the name of Krishnayaśas. It is curious that in this document, which must be contemporaneous with the coin of the Kulūta King, Virayaśas, we have a name ending in *yaśas*. This, however, is in all probability a mere accident, as Krishnayaśas does not bear any royal title, but is distinguished by the tribal (?) name Madangi. (*Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. VII, pp. 116 and 99). Similarly, bilingual inscriptions in Brāhmi and Kharoshthi occur at Khalatse in Ladākh (Francké, *W. Tibet*, p. 36).

¹ Next in date is the rock inscription at Salānu, which though now in Mandi must originally have been within the limits of Kulū. The characters in which this record is inscribed are of the fourth or fifth century A.D.; but unfortunately it is of no historical value as the personages referred to are unknown to history. It records that one, Mahārājā Srī Chandeśvara-hastin, son of Mahārājā Išvara-hastin, and belonging to the family of *Vatsa*, conquered one Rajjila-bala in battle, and founded a town named Sālipuri, which may possibly be the village of Sālri, near the site of the inscription.

The original name of Kulū was Kulūta, as first pointed out by Sir A. Cunningham. It occurs in Sanskrit literature, as in the *Vishṇu Purāṇa* and *Rāmāyaṇa*; and is also found on the ancient coin already referred to.²

³ It is also mentioned in the *Mahābhārata* under that name in a list of countries lying to the north of India. The *Mārkaṇḍeya-purāṇa* and the *Bṛhatsaṃhitā* also notice it among the tracts situated in the north-east of India. In the *Rājataranginī* it is referred to only once, as having been a separate State in the sixth century A.D., when, we are told, Ratisena, King of the Cholas, sent his daughter, Raṇārambhā, to the residence of his friend, the king of Kulūta, and "Raṇāditya (King of

¹ Arch. Survey Report, 1902-03, p. 14.

² *Ancient Geography of India*, p. 142.

Note.—All other derivations of the name, such as that from *Kulāntapīṭha* referred to by Col. Harcourt, as well as those from *Kāula*, *Kōl* and *Kōli* are purely fanciful and must be rejected. The name *Ulūta* in the *Vishṇu Purāṇa* is manifestly a clerical error. Cf. Rapson, J.R.A.S. 1900, p. 531.

³ Cf. Arch. Survey Rep., 1907-08, p. 261, and *Rāja-tarang.* iii, 435-6; also *Journal Royal As. Soc.* for 1900, *Notes on Indian Coins and Seals*, and *The Kulūtas, a people of Northern India*, by E. J. Rapson.

Kashmir) went with joy to that not distant land" to receive her. In Bāṇa's *Kādambarī*, of the middle of the seventh century A.D., we are told that Kulūta was conquered by Tārāpida of Ujjayinī, who took captive the princess Patralēkhā, the daughter of the king of that country, and that Queen Vilāsavatī sent her to prince Chandrāpida, her son, to be his betel-bearer. Tārāpida of Ujjayinī is unknown to history, but *Chandrāpida* and *Tārāpida* are the names of the immediate predecessors of Lalitāditya-Muktāpida of Kashmīr. Professor Rapson remarks that probably no historical importance whatever is to be attached to the passage from the *Kādambarī*. It is, however, possible that it contains some reminiscence of a conquest of Kulūta by one of the kings of the Karkota dynasty in Kashmīr, who may have been contemporaries of the author of the *Kādambarī*. In any case the reference proves that in the seventh century Kulūta was recognized as a separate kingdom.

¹ About the same time India was visited by the Chinese pilgrim Hiuen Tsiang (A.D. 629-645). He describes the country of *K'iu-lū-to* as situated at 700 *li*, i.e. 117 miles to the north-east of Jālandhara, which exactly corresponds with the position of Kulūta, with which, as Sir. A. Cunningham says, the Chinese rendering of *K'iu-lu-to* is identical. The circuit of the tract as given by Hiuen Tsiang is 3,000 *li* or 500 miles, which is much in excess of the present limits of Kulū. Sir A. Cunningham, however, was inclined to accept the figures. "As the ancient kingdom," he remarks, "is said by the people themselves to have included Mandī and Suket on the west, and a large tract of territory to the south of the Satluj, it is probable that the frontier measurements of 500 miles may be very near the truth if taken in road distances." This tradition is current in Suket, Mandī and Bashahr as well as Kulū.

Though the limits as defined may have marked the extent of the ancient kingdom, this does not necessarily mean that the Rājās ruled directly over this widespread area. It has to be borne in mind that in ancient times the whole country was parcelled out among numerous petty chiefs, called Rānās and Thākurs, who were the rulers *de facto*, though generally owning allegiance to a paramount power. The traditions relating to these petty rulers are very distinct in the early history of Kulū as well as in that of Suket, which till the twelfth century included almost all the territory now in Mandī. These traditions, along with historical records, prove that down to a late period the Rānās and Thākurs maintained their authority, though nominally under the suzerainty of the larger States. There is, therefore, nothing improbable in the assumption that in the seventh century the petty chiefs in the area defined all owned a nominal allegiance to Kulū, and were regarded as under the supremacy of that State. Suket, as we know, was not founded till a later period.

Hiuen Tsiang also makes mention of a *stūpa* erected by Asoka in the middle of the valley to commemorate Buddha's alleged visit, and he further states that in his time there were about twenty *saṅghārāmas* (Buddhist monasteries) and a thousand priests who mostly followed the Great Vehicle. There were also fifteen *deva* temples used by different sects without distinction, besides numerous caves hollowed in the

¹ Cf. *Ancient Geog. of India*, p. 142. Five *li* = one mile. Vide Beal, *Buddhist Records of the Western World*, Pop. edition, p. 176. Vide *Sī-yu-ki*, Beal's translation, Vol. 1, p. 177.

rocks which were the places of abode of Arhats and Rishis. It would thus appear that Buddhism once flourished in Kulū, though it has now practically disappeared from the valley, the only symbol remaining being a stone image of Avalōkitēśvara, in a temple of Kapila-muni, at Kelāt, some miles north of Sultānpur, which is still worshipped. Hiuen Tsiang speaks of the people of Kulū as coarse and common in appearance and of a hard and fierce nature.¹

² Of the copper-plate title-deeds found in Kulū the oldest is that of Nirmand. It, however, was not granted by a Rājā of Kulū, but by one Rājā Samudra Sena, whose identity has not yet been ascertained. Sir A. Cunningham was of opinion that the grant was made by Samudra Sena of Mandī, c. A.D. 1151-76, but more recently the inscription has been edited and discussed by Dr. Fleet who holds, on palaeographical grounds, that it belongs to the seventh century. The donor of the grant calls himself a *mahāsāmanta* or feudatory of some paramount power, probably, of the plains, but the name of the State over which he ruled is not stated, and the origin of the inscription is still an unsolved problem.

A pre-Buddhist Hindu dynasty with the surname of *Sena* is said to have ruled in Spiti in the early centuries of the Christian era, and Captain Harcourt states that coins with the *Sena* suffix on them have been found in the valley. These statements have not been verified, but if authentic the donor of the Nirmand plate may have been one of the Spiti Rājās. This, however, is only a conjecture.

³ Later references to Kulū are found in Chambā copper-plate title-deeds of the eleventh century, granted in the reigns of Soma Varman and Āsata Varman and relating to events which happened in the early part of the tenth century, during the reign of Sahila Varman of Chambā. From these documents it would seem that Chambā then exercised more or less of a suzerainty over Kulū, for they speak of the Chambā Rājā as having been "asked the favour of bestowing royalty in return for services by his kinsman, the lord of Kulūta, anxious to render him homage." Sahila Varman was then engaged in repelling an invasion of his country by a race called "Kira," aided by the lord of Durgara (Jammu) and the Saumatika (Balor), and he had as his allies the Rājās of Trigarta (Kāngra) and Kulūta (Kulū). The fact that the Chiefs of Chambā and Kulū were kinsmen, most probably by marriage, proves that both families were Kshatriyas or Rājputs, for the Chambā family is of this caste.

Some doubt has been felt as to the signification of the word *svakulya* meaning "kinsman," "of one's own family," from the fact that Viśākhadatta (c. A.D. 600) mentions Chitravarman, the King of Kulūta, in the play called *Mudrārākshasa*, among the five leading Mlechchha allies of Rākshasa; but neither Chitravarman nor the other confederate Rājās appear to have been historical personages, and the suffix "Varman" was never in use in Kulū. This seems to imply that in Viśākhadatta's estimation the people of Kulū were Mlechchhas or barbarians. Most probably the

¹ Cf. Report Arch. Survey, 1907-08, pp. 261-2.

² A.S.R., Vol. xiv, and Inscript. Ind., Vol. iii, pp. 286-291; also J.P.H.S., Vol. vii, No. 1, pp. 5-6.

³ Chamba Gaz., pp. 76-77. *Antiquities of Chamba State*, pp. 186-195.

reference is to the inhabitants of Kulū and not to the ruling family. There can be little doubt that the Kanets and other allied tribes, which form the bulk of the population even at the present time, are of semi-aboriginal origin, and would therefore be regarded as Mlechchhas in ancient times. Even now the high caste community is very small.

According to the traditional folklore of the people, the Kulū Valley originally bore the name of *Kulāntapīṭha*, meaning "the end of the habitable world," as being in the estimation of the Hindus, the utmost limit of human abode. The name also occurs in a booklet called *Kulānta-pīṭha Māhātmya*. Captain Harcourt regarded the name as the original of *Kulū*, but the change from one to the other is etymologically impossible.

¹The *Kulāntapīṭha Māhātmya*, which deals with the sacred lore of Kulū, is in the possession of the priests of Manikarn in the Pārbati Valley, and it claims to be a part of the *Brahmāṇḍa-purāṇa*. Though unpublished and possessing little historical interest it is important in a way for local topography. Pandit Hirananda Shāstri gives the following quotation from it: "Kulāntapīṭha lies to the north-east of Jālandhara and south of Hēmakūṭa mountain. It is 10 *yojanas* (about 90 miles) in length and 3 (?) *yojanas* (about 27 miles) in width. The sacred place of Vyāsa lies to its north and the Bandhana mountain to its south. The river Biās flows to its west and the Paśupati (Śiva) lies to the east. The deity presiding over the valley is Śavarī. Indrakīla is the principal hill. The *saṃgama* or confluence of the Biās and Pārbati rivers is the chief sacred place. It was in this land that Śiva in the guise of a Śavara fought with Arjuna."

The area assigned by the *Māhātmya* to *Kulāntapīṭha* is nearly equal to that of Kulū proper, but it is improbable that the name ever indicated Kulū. The name is still applied to a tract on the left bank of the Biās, between the source of that river and its confluence with the Pārbati.

The topographical features referred to in the *Māhātmya* are probably the following: The northern limit (*pīṭha*) is termed Hēmakūṭa, which according to the Purāṇas is a *Simāparvata* or boundary mountain. As the Pīr-panjāl of geologists is the northern boundary of Kulū, separating it from Lahul, Hēmakūṭa may refer to that range or specially to Snowy Peak M. of the range, in which lies the source of the Biās, called Biās Kundi, the *Vyāsātīrtha* of the *Māhātmya*. Indrakīla is the name of a well-known mountain in the same range to the south-east of the Hamta Pass, over 20,000 ft. in height, and resembling a wedge—hence the name, *kīla* (nail). It is said to be well known in Purāṇic literature. This mountain is now known in Kulū as Indrasau and is incorrectly given as Deotiba on the Survey map (4 in. to 1').

²Some references to Kulū are also to be found in the Tibetan Chronicle of Ladākh, called the *rGyal-rabs* or "Book of the Kings." There it is stated that a king of Ladākh, named Lha-Chen-Utpala, who reigned about A.D. 1125-1150, united the forces of Upper and Lower Ladākh and invaded Nyungti or Kulū. In this invasion

¹ Arch. Survey Report, 1907-08, p. 264.

² Cf. *Western Tibet*, Francke, p. 65.

he was successful, and the ruler of Kulū bound himself by oath to continue to pay tribute in *dzos*¹ and iron to the king of Ladākh, "so long as the glaciers of the *Kailāsa* shall not melt nor Lake Mansarovar dry up." This treaty is said to have remained in force till about A.D. 1600, and according to the late Dr. Marx of the Moravian Mission, Ladākhi tax-collectors visited Lahul till A.D. 1870, long after these districts had passed under British rule.² The Rev. A. H. Francké, however, thinks that they were not really tax-collectors as the trade contract required such payments. The invasion in question is probably the one noted in the Chronicle of Kulū as having taken place in the reign of Sikandar Pāl, who is said to have appealed to the Rājā of Delhi for help to drive out the invaders, called Chinese. A second invasion of Kulū by Ladākh took place in the reign of Tsewang rNamgyal I., A.D. 1530–60, by whom the country was subdued, and its chiefs "were made to feel the weight of his arm." This, however, was probably an empty boast and there is no mention of it in the *Vansāvalī*. The occurrence if authentic may have taken place in the time of Sidh Singh.

³ Again in the Kashmir Chronicle of Jōnarājā, it is stated that Zain-ul-ābidīn, the king of Kashmir (A.D. 1420–70), invaded Gōggadesa, that is the kingdom of Gugé in Upper Kanāwar, and "robbed by his splendour the glory of the town of Kulūta." This must evidently refer to the town of Nagar, then the capital. Other historical records belong to a later date, such as the inscription of Udhran Pāl on the Sandhya Temple at Jagat-sukh, Sh. 4=A.D. 1428, and that of Rājā Bahādur Singh in the Dhungri Temple at Manālī, Sh. 29=A.D. 1553. One of the most important of these records is a copper-plate grant by Bahādur Singh in favour of Rāmāpati the Rājaguru or spiritual preceptor of Rājā Ganesh Varman of Chambā. It was given on the occasion of the marriage of three Kulū princesses to the heir-apparent of the latter State, and is dated Sh. 35=A.D. 1559.⁴

There are also a good many more inscriptions of minor importance of the period of the Singh or Badāni dynasty (A.D. =1500–1840). To this period belong the *farmāns* or official letters, thirteen in number, issued from the Mughal Court, between A.D. 1650 and 1658, to Rājā Jagat Singh. Of these, four are original *sanads*, and nine are copies, the originals having been lost. Twelve of them were issued under the seal of Dārā Shikoh and one by Aurangzeb. Most of these *farmāns* or letters are of no importance historically as they refer only to the tribute in hawks (*bāz o jurrah*), and crystal to be forwarded from Kulū to the imperial court. Complaint is frequently made that the crystal (*balaur*) sent was of inferior quality and useless. In two letters a reference occurs to Rājā Jog Chand of Lag, whose State Jagat Singh had annexed and had imprisoned his grandson. An appeal had been made to the Emperor, and Jagat Singh was ordered to release the captive and restore him to his rights—under pain of severe punishment. In another letter (from Aurangzeb) Jagat Singh is enjoined to be on the watch for Sulaiman Shikoh, who was trying to

¹ The *dzo* is a cross-breed between the yak and the cow. The *dzos* were doubtless sent from Lahul, as there are none in Kulū.

² In 1820 four villages in Lahul paid tribute to Ladakh—*Vide* Moorcroft, *Travels*, Vol. I, p. 198.

³ Jōnarājā, *Rājatarang.*, verse 1108.

⁴ Arch. Survey Report, 1902–03, pp. 255 fl. *Udhran* is a transposition for *Urdhan*, which is the correct name.

escape through the hill tracts in order to rejoin his father, Dāra Shikoh, then in the Panjab.

¹ In A.D. 1904-5, ten more records on stone were discovered, five of which are dated between A.D. 1673 and 1870, and are partly illegible. They are all in Tānkari letters and in the local dialect. One of these; on the jambs of the doorway of the Śiva temple at Hāt, near Bajaura, is dated in the Shāstra year 49=A.D. 1673, and in the reign of Śyām Sen of Mandī, and records a grant of land to the temple. From this we may conclude that at that time Hāt was in Mandi territory. Another is on a slab in the wall of the Murlidhar temple at Chahni, two miles above Banjār in Inner Sarāj, which was engraved in the reign of Rājā Bidhi Singh, in Sh. 50=A.D. 1674-5. Four copper-plate inscriptions were also found, two of them belonging to the reign of Rājā Jagat Singh, one dated Sh. 27=A.D. 1651, and the other in Sh. 32=A.D. 1656. The third was issued in the reign of Rājā Rāj Singh, but is undated, and the fourth is dated Sh. 56=A.D. 1780, in the reign of Rājā Prītam Singh.

¹ There are also inscriptions of some historical importance on metal masks, called *deo*, representing Hindu gods and deified personages. Of the Pāl dynasty only two have been found which bear inscriptions, one on the mask of Hirmā Devī has Sh. 94=A.D. 1418, as the date for Udhran Pāl, the grandfather, according to the *Vansāvali*, of Rājā Sidh Singh; the other on the effigy of Vishnu at Sajla in Kothi Barsai, gives Sh. 76, and Saura year 1422 as the date for Sidh Pāl. Saura is evidently meant for Śaka, and the equivalent date of the Christian era is A.D. 1500. As Udhran Pāl is believed to have built the temple of Sandhya Devī at Jagat-sukh, he must have ruled in the early part of the fifteenth century, and the date for the temple is A.D. 1428. There are also masks of the Singh dynasty, each with an inscription recording the year in which the gift was made, and also the day of the month. Among other historical documents must also be mentioned certain letters in the Chambā archives relating to Kulū as well as a large number of letters in Kulū, dated in the reigns of the Badāni Rājās.²

Reference may here be made to the Sati monuments of the Kulū Rājās—which stand just below Nagar castle at Nagār—the ancient capital.

The Kulū Rājās were in the habit of erecting upright slabs, like tombstones as memorials to their dead ancestors—a custom which prevailed also in Mandī and Suket. In former times this custom was common in the inner hills, and seems to have been in use in ancient times among the petty chiefs called Rānās and Thākurs. In Kulū, Mandī and Suket it was a royal privilege. In most parts these memorials are only rough slabs, with very primitive figures of the deceased cut upon them. In Mandī they are of an elaborate character and adorned with carvings. They are locally called *barsela*, and usually show a figure of the deceased Rājā and of the women—*rānīs*, concubines and slave girls, who were cremated with him. In Mandi many of them bear inscriptions recording the date of death—which are very valuable for historical purposes.

¹ Arch. Survey Rep., 1907-08, pp. 269-70.

² Vide J.P.H.S., Vol. VI, No. 2, pp. 78-80, and Chamba Museum Cat., pp. 69-70, 1. C. 18, 19, 27, 39, 51.

¹ The Sati monuments in Kulū seem to be of a rough character, and none of them bear any inscription. Captain Harcourt thus refers to them: "At Nuggur there is a curious collection of what resemble tombstones, that are to be found just below Nuggur Castle. They are inserted into the ground in four rows, rising one over the other on the hill-side: and in all I have counted 141 of these. Each ornamented with rude carvings of chiefs of Kooloo—their wives and concubines being portrayed, either beside them or in lines below. One Rājāh is mounted on a horse and holds a sword in his hand, the animal he bestrides being covered with housings just as might be a Crusader's charger; a very similar figure to this is carved in wood over the porch of the Doongree temple. The report is that these stones were placed in position at the death of every reigning sovereign of Kooloo, the female figures being the effigies of such wives or mistresses who may have performed *suttee* at their lord's demise. If this be the true state of the case, then the human sacrifices must have been very great in some instances, for it is not uncommon to find forty and ⁵ fifty female figures crowding the crumbling and worn surface of the stone."

² The Chronology of Kulū history anterior to the accession of the Badāni dynasty in A.D. 1500 is largely a matter of conjecture. Of one thing we are certain, viz. that after Kāshmir and Kāngra, Kulū was one of the oldest principalities in the Panjab hills. We have already seen that a coin of one of the early Rājās exists, belonging to the first or second Christian century, and the State must therefore have been founded at a still earlier period. An examination of the *Vansāvalī* supports this conclusion. In it are found 73 names of the Pāl line of Rājās and 15 of the later line who bore the surname or suffix of Singh, *i.e.* 88 names in all. The latter line began about A.D. 1500, and came to an end in 1840, with the overthrow of the State by the Sikhs; giving a period of 340 years or an average reign of 20 years to each Rājā. This average is the same as in the Chambā family, and other royal lines in the hills. Now there is no reason for assuming that the Rājās of the Pāl line were not as long-lived as their successors. Allowing therefore an average reign of 20 years to each of the 73 Pāl Rājās, we get a period of 1,460 years, which takes us back to the first century A.D. for the foundation of the State. But Colonel Harcourt has pointed out that there were several breaks in the succession, when the Kulū royal line was removed from power and the State was subject to alien rule. Such a break in the continuity of the line took place in the early centuries, when Kulū is said to have been subject to Chambā for six reigns, of which five names are entirely omitted from the *Vansāvalī*. Indeed, Colonel Harcourt states that twelve names were thus dropped, and that the total number of Pāl Rājās was 85, with 15 of the Singh dynasty, making 100 in all. We may therefore conclude that at the latest the State came into existence in the first or second century of the Christian era.

We must not suppose, however, that the Kulū State then embraced more than a very limited area of territory, probably not more than the country around Jagat Sukh. This view is fully borne out by what we know of the early history of Chambā

¹ *Kooloo, Lahoul and Spiti*, pp. 357-8

² *Kooloo, Lahoul and Spiti*, pp. 113, 114.

and other States, where for centuries the Rājās exercised little more than a nominal authority, and were constantly in danger of being overpowered by the local petty chiefs. It was only after centuries of almost continuous warfare that they gained a real supremacy over the Rānās and Thākurs; and in Kulū, Suket and Mandī this struggle seems to have lasted longer than in many of the other States. In Chambā, for example, it came to an end in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries; while in the States named it continued till the sixteenth century and even later.

Assuming that the Kulū State was founded not later than the first or second century, the *Vansāvalī* tends to confirm local tradition in the hills to the effect that the rule of the Rānās and Thākurs was of still more ancient origin, for they are said to have been in possession of the country anterior to this, either as independent rulers or in nominal subjection to a paramount power. The Rānās in Kulū were of the warrior caste, and probably came from the plains; the Thākurs were almost certainly Kanets. Sir James Lyall's remarks regarding them are interesting. He says:¹ "According to common tradition and the legend which gives the story of the foundation of Kulū principality, the time of the Rājās was preceded by a "Thakurain," or period of government by Thākurs, petty chiefs of a few villages. These Thākurs waged war, levied taxes and transit duties like so many German barons. The tradition of such a period is not peculiar to Kulū, but does not seem so remote and ancient here as in Kāngrā Proper. In many places the sites or ruins of the towers and fortified houses of the Thākurs are pointed out; circumstantial stories of their exploits are narrated, and the boundaries of their territories recollected. Many of the existing *Kothīs* or *tappas* are said to have preserved their present limits from the day when they formed the domain of a Thākur. But it is hardly credible that they were ever completely independent as common tradition asserts; without a lord paramount and with no bond of confederacy, such diminutive States could never have existed side by side in such lawless days for any length of time. It is pretty sure, therefore, that with intervals of perfect independence in periods of confusion, they must have been more or less subject and tributary to some stronger power."

There can be no question that common tradition credits these hill barons with having been completely independent previous to the foundation of the different Rājput principalities. At the same time it is not improbable that the great Hindu kingdoms of the plains did from time to time assert their supremacy over the hill tracts; as in the case of the Rājā of Kanauj in the first century of the Christian era, as mentioned by Ferishta.

²The history of the Pāl line of Rājās, as we have seen, goes back to a very early period, but the records tell of a still earlier dynasty. This if authentic must refer to a very remote time. Captain Harcourt thus relates the tradition: "A chief or, as the people call him, a demon, by name Tandee, fixed his abode on the Kooloo side of the Rohtung Pass, and with him lived his sister Hurimba, whose temple is now at

¹ Kangra Settlement Report, Part ii, p. 74.

² Kooloo, Lahul and Spiti, p. 111.

Doongree, near Menalee, in the Upper Bias Valley. Bhaem Sen, the Pandu, next appears on the scene, his mission being to clear Kooloo of all the demons in it, but in this instance he contented himself with running off with Hurimba; and Tandee, aggrieved at this, fought with Bhaem Sen and was in the conflict slain. With Bhaem Sen was a follower, one Bidher, who however was not a Pandu, and this man married a daughter of Tandee's. Two sons were the fruit of this union, one called Bhot and the other Mukhur, both these boys being brought up by the goddess Bias Ricki. Bhot married a woman, named Soodungee, who came from Bhotunt, and this marriage seems to have been attended with unfortunate results, for Soodungee with no fear of the Brahmans before her eyes cooked cow's flesh one day and gave this to Bhot. Mukhur was not present during this act of impiety, and when he came in, Bias Ricki told him what had occurred; upon which Mukhur, who had apparently been indoctrinated with strictly Brahminical principles, fled to a spot somewhere to the south of Sooltanpore, and there founded a village called Mukrāha, and Kooloo after him obtained the name of Mukarsa, by which it was known till a recent period. The old capital of the Rājās at Naggar was termed Mukarsa; and Moorcroft, when in Kooloo in 1819, mentions that he passed below the site of this ancient city."¹

The above is the form in which the legend has come down from early times in Kulū. In reality it is a garbled version of a very ancient legend or myth regarding Bhīma, the second of the five Pāṇḍava brothers, found in the Mahābhārata (first canto, chapters 152-156). There Hīḍimbā is a *rākshasī*, or man-eating demoness, in whom we recognize the goddess Hīṛmā or Hīṛimbā of the Kulū Valley. Her brother, called Hīḍimba in the Epic, and Tandī in the Kulū legend, was killed by Bhīmasena. Hīḍimbā is probably a goddess who was worshipped from very remote times, and her worship, which was attended with human sacrifice, was non-Aryan. Hence the Brahmans regarded her not as a deity, but as a man-eating demoness. Hīṛimbā seems to have been the patron deity of the Kulū Valley from early times, and her seat is at Dhungrī near Manālī. She is believed to have granted the country to the Kulū Rājās, and even after the introduction of Rāma-worship, as Raghunāthjī, she still maintained her authority. To this day the Rājās are said to call her "Grandmother." The upper end of the valley was granted her in *jāgīr*, and within it her officers seem to have exercised full powers, and the royal writ did not run. The *jāgīr* also enjoyed the right of sanctuary, and when a criminal or any one, fleeing from the Rājā's displeasure, succeeded in reaching the borders of the *jāgīr*, at Okhiragolu about two miles below Manālī, he became Hīṛimbā's refugee, and was not given up to his pursuers, who if they followed farther became blind. The place thus bore the meaning of "freedom from hardship." Such privileges seem to have been common in all the hill principalities in former times, and were enjoyed sometimes even by *jāgīrdārs*. Though Hīṛimbā, unlike Jamlu of Malāna, has to attend the Dasehra fair in honour of Raghunāthjī, she has the privilege of habitually coming late. Bidhar, as Capt. Harcourt calls him, is also a personage from the Mahābhārat,

¹ Moorcroft was in Kulu in July and August 820—not in 1819.

and his correct Sanskrit name is Vidura. In the Epic he figures as the son of Vyāsa, the mythical author of the Mahābhārat, by a slave girl. He is consequently a half-brother of Pāṇḍu, the father of the five Pāṇḍavas, to whom he, therefore, had the relationship of uncle. Though of impure descent on the mother's side, he is renowned for his wisdom and righteousness. As Vidura is a mythical personage, his reputed sons—Makhar and Bhot—must also be regarded in the same light. The names were evidently invented to account for the geographical terms—Makarsa (Kulū) and Bhot (Tibet). The story of Bhot and Makar—a purely local legend—has thus been grafted on to the ancient Epic legend of Bhīmasena and Hidimbā.

Biās Rīkhī is not a goddess as supposed by Captain Harcourt, but a sage, Vyāsa *rishī*, and the father of Vidura as related.

The town of Makarāha stood at the junction of the Hurla stream with the Biās, almost opposite to Bajaura. There Makar's descendants are said to have ruled for a time, but the dynasty ultimately died out, or was exterminated by some of the neighbouring petty chiefs, and the town fell into decay. Their rule, if it ever existed, was probably on a par with that of the Rānās and Thākurs, who at that early period were the real rulers of the hills.

¹ The name of the town in common use in Kulū is Makarāhar, owing probably to the fact that in many parts of the hills, down even to the present day, the letter s was pronounced as h or kh and the final r is probably redundant. Harcourt has *Makarāha*. The second member of the compound, viz. *āsa* (āha), has the meaning of "country" or "region." It afterwards became contracted to *Makarsa* and down to quite recent times this name was applied to the whole of Kulū.

As in the case of many of the other hill States, the founder of the Pāl line of Rājās in Kulū is believed to have come from the plains. The earlier seat of the family is said to have been at Prayāg or Allāhabād. From there they emigrated into the mountains of Almora, and after some time moved westwards, crossed the Ganges and conquered Māyāpurī or Hardwār, where they settled. They are also said to have extended their rule over the territory now in Suket and Mandī, and at an early period a cadet of the family, named Behangamani Pāl, is traditionally believed to have founded Kulū State.² The Balor *Vansāvalī* states that, having been expelled from Māyāpurī during a minority, by some of the neighbouring Chiefs, the head of the family, named Thān Pāl, was carried off to Almora, and on growing to manhood he founded Kulū State. His sons were Bhog Pāl and Sukh Pāl, the elder of whom founded Balor. It is certain, however, that Balor was founded at a much later period than Kulū, but the reference in the Balor *Vansāvalī* is interesting as corroborating the tradition that both families sprang from a common parent stem at Māyāpurī. The tradition connecting the original family with Māyāpurī is found in all the different branches, each of which founded a kingdom. These are: Kulū, Balor (Basohli), Bhadu and Bhadrawāh. A fifth branch is said to have founded a small State in the Lower Chināb Valley, called Batal, possibly the Vartula of the Rāja-

¹ Cf. Kooloo, Lahoul and Spiti, pp. 112, 197.

² The clan name of the Kulu Rājās is *Kaulua*, contracted to *Kolua* and *Kola*.

taranginī. This branch embraced Islām, probably in the reign of Shāhjahān. The original surname of all these families was Pāl. The royal families of Kulū and Balor are said to have been separate offshoots from the parent stem, but Balor was probably an offshoot from Kulū as stated in the Bhadu *Vansāvalī*; while Bhadu, Bhadrawāh and Batal were offshoots from Balor.¹

Kulū was founded, as we have seen, not later than the first or second century and possibly earlier, and Balor or Vallāpura in the eighth century. Bhadu was originally a fief of Balor, and did not become independent till the middle of the eleventh century, and Bhadrawāh about the time of Akbar. If Batal was identical with Vartula as has been suggested, it must have been founded at an early period; for it is referred to in the *Rājātaranginī* in the beginning of the twelfth century.

The original capital of Kulū State was at Nast or Jagat-sukh, and there the early Rājās ruled for twelve generations till, in the reign of Visudh Pāl, the seat of government was transferred to Nagar, and about A.D. 1660, in the reign of Jagat Singh, to Sultānpur.

Behangamanī, the founder of the State, is said to have been one of eight brothers, and was accompanied to Kulū by his *rānī*, and his son Pachch Pāl, as also his family priest, Purohit Udai Rām. He first went to Manikarn, and afterwards attacked and overcame some of the petty chiefs in the Pārbati Valley. This, however, seems to have been only a temporary success, and he next appears as a fugitive at Jagat-sukh, living in concealment in the house of one Chapai Rām.

Many legends are associated with his name. One day as he lay asleep on a rock near Jagat-sukh, which is still shown, a Pandit passed by and observed on the sleeper² the signs of greatness, and noble birth. On awaking him and inquiring into his lineage Behangamanī said that he was a *zamīndār*.

The Pandit, however, was not to be deceived and pressed for a true answer, at the same time assuring him that he would become king of the country. Behangamanī then admitted his royal descent and begged the Pandit to keep his secret as otherwise he would be killed by the Rānās and Thākurs. The Pandit promised to do so and assured Behangamanī that no one should have the power to kill him for his star was on the ascendant. Then, with an eye to his own advantage, he exacted a promise that on becoming Rājā, Behangamanī should confer a grant of land upon him, and this promise was confirmed by touching hands. The Pandit demanded a portion of land between each stream falling into the Biās, and also around the rock where he first saw Behangamanī. The stone is still shown on the road between Manālī and Jagat-sukh, and is called *Jagati Pat*. The Pandit then took his departure to Triloknāth in Chambā-Lahul on pilgrimage, saying that his words would be fulfilled before his return.

Meanwhile the *zamīndārs*, who were the subjects of the Rānās and Thākurs, had been goaded into resistance by the exactions of these petty chiefs, and having formed

¹ J.P.H.S., Vol. iv, No. 2, pp. 77-8 and 120. Batal is also called Deng-Batal. *Rājatarang.*, Stein. VIII. 287, 537-541.

² Probably the *padamī* or *Urdh Rekḥ*—the mark of high descent—a line like the "line of life," on the hand, running along the sole of the foot from the toe to the heel.

a confederacy against them, decided to choose some one else as ruler. A short time afterwards a *jātra* or religious fair, called *Jajoli Jātra*, was held at Basnāra, a village near Jagat-sukh. Behangamanī came alone to the fair, and on the road he was accosted by an old woman, who asked him to take her on his back as she was unable to walk. This he did, and also promised to carry her on the return journey in the same way. When they reached the rocks at Jura village, opposite to Basnāra, she jumped down and told Behangamanī to mount her back, and by this he perceived that he was in the company of a goddess. Haṛimbā, for it was she, then said: "I have given you my blessing and you will become king of the country." Behangamanī urged that he was a stranger, poor and alone, but Haṛimbā repeated her promise and told him to go to the Shabari Temple in Shuru village near Jagat-sukh, and there the goddess would appear to him. Behangamanī then went on to the fair, the goddess accompanying him, and the people hailed him with the salutation of "Jaideya,"¹ accorded only to a royal personage. An outbreak then took place against the Rānās and Thākurs, many of whom were killed, and Behangamanī was established as Rājā and the petty chiefs paid him tribute.

This is the version in the Chronicle. Divested of all the myth and fable which have gathered around his name, we may simply conclude that Behangamanī was a royal adventurer, from the outer hills, accompanied probably by a small band of followers; who was successful in gaining a footing in the upper Biās Valley by overcoming some of the local petty chiefs. This as we know is the way most of the other hill States were founded, and probably Kulū was no exception to the rule. The main features of the story, therefore, may be accepted as authentic.

On his death Behangamanī was succeeded by his son Pachch Pāl, who continued the contest with the Rānās and Thākurs in his endeavour to consolidate the kingdom. He overcame the Rānā of Gojra and the Rānā of Bevala, who probably held the country around Manālī; and his younger brother Narindar Pāl is said to have been killed in the fighting. He also strove with one Gumar Surat and killed him. Those who submitted were made to pay tribute, and this tributary relationship between the petty chiefs and the Rājās was probably the common condition of things all over the hills for many centuries. Their subjection was only nominal and the tribute was forthcoming only when there was no other alternative.

Bihang Pāl and Durhīn or Hīn Pāl followed, and of these chiefs nothing is recorded; but we may assume that their reigns were not peaceful.

Svarg Pāl the next in succession had two sons by different mothers, named Sakti and Janak, who contested the succession as they were born about the same time. The zamindārs who were their subjects advised them to divide the territory, and at last they consulted a parohit as to whose right it was to reign, and he decided in favour of Sakti Pāl as he was the son of the elder Rānī. He was then acknowledged as Rājā. He was in his turn followed by Mahīśvar or Mahindar Pāl, Om Pāl and Rājēndar Pāl. At that time the Rānā of Gajan in Kothi Barsai, between

¹ *Jaideya*, or *Jaideo*, is an abbreviation of two Sanskrit words—*Jayatu devah* meaning, "May the king be victorious" - similar to "Long live the King."

Jagat-sukh and Nagar, named Surat Chand, died without male heirs, leaving only a daughter, named Rup Sundari, who succeeded. On hearing this Rājendar Pāl sent to demand tribute from her, and she being a spirited lady refused to pay. Rājendar Pāl then sent a force against her, and in the fighting eleven of his sons are said to have been killed. Only two remained, and one of them was sent to the Rānī with a letter from the Rājā, to try to arrange terms. On presenting the letter he did not offer any salutation, and the Rānī being annoyed placed a guard over him. Thereupon he produced his brother's likeness, and on seeing it the Rānī yielded and offered to marry him. A message was then sent to the Rājā to tell him of her offer and ask him to desist from fighting. Rājendar Pāl seems to have been only too pleased to do so, and preparations were then made for the wedding, and the pair were duly married. Thus Kothi Barsai, in which Gajan was situated, came into the Rājā's hands, and was so called, it is said, from *baras*, 'a year,' because it was acquired within a year seemingly from the commencement of hostilities.

Viśad Pāl succeeded on his father's decease and still further enlarged the boundaries of the State. At that time Nagar was held by a Rānā, named Karm Chand, with whom the Rājā waged war. The Rānā seems to have been faint-hearted, for he hid himself for four years, and was at last killed in battle. He had a son who succeeded, and from whom the Rājā exacted tribute.

Viśuddh Pāl followed, and it was probably in this or the following reign that Nagar was finally conquered and annexed. In the case of all the preceding Rājās, Nast (Jagat-sukh) is recorded as their place of residence, but Viśuddh Pāl had his capital at Nagar. The Chronicle says: *Nagar Rājāi Śrī kā*, "the town of the illustrious Rājā"; also *Nagar Tripurī Sundrī ābād hūā*, "the town of Tripuri Sundri was inhabited." The temple of Tripuri Sundari is situated above Nagar. These sentences, however, seem suspicious, and internal evidence appears to indicate that they are of much later date. At the same time it seems probable that the transfer of the capital to Nagar actually took place about this time.

The next Rājās were Uttam Pāl, Dvij Pāl, Chakar Pāl, Karn Pāl and Sūraj Pāl, about whom the Chronicle contains no record.

¹ At this early period there is mention of one Piti Thākur, who lived at Rumsu above Nagar, and apparently held possession of a portion of the Upper Biās Valley towards the Hamta Pass, near the head of which are still to be seen the ruins of the fort ascribed to him. There would seem to have been many in succession bearing this name, which was really a title, meaning the "Spiti Lord," and they came from Spiti. One of them is said to have been killed in the fighting about this time. From an early period the Tibetans of Spiti seem to have been in the habit of making incursions into Kulū, and they seized territory to the south of the high passes; but being unable to live at a lower altitude than 7,000 or 8,000 ft. they never advanced into the main valley. Each of the Tibetan leaders was called "Piti Thākur," by the Kulū people. They were still in possession as late as the reign of Sidh Singh A.D. 1500, by whom they were finally driven out.

¹ Cf. J.P.H.S., Vol. vi, No. 2, pp. 70-1-2.

Sūraj Pāl is said to have had no heir but many illegitimate sons. He was succeeded by Raksh Pāl, but we are not told what relationship the latter bore to his predecessor. He too died without issue and was succeeded by his brother Rudar Pāl. There were other brothers, however, who disputed the succession, and they all began to fight among themselves and some of them were killed. The Rānās, on seeing this conflict going on, agreed to combine and exterminate the family. Realizing their danger in time, the brothers made up their quarrel and all recognized Rudar Pāl as Rājā. The Rānās were then opposed in battle and completely defeated, those who survived being made to pay tribute.

A new danger soon afterwards arose in consequence of an invasion of Kulū by the Rāja of Spiti, named Rājendar Sen. The country was subdued and Rudar Pāl in his turn had to pay tribute to Spiti. This note, if authentic, is exceedingly interesting, as showing that there was a Sena dynasty of Rājās in Spiti in early times, before Buddhism was introduced into the country.

In one of the records a reference to Chambā is found at this early period in the history of Kulū. Much uncertainty exists as to how much of Lahul was then under these States. The Rev. A. H. Francke, our chief authority, thinks that upper Lahul—that is the valleys of the Chandrā and Bhāgā—was under Kulū from early times, while the main valley, from the junction of these rivers, was tributary to Chambā. Ladākh also may have exercised some influence in Upper Lahul as the name is identified with the Tibetan words *Lho Yul* meaning “the southern country.” The Tibetans, however, call the country *Gārzā*. Chambā is said to have conquered Lahul from Kulū in Rudar Pāl’s reign, and seemingly about the same time as Kulū itself was invaded and subdued by the Rājā of Spiti. Possibly Chambā and Spiti combined against Kulū, and the invasions were simultaneous.

The State seems to have remained tributary to Spiti during this reign and that of Hamir Pāl, the next Rājā, the tribute money amounting to six annas in the rupee of yearly revenue; but on Hamir Pāl’s death his son Parsidh Pāl declined to continue the payment of tribute, and moved out with an army to oppose Chet Sen the Spiti Chief. The battle was fought somewhere near the Rotang Pass, and Parsidh Pāl was victorious, thus freeing his country from the dominion of Spiti. Lahul was also recovered from Chambā about the same time.

Parsidh Pāl was followed by Harichand Pāl, Subhat Pāl, Som Pāl and Sansār Pāl. In Sansār Pāl’s reign another interesting note occurs in the Chronicle. It is said that after Chet Sen’s defeat by Kulū, Spiti was invaded by Gya mur orr,¹ presumably Ladākh or Rupshu, and Chet Sen was defeated and slain. The ruler of Gya mur orr then granted some villages in *jāgīr* to Chet Sen’s son, and three villages to Sansār Pāl of Kulū, who had assisted him; retaining the remainder of Spiti in his own hands. Possibly this note records the final overthrow and extinction of the pre-Buddhist Hindu dynasty in Spiti, when the country passed under Tibetan rule. This may have happened about A.D. 600–650.

¹ This place has not been identified, but it may have been Gya and Rupshu in Ladākh, or some place in Gugé.

Bhog Pāl succeeded and his claim was contested by his brother Vibhay Pāl. A war ensued between them and resulted in Bhog Pāl's death, and he was succeeded by Vibhay Pāl who in turn was followed by Brahm Pāl. The last-named left no legitimate sons, and the Chronicle states that the Rājās of Chambā, Ladākh, Suket, Bashahr, Kāngra and Bangāhal agreed to make Ganesh Pāl, an illegitimate son of the late Rāja, his successor.

This is the first occasion on which a reference occurs to any of the neighbouring hill states, and it is of some interest to inquire how far it can be accepted as authentic. As regards Kāngra and Chambā, we know that they were founded at an early period, but in the case of the latter the reference must be to Brahmapūra, the original name of the State. Ladākh at that early period was a province of the Tibetan kingdom and was ruled from Lhāssa; Bashahr may also have been in existence as it was of ancient origin, but it seems improbable that Suket and Bangāhal had then been founded. We are, therefore, disposed to think that the statement in the Chronicle is not fully reliable. Possibly it may have been tampered with by some later copyist.

Gambhīr Pāl, the next Rājā, had two sons, named Bhumi Pāl and Sukhu Pāl, who contended for the *gaddi*, a contest in which Bhumi Pāl was successful.

Of Bhumi Pāl's reign we know nothing. He was succeeded by his son Śrī Datēshvar Pāl. In this Rājā's reign another reference to Chambā is found in the Chronicle. At that early period Chambā State was confined to the upper part of the Rāvi Valley, with the capital at Brahmapūra, now Brahmaur. The State was then expanding east and west under an energetic ruler whom we may perhaps identify with Meru Varman (c. A.D. 700).¹ In the Kulu Chronicle the name is Amar, but no such name occurs in the Chambā *Vansāvalī*. The Chambā forces most probably advanced through Lahul, and over the Rotang Pass, and were met by the Kulū Chief, who was defeated and killed. Gobardhan was then Rājā of Indrapat (Delhi). On his father's death Amar Pāl took command of the Kulū forces and with his two sons opposed the Chambā advance, but in vain. He, too, with one of his sons was slain, and the second son, named Sital Pāl, fled to Bashahr to ask for help. There the family seems to have remained for some time, as Sital Pāl and five of his descendants never reigned, and probably were all the time at the Bashahr Court as political refugees. Meantime Kulū seems to have been under the rule of Chambā.

Śrī Jarēshvar Pāl was the sixth in descent from Sital Pāl, and seems to have been a refugee at Bashahr, waiting for an opportunity to recover his kingdom. Such an opportunity soon afterwards occurred, and with the help of Bashahr he drove out the Chambā garrison and recovered the State. It is possible that this event took place about A.D. 780-800, when Chambā was invaded by the "Kīras" or Yārkandis, and the Rājā killed. The Chambā State continued under alien rule for about 20 years, so that it would be an easy matter for Śrī Jarēshvar Pāl to recover his country. He was followed by Parkāsh Pāl, Achamba Pāl, Tapanēshvar Pāl, Param Pāl and Nagēndar Pāl, of whom nothing special is on record.

¹ Chamba Gazetteer, p. 70.

Nārad Pāl's reign was marked by another war with Chambā (Brahmapura). The Chamba forces advanced to Majna Kot, a village near the foot of the Rotang Pass, and built a fort. The war continued for twelve years, a phrase which in the hills seems to bear the meaning, "for a long time," and then a peace was concluded. But the Kulū people were insincere and only sought for an opportunity to destroy the invaders. A social gathering was arranged to which the Chambā people were invited, ostensibly to cement the truce which had been concluded, and the place fixed upon was Kothi village on the other side of the Biās. The river there flows through a deep and narrow gorge, which at that time was spanned by two beams with cross planks, there being no bridge. As the feast was to be at night, two Kulū men secretly went on ahead and removed the planks and placed some long grass across instead. When the Chambā men arrived in the darkness each man in trying to cross fell into the gorge. Many were drowned before the deceit was discovered by the drummers going down, when the sound of the drums falling aroused suspicion. Those who remained on the right bank turned and fled, but practically the whole Chambā force was destroyed.¹

This war is still recalled in local tradition, according to which the Gaddi Army, as the Chambā army was called, besieged the Rānā of Manālī in the lower Manālī fort on the "Gaddi Paddar" or "Gaddi Plain" for a long time.

The Kulū garrison was in great straits, their supplies having become almost exhausted, and in order to deceive the besiegers they milked a bitch, mixed some rice with the milk and made *Kīr*, which they threw out to the Gaddis. Seeing this the latter came to the conclusion that provisions in the fort were abundant and raised the siege. It is interesting to note that the Chambā force is traditionally called "the Gaddi army," showing that it came from Brahmāpūra, the original capital and the home of the Gaddis.

Narottam Pāl, Shish Pāl and Bhupāl or Bhup Pāl followed in succession. Bhup Pāl's name is interesting for it is found in the Suket Chronicle, where he is said to have been a contemporary of Bīr Sen, the founder of that State (c. A.D. 765-800). The Kulū Chronicle states that in his reign the country was invaded by the Rājā of Suket, who overran the State and made it tributary. This is confirmed by the Suket Chronicle which states that Bīr Sen, the Rājā of that State, led an army into Sarāj and afterwards defeated Bhup Pāl, the Kulū Rājā, and made him prisoner. The State was afterwards released on condition of tribute and feudal service. This event may have taken place about A.D. 900, but it seems doubtful if Bīr Sen was the Rājā of the time. The Suket State, according to Sir A. Cunningham, was founded about A.D. 765,² by Rājā Bīr Sen, and from what we know of the early history of other States, the extensive conquests attributed in the Suket history to Bīr Sen seem very improbable. The fact of the invasion remains, but it was more likely made by a later Rājā. Bhup Pāl's successor, Anirūdh Pāl, also continued to

¹ A similar story is told of a Mandi force which perished in a ravine near Māngarh in Kothi Māngarh in the reign of Mān Singh.

² Cf. Arch. Survey Reports, Vol. xiv, p. 123, and Vol. xv, p. 156.

pay tribute to Suket, but his son, Hast Pāl, was freed from tribute on condition of giving aid to Suket in a civil war. In the Suket Chronicle this occurrence is noted and confirmed. There the Kulū Rājā is called Hait Pāl, and the story is thus told: ' Rājā Bikram Sen, grandson of Rājā Bīr Sen, after succeeding to the *gaddi*, went on pilgrimage to Hardwār, leaving his younger brother, Tribikram Sen, in charge of the State. Tribikram Sen, however, was unfaithful to his trust, and aimed at claiming the kingdom for himself. To secure the assistance of the Kulū Chief in this design, his State was restored, on condition that Hast Pāl, or Hait Pāl as he is called, rendered support on Bikram Sen's return. The latter came back in two years, and hearing on the way of what had happened, he sought the aid of the Rānā of Keonthal, his own kinsman, and met his brother's force, supported by that of Kulū, at Jiuri on the Satluj. After a hotly contested fight, Tribikram Sen and Hait Pāl of Kulū were both killed. Bikram Sen of Suket then advanced into Kulū and took possession of the country, allotting only a small *jāgīr* to Hait Pāl's son. An interregnum then occurred, the fact of which is confirmed by both Chronicles, during which Suket held full possession of Kulū; the descendants of Hast Pāl, named Dhani Rām, Gopāl Dās and Lachmi Dās, being only *jāgīrdārs*.

¹ In the third generation of Suket Rājās from the time of Bikram Sen, the *gaddi* was occupied by a minor, named Laksman Sen, and the Kulū Rājā, named Surat Pāl—called Hashīr Pal in the Suket Chronicle—assumed independence. Fourteen years later, on coming of age, the Suket Rājā is said to have again subdued Kulū and annexed Wazīri Rupī, Lag, Śarāj and a portion of Wazīri Parōl. This latter invasion, however, is not confirmed by the Kulū Chronicle.

Santokh Pāl, the next Rājā, is said to have conquered Gya mur orr and other portions of territory, probably in Ladākh. His son, Tegh Pāl, conquered Baltistān, killing the chief, named Muhammad Khān, and making his son tributary. These statements seem open to suspicion and require corroboration. The next Rājā was Uchit Pāl, who invaded Tibet, but on his death the Rājās of Lhāssa, Gya mur orr and Baltistān are said to have invaded Kulū, seized the Rājā's son while engaged in performing his father's funeral ceremonies, and put him in confinement in Mohangarh (in Kothi Chaparsa, near the Bubu Pass) and held possession of the country for some time.

² This is probably the invasion referred to in the Ladākh annals, as having taken place in the reign of Lha Chen Utpala, c. A.D. 1125–50. On that occasion, the King of Kulū bound himself by oath to pay tribute in *dzos* and iron to the king of Ladākh "so long as the glaciers of the Kailāsa do not melt away, or the Manasarovar Lake dry up." This treaty remained in force down to the reign of Sengge Namgyal (A.D. 1590–1620),³ and even later. The *dzos* or half-breed yaks must have gone from Lahul as there are none in Kulū, and this circumstance tends to confirm popular tradition that Lahul was in early times subject to Kulū and Chambā. Kulū probably held the Chandrā and Bhāgā Valleys down to their junction at Tandi and Ghus,

¹ J.P.H.S., Vol. vii, No. 2, pp. 5, 6.

² Cf. *Western Tibet*, by Francké, p. 64.

³ Cf. J.P.H.S., Vol. VII, No. 2, p. 6.

⁴ *Vide Western Tibet*, by Francké, p. 65.

while Chambā held the main valley downwards to Pāngī. The real rulers of the country, however, were the Rānās and Thākurs, who acknowledged the supremacy of the paramount power only by the payment of tribute, and whose descendants are still in possession of a portion of their ancient domains. The invasion of Kulū in question must have been made through Lahul, and both countries became tributary to Ladākh.

The next Rājā, Sikandar Pāl, then went to Delhi to complain that the Chinese had invaded his territory, and the King of Delhi came in person with an army which passed through Kulū and conquered Gyamur Orr, Baltistān and Tibet, as far as Mantilae (Manasarovar) Lake. All these paid tribute to Delhi through the Kulū Rājā, who was restored to his dominions. "This," Captain Harcourt remarks, "is a curious record and still more curious if true; and it has an aspect of veracity about it as the lake now called Manasorowa (Manasarovar) was in old days termed Mantilae, and it would be interesting to ascertain whether Indian armies had ever penetrated so far north as this."

Saras Pāl, Śahdēv Pāl, Śrī Mahādēv Pāl and Nirati Pāl followed in succession, of whom we have no details; except the note that in the time of Nirati Pāl the ruler of Kashmīr was Ali Sher Khān, whom we may perhaps identify with Ali Sher (A.D. 1351-63), the younger brother of Jamshīd, who, however, can hardly have been a contemporary of Nirati Pāl. The note probably refers to a later reign in Kulū and became displaced in the *Vansāvali* in copying.² (Cf. *Ferishta*, Brigg's trans., 1910, Vol. vi, p. 457). Bain Pāl the next Rājā was followed by Hast Pāl II in whose reign the Rājā of Bashahr invaded Kulū, and after exacting tribute left the country. This tribute continued to be paid during the next reign, that of Sasi Pāl, but his son Gambhīr Pāl succeeded in freeing his country from Bashahr and took possession of the portion of that State on the right bank of the Satluj, which river became the boundary.

Nishudan Pāl, the next Rājā, was followed by Narēndar Pāl in whose time Kulū was conquered by Bangāhal and remained subject to that State for ten years. A second Santōkh Pāl was succeeded by Nand Pāl in whose reign Kulū became tributary to Kāngra, and this subjection continued through the following reign under Dharti Pāl. Indar Pāl, however, threw off allegiance to Kāngra and recovered his independence.

Mahi-chakar Pāl, Jayadhar Pāl and Kēral Pāl followed in succession.

² In Keral Pāl's reign Kulū was again invaded by the Rājā of Suket, probably Madan Sen, who reigned about A.D. 1240-80. He conquered the country and fixed the boundary at Siunsa near Manālī in the Biās Valley, and at the Pārbati river in Wazirī Rupī. He is said to have granted the land between the Siunsa Nālā and Bajaura, on the right bank of the Biās, to a local petty chief named Rānā Bhosal, or possibly the Rānā may have inherited it from his ancestors. Rānā Bhosal was married to a Suket princess and resided at the fortified palace of Garh Dhek, in-

¹ *Kooloo, Lahoul and Spiti*, p. 117

² *J.P.H.S.*, Vol. vii, No. 2, pp. 7-8.

mediately below the modern village of Baragrāñ. His capital was Sangor, opposite Nagar, and his chief defence was the huge dressed-stone fort of Baragarh. His wife was named Rupni, his son Tika Ghungru, and his daughter Dei Ghudari.

The Rānā was notorious for his stupidity, and the following popular saying about him is still current :—

Bārah pethe : athāra dāne
Bhosal Rānā sār na jāne.

Free translation :—

Twelve pumpkins and eighteen tax-collectors.
Bhosal Rānā cared about nothing.

The story runs that a villager brought twelve pumpkins to the Hāt bazaar for sale, and eighteen men came demanding the octroi dues. Twelve of them took a pumpkin each, and the rest followed dunning the man for their dues. He appealed to Rānā Bhosal but no notice was taken. Seeing this indifference he went to the burning-ghāt, and as each body was brought he asked Re. 1-4-0 as *lāg* (burning dues). This was paid under the impression that it was a new tax imposed by the State. After some time the fraud was discovered, and the man on being summoned excused himself by telling his story, and adding that where such laxness prevailed he thought himself entitled to follow the general example.

A similar story is told of a man in Delhi in the time of the Mughals, who on being found out and questioned as to his authority for taking the tax at the burial-ground, replied that he was *Rānīkhān kā bhāi*, that is a near relative of the queen's.

The Rānā had a Wazīr, named Titā Mehta, whose descendants are still in Kulū. This man fell in love with the Rānī, but his advances were repelled, and he determined on revenge. A new watercourse had been made to the Rānā's rice fields, and Titā persuaded him into the belief that the water would not flow unless the Rānī was buried alive in the line of the *kuhl* or watercourse. An order was accordingly given for this to be done. The tomb was not an ordinary grave but a kind of cellar constructed by a workman, named Kālu, who was *dharmbhāi*, or foster-brother, to the Rānī. She pleaded earnestly with him, and he built the tomb so that she could move about in it, and even crouch down. At night Titā came to see the place, and finding her alive he tried to grasp her by the hair. She crouched down and eluded his grasp, so he cast big stones on her and killed her. Captain Harcourt, however, states that it was an ordinary grave and that the Rānī continued to give suck to her child, Ghungru, while the earth was being filled in.¹

On returning to the palace the Wazīr was asked by the children, what had become of their mother, and he told them to ask Kālu, the workman. On inquiring from him he said "Go to the stable, mount and carry word to your uncle, of Suket. So they took horse and rode to Suket and the Tika cast his *pagri* before his uncle. Then he came with an army and captured both the Rānā and the Wazīr. The latter he flayed alive, and sprinkled him with pepper and cut him into small pieces which

¹ Journal, Panjab Hist. Society, Vol. vi, No. 2, p. 75.

were besmeared on the leaves of the trees. The Rānā he could not kill, but he dressed him in a kilt woven from hemp and put on him a necklace of dried cowdung and pelted him with cowdung all the way to his boundary. The children were taken to Suket, and Baragarh was ruled from there until annexed to Kulū in the time of Sidh Singh.¹

The Kulū Chronicle states that the same Suket Rājā granted the *wazīrīs* of Lag-Mahārājā and Lag-Sāri to the family of his parohit in expiation of a sin which he had committed. It is more probable, however, that the grant was made at a much later time by Parbat Sen c. A.D. 1500, as related in the Suket annals. From this family sprang the Rājās of Lag, who held rule over a large tract of territory till their kingdom was overturned by Jagat Singh of Kulū.

After Keral Pāl the following Rājās ruled the State: Hans Pāl, Agast Pāl, Madan Pāl, and Urdhan Pāl. The date of the last-named Rājā's reign is fixed by two inscriptions bearing his name. One of these is on a Hirmā mask with the date Sh. 94=A.D. 1418, the other on a stone in the wall of the Sandhya Devi temple at Jagat-sukh, which he is believed to have built. It runs as follows: *Sri Maharaja Udhran Pāl Sandya Devi Kālī Murāihai* Sh. 4. ba, ti. 1=A.D. 1428. ² Urdhan Pāl therefore ruled about that time.

Kelās Pāl c. A.D. 1428. He was the last Rājā of Kulū who bore the suffix or surname of Pāl, and he probably ruled till about A.D. 1450. After him there is a long break of about 50 years, during which there seems to have been no Rājā in Kulū. Meanwhile Suket retained its hold over a large part of the country, and to it many of the Rānās and Thākurs were tributary; while others regained their independence.

To this period we should perhaps refer the invasion of Goggadeśa by Zain-ul-abidin (A.D. 1420-70) of Kashmir, who is said to have robbed by his splendour the glory of the town of Kulūta," doubtless referring to Nagar, then the capital. No mention is made of any Rājā at the time.³

⁴It was probably towards the end of this interregnum that the kingdom of Lag was founded. As related in the Suket annals, Parbat Sen of Suket (c. A.D. 1500) had cast a false accusation on a Parohit, who committed suicide in consequence after cursing the Rājā. To avert the evil effects of the curse Parbat Sen bestowed the Lag and Sāri Wazīrīs on the Parohit's family, including the whole country between the Phojal Nālā and Bajaura, on the right bank of the Biās. The family afterwards acquired territory in Sarāj and other parts and became independent. They continued to rule till the reign of Jagat Singh, by whom their territory was subdued and annexed to Kulū. According to tradition they were Diwāns or Wazīrs of Suket.

Sidh Singh (A.D. 1500). According to the *Vansāvalī* there must have been an interregnum of half a century or more of which we have no record, between Kelās Pāl and his successor, Sidh Singh. The traditions and legends associated with the name of the latter have led some to believe that he was the founder of a new dynasty,

¹ Cf. Chamba Gaz., pp. 78-79, for a similar story; also Francke, *Western Tibet*, p. 190.

² The correct spelling is 'Urdhan,' but in the records it is misspelt as 'Udhran.'

³ Jonarajā *Rājatarang.*, verse 1108.

⁴ Cf. J.P.H.S., Vol. vii, No. 2, p.

and the change of the surname from Pāl to Singh has been urged as a proof of this. So far as the change of surname is concerned, it must be admitted that this is of no significance whatever. A similar change took place about the same period in many of the royal families of the Panjab hills, and also in Rājputāna, and even when the head of the family retained the original surname, the younger branches in many instances adopted that of Singh. It was simply the fashion of the time among the Rājputs.

The traditions and legends referred to are very similar in the case of Behangamani Pāl and Sidh Singh. Both are said to have come from Māyāpuri or Hardwār, the inference being that they were from the same family.

In the *Vansāvalī* there is no suggestion that Sidh Singh came of a different line; on the contrary it seems to be assumed that he was descended from the Pāl family, and he himself originally bore the same surname. We therefore conclude that the weight of evidence is in favour of there having been only one dynasty.

It is permissible to conjecture that towards the end of the reign of Kelās Pāl, a combined revolt on the part of the Rānās and Thākurs against the Rāja resulted in his being driven into exile. He may then have retired to Māyāpuri to await a favourable opportunity to recover the State. Such an occurrence is known to have taken place in other hill States. Sidh Singh may, therefore, have been the grandson or great-grandson of Kelās Pāl. On the whole this seems to be the most natural conclusion to arrive at. So far as we are aware there is not a single instance in the history of the Panjab Hill States of a change of dynasty, and it seems improbable that such a change took place in Kulū.

The story of Sidh Singh's adventures is thus told in the *Vansāvalī*. On arriving in Kulū from Māyāpuri, Sidh Pāl, as he was then called, is said to have taken up his abode in the village of Hāt near Bajaura. Seeing the shrine of Bijli Mahādeo on the opposite hill, he inquired whose it was, and was told that any one taking water from the *sangam* on junction of the Biās and Pārbati rivers, and pouring it over the god, would receive the reward of his pious deed. Sidh Pāl resolved on doing this, and having carried out his intention he slept in the temple for the night. Then the god appeared to him in a dream and told him to go to Jagat-sukh where he would receive the promised reward. On arriving there he stayed in the house of a potter. In the morning as he was sitting with his knees crossed a Brahman entered and saw the *padami*,¹ or sign of royalty, on the sole of his foot. The Brahman then said, "You will obtain rule, and a goddess will meet you." Sidh Pāl replied, "Do not say so to any one or the Rānās will kill me." The Brahman repeated his words and asked a grant of land, which was promised if the prediction came true.

Sidh Pāl then went to the *jātra* or fair at Jagat-sukh, and on the way he fell in with the goddess Haṛimbā in the guise of an old woman carrying a *kilta* (basket) on her back. Being of a kindly disposition he offered to carry the *kilta*, and taking it from her put it on his own back. They then proceeded on their way to the fair. At

¹ The *padami* is also called *Urdh Rekḥ* or "mark of nobility" (literally "high line"), and is believed to be peculiar to Rājputs of royal birth. It is a line, like the "line of life," running along the sole of the foot, from the toes to the heel.

last they reached a big stone, and making him put the *kilta* on the ground Harimbā took Sidh Pāl on her shoulder and raised herself 32 *kos* high. She then asked him how far he could see, and he replied that in one direction he could see to Dalāsni, in another to Chorot plain, and in a third to Kale Kanauri. On receiving this answer she said, "You will acquire as much land as you can see," and then disappeared.

Sidh Pāl then went on to the fair and was hailed with "Jaideya" by all present, that is, he was at once recognized as Rājā.

Fearing the anger of the Rānās he concealed himself in the house of a Brahman and thus escaped. At night the Brahman's wife came to milk the cow, and there being no one to hold the calf, Sidh Pāl came out from his place of concealment and did so. While thus engaged, a lion entered the place, which he killed, and from that circumstance his surname was changed from Pāl to Singh. Soon afterwards the people assembled and elected him as Rāja of Wazīrī Parōl, and he then entered on the conquest of the country from the Rānās and Thākurs, who refused to acknowledge his rule.

In its main features this story bears a strong resemblance to that which is related of Behangamanī Pāl, the founder of the State, and it may have been reintroduced into the *Vansāvalī* simply to glorify the new Rājā. At the same time it seems quite possible that after a long exile Sidh Singh, the then head of the family, actually did return from Māyāpuri and was acknowledged as Rājā, as a means of relief from the oppression of the petty chiefs.

Sidh Singh had to put forth strenuous efforts to subdue the Rānās and Thākurs, who during a long period of complete independence had regained full power all over the country. In the other hill States of which we possess historical records, the policy of the Rājās was to stir up strife among the Rānās and Thākurs, and set them against one another. In this way many of them were got rid of, either by complete subjection or assassination. This policy Sidh Singh adopted in Kulū. At the beginning of his reign both banks of the Biās above Jagat-sukh were held by a powerful Chief named Jinna Rānā, whose name still survives in local tradition, and whose ancestors seem to have been in possession from a remote period. His chief strongholds were at Mandan Kot and Manāli, and being too powerful to be attacked openly, Sidh Singh resorted to treachery after the manner of the times.

¹ Jinna Rānā had a groom of Dāgi caste, bearing the nickname of Muchiānī on account of the length of his beard, who was a noted sportsman with bow and arrow. The Rānā objected to the long beard and the groom refused to shave it, giving rise to unpleasantness between them. At last the Rānā brought the matter to a crisis by calling upon the groom to kill a *mainā* sitting on a cow's back, without wounding the cow, failing which his beard would be shorn. This the groom did and saved his beard, but at the cost of all good feeling between himself and his master. This was Sidh Singh's opportunity, and he sent for the Muchiānī, and bribed him to kill the Rānā. The latter had gone to look at his rice fields at Kumānu and Rāambar

¹ Panjab Hist. Society Journal, Vol. vi, No. 2, pp. 72, 73, 74.

below Basisht, and as he was riding back the Muchiāni shot him in the thigh with an arrow. A pillar (*ora*) still marks the spot where this took place, and the range is fully 300 yards. The Rānā rode off to Mandan Kot, and at the spring of Bairakuta he stopped to drink water and died. The riderless horse galloped off to the stable, and soon afterwards the Muchiāni came along towards the fort, playing a dirge on a sieve to announce the death of his master. On hearing this the Rāni ordered the funeral pyre to be prepared and set fire to the fort, perishing with all her women including the Muchiāni's wife.

Sidh Singh rewarded the Muchiāni with the Kumānu *ropa* or rice fields, which his descendants still hold and bear the same name. The family, however, has a bad reputation in Kulū, and are forbidden to attend the Darbār.

After her *satī* the Rāni is believed to have become a *jogin* (goddess), and her shrine is in the ruins of the Mandan Kot fort. She is regarded as having control over the weather, especially as the giver of rain, and when rain is needed and fails, some Muchiānis are sent to burn a cow's skin near her shrine, which has the desired effect, the smell of burnt cow hide and the proximity of the Muchiānis being beyond endurance. The Muchiāni's wife is also worshipped as a *jogin*.

At the time of Jinna's death one of his wives was pregnant, and the Rāni sent her out of the fort before setting fire to it. In due course a boy was born, and when old enough was sent to herd buffaloes on the Gaddi Plain. One day the Rājā had come to sacrifice a buffalo to Huṛimbā at Dhungri, and the animal got loose, and ran away. The boy was there with his bow and arrow, and he shot the buffalo, or, as some say, caught it by the horns. The Rājā then called him, and, finding out his parentage, granted him in *jāgīr* the Aleo plain near Manālī. He founded the Nuwāni family which to this day erects memorial stones to its dead, a royal privilege in Kulū, Suket and Mandī. The custom, however, originated with the Rānās and Thākurs in the hills, and was in use before the advent of the Rājās. The Nuwāni family still cherish hatred of the Badāni Rājās of Kulū, and when the head of that house dies they assemble, and make a feast, instead of showing signs of mourning.¹

Traditions about Jinna Rānā still linger in Kulū. It is said that there are secret caves where his treasures were stored, and that a secret passage led to them from Mandan Kot. Some years ago a man found out the secret passage, so it is said, and entered the caves which were full of treasure. He returned without touching any thing in order to call others to help him to remove it, but on going back he failed to find the passage, and soon afterwards became mad—due, as is believed by the people, to the influence of the *jogins* or spirits of the caves.

The fort of Baragarh was the next place to be captured. It stood on a spur on the right side of the Biās opposite Nagar from which it could be clearly seen. After Rānā Bhosal's death as related, it seems to have remained in the possession of Suket, and was held by a garrison. In the fort lived a woman whom the Kulū chief had gained over to his side, and who promised to give a signal when a favourable oppor-

¹ J.P.H.S., Vol. vi, No. 2, p. 74.

tunity offered for an assault. One day the garrison went down to Hurang Kothi for the Pāli *jātra* on 2nd Jeth, and the woman then waved a red petticoat, the signal agreed on, which was seen from Nagar, and the Rājā marched in by the Sujoin Nālā, and captured the fort. The first thing he did on entering was to order the woman to be thrown down the precipice. Nagar castle is said to have been built with the stones from Garh Dhék and Sangor.¹

² But there were other petty chiefs still to be overcome. From ancient time, as Mr. Howell tells us, the Tibetans had been in the habit of crossing the passes, and making inroads into Kulū, and had formed settlements at the head of all the side ravines leading down into the main valleys. Each of these settlements was controlled by a local officer or chief, called 'Pitī Thākur' by the people of Kulū. One of these Thākurs, who enjoyed an evil reputation, lived in a fort, the remains of which are plainly traceable on a spur above Jagat-sukh. He is said to have drunk human milk, and also to have performed human sacrifice. As regards the latter no surprise need be felt, for there are indications that it was practised all through the hills down to a recent period. He had lieutenants who bore a reputation like his own, in Barnar, Dirot, Diābungī and Gowāri forts, and also in several forts in the Chakki Nālā. In fact these Tibetan officers or Chiefs held the approaches to the Hamta and Chandarkanni Passes, and all the byepaths by which these could be turned. Pitī Thākur's place of worship was the Prīnī Temple of the Great God Jamlu at the foot of the approach to the Hamta Pass, leading over from Jagat-sukh to the Chandra Valley. In this temple alone, and down to the present day, the Spiti men go to make offerings. All other races must take off their shoes in the temple precincts, but Tibetans go in fully shod, and when he is inspired the local priest at the shrine speaks a language which he claims to be Tibetan. He also maintains that the god came from Bhotant (Tibet), Chīn (China) or Pangu Padul Mansarovar; and incidentally this is an interesting commentary on the undoubtedly Tibetan origin of the Malāna people in the Upper Pārbati Valley, who claim to be the disciples and incarnations of Jamlu.

These numerous Tibetan settlements, says Mr. Howell, represent the advanced posts of Tibetan influence flanking the ancient trade route from Ladākh and Tibet Proper to Rāmpur Bashahr. This ancient trade route was discovered by Mr. Howell a few years ago, and his account of it is here given *in extenso*: "The position of Kulū, it has always seemed to me, is peculiar. Here is no backwater like the neighbouring State of Chambā, in which an ancient Rājput line has been able to maintain an unbroken rule from a period preceding the dawn of civilization in Europe. Kulū and Lahul lie full in a channel through which have ebbed and flowed for ages the tides of racial and religious antagonisms. The people have acknowledged many masters, Aryan and Mongolian, but through all the changes, the Indian markets have always demanded salt, wool and borax, not to speak of the more precious

¹ J.P.H.S., Vol. vi, No. 2, pp. 75-6. According to one tradition Baragarh was captured by Rājā Bidhi Singh, A.D. 1672-88.

² Journal Panjab Hist. Soc., Vol. vi, No. 2, pp. 69, 72.

merchandise of Central Asia; and while armies marched and fought, the hungry Tibetans would still risk much to get the wheat of the plains and the incomparable barley of Lahul. The trade therefore went on, and it was quite by chance that I discovered the ancient trade route."

"We must remember that in those days the Biās was nowhere bridged and everywhere an impassable torrent: that there were no mule roads; that every height was crowned with a fort, garrisoned by marauders; that the Kulū farmers, then as now, regarded travelling sheep as "fair game": that there was a Custom's barrier below Rahla to the south of the Rohtang Pass, at the cañon still known as the Jagāt-Khāna (Customs House), where no doubt a foreigner's life was made a burden to him, and that there would be endless bickering and bargaining at every halt before a caravan of laden sheep could get any grazing. All this is plain to any one who can imagine the Kulū people set free from the restraints that the British Rāj imposes upon them."

"So the trade from Ladākh avoided the Hamta and Rohtang Passes and the comparatively broad roads which led to destruction in the valleys, and took a safer if more difficult route. Arrived at the summit of the Bārālācha Pass the Tibetans turned their laden sheep to the left and followed down the left bank of the Chandrā river. Here was pasturage and to spare of the finest fattening grass in the world, wherever they chose to halt. There were no torrents which were not easily fordable in the morning and there was not the least fear of molestation in an uninhabited and, to the Indian mind, most undesirable region. Past the beautiful Chandrā Lake the trade sheep marched and grazed to the plain near Phuti Runi (Split Rock), still known as the Kanāwari Plain, corresponding to the modern Patseo in British Lahul. There the middlemen from Kanāwar in Bashahr, and perhaps from Kothi Kanāwar at the head of the Pārhati Valley, met them. The big 50 lb. packs of salt and other merchandise were unpacked, the big Tibetan sheep were shorn, for a week or more the trading went on, and finally the little Bashahri sheep marched off, while the Tibetan *biangs* or "trade sheep" returned with their packs to Rudok or Leh. But the Kanāwaris had no thought of moving through Kulū. They went up the valley which is now blocked by the Shigri Glacier; across the head of the Pārhati Valley and along the old mountain sheep route which is still known though seldom used,—always through uninhabited safety to the Satluj at Rāmpur. There they met and let us hope were a match for the wily traders of the plains."

"In 1836 the Shigri Glacier, hursting some obstruction on the mountain top, overwhelmed the Chandrā Valley, dammed the Chandrā river till it rose within a measurable distance of the Kunzam Pass, leading into Spiti, and finally destroyed the old trade route. The Spiti people had pickets out at the summit of the Pass to give warning, in case the river rose high enough to flood the pass and flow down to Losar, the first village in Spiti."

"There are, however, some landmarks on the old road, which was I suspect abandoned more gradually than tradition says. The Kanāwaris, who speak a Tibeto-Burmese language, closely allied to the languages of Lahul and Malāna, have left their name on the Kanāwari Plain, near the modern camping ground of Phuti

Runi, and the whole Pārbatī Valley is known to this day as Kothī Kanāwari, while its inhabitants, though they have forgotten their original language, and are rapidly becoming assimilated to the Kulu people, are still regarded as foreigners, and often show markedly Mongolian features. Probably they are the descendants of Kanāwaris who gave up trade for farming generations ago, before the trade road was abandoned. But they still know the road from Pulga to Rāmpur."

There can be little doubt that the Trade Road was in use in the time of Sidh Singh, and that the Tibetan Officers, called by the Kulū people "Pitī Thākur," held control of the country through which it passed. Their hold must have been strengthened by an invasion of Kulū from Ladākh about A.D. 1530, during the reign of Tsewang r Namgyal I, by whom Kulū was subdued and its "chiefs were made to feel the weight of his arm." It was probably soon after this invasion that the Tibetan Officers or petty chiefs were finally driven out of Kulū by Sidh Singh, and we hear no more of them.

¹ Mr. Howell relates an interesting incident bearing on the Tibetan occupation. More than 20 years ago, he says, a monk came with credentials from Lhāssa addressed to the late Thākur Hari Singh of Lahul, and he also had in his possession an ancient map of Manāli and of an old Buddhist monastery which once stood there. He stated that the monks who occupied it had been driven out of the valley in a hurry, and had hidden their library in a cave, which they had closed by concealing the mouth with a pile of logs and sealing it with a curse calculated to deter the boldest Kulū man from interfering with the logs. When the monk reached Manāli he went straight to the pile of logs in front of the Manāli temple, and was at once confronted with the curse, making it impossible for him to touch them. The mystery thus remains unsolved. But the incident shows that monastic chronicles confirm the general tradition of a Tibetan occupation, and Tibetan place-names are found at the head of all the valleys—e.g. Solong in Kulū proper; Pangchi Pass between Rupī and Inner Sarāj; Shungchu and Tung in Inner Sarāj. The Tibetans, however, seem never to have occupied the lower valleys and did not like coming below an altitude of 9,000 or 10,000 ft., and never formed any outposts lower than 7,000 or 8,000 ft., and these seem to have been chiefly for the protection of the trade route. Climatic conditions made it impossible for them to live at a lower altitude.

Sidh Singh died probably in A.D. 1532 and was succeeded by his son Bahādur Singh.

Bahādur Singh (c. A.D. 1552). Bahādur Singh completed the subjection of the Rānas and Thākurs which his father had begun. Wazīrī Rupī was still in the possession of Suket and the Thākurs paid tribute. The Rājā of Suket at that time was Arjun Sen who was notorious for his arrogance. When the Thākurs of Wazīrī Rupī came to him with their tribute, he kept them waiting some days before receiving them, and when at last he came out of his palace he asked them gruffly whence the "crows of Rupī" had come, and refused to grant their requests. The Rupī men

¹ J.P.H.S., Vol. vi, No. 2, p. 71.

replied, "Yes, we are crows and we will fly away to our own forests," so on their way back they decided to offer their allegiance to Bahādur Singh, and presented themselves before him at Nagar. On seeing them, Bahādur Singh, more politic than the ruler of Suket, asked, why the "lords of Rupī" had come to him. They replied that formerly they were the subjects of the State, and they desired to become so again. Thus the greater part of Wazīri Rupī was quietly brought under control.¹

Some of the petty chiefs, however, held out and Bahādur Singh, therefore, advanced into Rupī and having captured Harkandhi Kothī imprisoned the Thākur. He then went on to Kanāwar and killed the Thākur, after which he took possession of his estate. The same fate befell Chung Kothī and its Thākur, and Bahādur Singh then attacked Kothī Kot-kandhi, and the Thākur of Chanwar came out to receive the Rājā, and on a *jāgīr* being granted him he made over the rest of his territory and became subject. Another Thākur in Kothī Kot-kandhi was not so submissive. He resided at Basa and on Bahādur Singh's approach refused to go out to meet him and prepared for resistance. He was however defeated, and fled, and Kotkhandi fort was captured and garrisoned with Kulū troops. The Thākur of Basa was afterwards captured and gave in his submission, on which Basa was granted him in *jāgīr*. But when he returned home he changed his mind and sent word that he would neither serve nor obey the Rājā. Having been captured a second time some one suggested that his obstinacy was the effect of standing on his native soil. To test this some earth was brought from Basa and spread on the ground, and after being seated he was again asked if he was now willing to submit. He replied: "I will neither obey your commands nor serve you." Thereupon the Rājā is said to have remarked that it was not the Thākur's fault, but that of the soil, for he was disobedient because he stood on his own ground.² The Thākur was therefore imprisoned and the earth of Basa was dug up and dispersed to other villages, presumably to destroy its malign influence. Other lands were then granted to the Thākur's family. Bahādur Singh then fought with the Thākur of Tandi in Bhulān Kothī, killed him and destroyed his fort at Dharmpur, and placed a guard at Jamser.

Thākur Haul resided in Sainsar Kothī, and some of his brotherhood lived at Nalahar. They offered, if a *jāgīr* was granted them, to seize the Thākur and bring him to the Rājā, and also to persuade the people to settle down peaceably. They said that the lower road was unsuitable for an advance, which ought to be made by the Baijahi Pass. On Sainsar being reached a fight took place in which Thākur Haul was killed and his estate was then brought under the Rājā's control, a *jāgīr* as promised being given to the Thākur's relatives who had betrayed him.

In this way, after subduing the whole of Wazīri Rupī Bahādur Singh settled down at Makarāha or Makarsa in Sainsar Kothī, which he rebuilt. It had probably been in ruins from early times.

³ In the account of his journey through Kulū in August 1820, Mr. William Moor-

¹ J.P.H.S., Vol. vii, No. 2, p. 10.

² A similar story is told of one of the Chamba Ranas. Cf. Chamba Gaz., p. 176.

³ Moorcroft, *Travels*, Vol. i, p. 184.

croft, the traveller, refers to Makarsa, which he identified with Nagar. He was evidently unaware of the existence of the ancient town of the same name opposite Bajaura. He says: "On the 11th, we passed a house, belonging to the Rājā, on our right, situated on an eminence, at the foot of which stood the ancient capital of Kulū, named Makarsa. A few houses are all that remain of it, as the removal to Sultānpur took place three centuries ago." Col. Harcourt also states that the old capital of the Rājās at Nagar was termed Makarsa, though he was aware of the existence of Makarāha. Tradition however does not support this identification. According to it, Makarsa or Magarsa is not a town, but a tract or district of Kulū, named after the town of *Makarāha* or Makarāsa. The name *Makarsa* was applied to the whole of Kulū State from the time of Rājā Bahādur Singh, and the tradition finds expression in the following popular rhyme:—

*Rānā, Thākur mārīe keru bhurasa
Makarāhar basīe, rāj banu Makarsa*

"The Rānās and Thākurs were killed and smashed up. Makarāhar was repopulated, and the State became known as Makarsa."¹

That Nagar the capital was also called Makarsa is not improbable. An analogous case is that of Kashmir under Muhammadan rule, when both the country and the capital bore the same name, the old name of the capital—Srinagar—having fallen into disuse. The ancient name was revived only after the valley passed in 1846 into the hands of the Dogra Rajputs of Jammu. (*Vide Moorcroft, Travels*, vol. ii, p. 114).

But though Nagar was the capital, Bahādur Singh resided chiefly at Makarāha, where he built a palace for himself and repeopled the town, and there he died. His immediate successors followed his example down to Rājā Jagat Singh, who transferred the capital to Sultānpur.

The Tibetan records make no mention of the first two capitals of Kulū. The *Tinan Chronicle* completed in the time of Bahādur Singh speaks of him as residing at Makarsa, and the same is said of his successors, Pratāp Singh and Parbat Singh. Sultānpur is first mentioned in the reign of Rājā Pritam Singh, under the name of Setānpur. It is certain, however, that Nagar was the seat of government before the transfer to Sultānpur, though the Rājās resided chiefly at Makarāha.

Mr. G. C. L. Howell, late Assistant Commissioner in Kulū, has gone fully into the question of the identification of Makarāha. He says: "There has been much confusion regarding the site of Makarāha which the Rev. A. H. Francké was able to clear up. The *Chronicle of Tinan* (Gondla) in Lahul speaks of Bahādur Singh as residing at Makarsang, and this in the Bunan language of Lahul means, "the place of Makar."

"All tradition in Kulū supports the statement of the *Chronicle of Tinan* and of Hardyāl Singh, that Bahādur Singh of Kulū rebuilt the ruined town of Makarāha. This lies on the plain on the left bank of the Biās near the debouchment of the Hurla

¹ Arch. Survey Reports, 1907-08, p. 268.

Khad, south of Nagar, and easily accessible from Bajaura. As to Moorcroft's identification of Nagar with Makarsa, he only casually looked at the place from the other side of the river, and might quite easily have failed to catch what was said to him, or he was misinformed."

"Bahādur Singh and his descendants used to like to live there, and imagine that they were descended from the great kings who built the town. Makarāha was no doubt a convenient place of residence for Bahādur Singh during the time that his generals were campaigning in Sarāj. He never took the field himself apparently, and as long as the right bank of the Sainj Nālā was occupied by his troops he would be quite safe and in touch at once with Nagar and with the army in the field."

"Most unfortunately some British Official with unpardonable iconoclasm used most of the beautiful stone carvings of Makarāha to build the bridge over the Biās at Dalāsni which was washed away: as well as some other bridges. But enough remains to show that the place was founded by some civilized dynasty, which had attained to a very high order of art: for the stone work is really very beautiful. It seems probable that one highly advanced civilization was responsible for the beautiful carvings of old Makarāha; of Hāt, in its immediate neighbourhood, near Bajaura; and of Nast near Jagat-sukh. At any rate the connection between these carvings is well worthy of the attention of archaeologists, and the sites would probably repay excavation."

Having taken up his residence at Makarāha after the conquest of the Pārbati Valley, Bahādur Singh next took in hand the overthrow of the Rānās and Thākurs who still held Sarāj. He advanced against Kothi Sainsar, where he was opposed by two or three Thākurs, all of whom were killed and their states occupied. Banogi near Lārjī was the next to be attacked, and that also fell into his hands. He granted some lands to the relatives of the Thākur, and destroyed the *thāna* at Banogī, built by the former rulers, which is called "thāna" to this day, and is the house of the present Thākur. Bahādur Singh then went to Nohanda through Sirikot, and took possession of it after killing the Thākur. Kothi Bunga fell into his hands in the same manner. Kothi Sarchi was the next to be attacked, but the Thākur submitted and received a *jāgīr*. He then pushed on to Rāmgarh and attacked and killed the Thākur of that place, after which the surrounding country fell into his hands. Kothi Chāhni followed; all the Thākurs of that place being killed in battle.

In the possession of a Thākur family at Ladhyāra in Kothī Bhalān, is an old document said to have been granted to the ancestor of the family by Rājā Bahādur Singh, which throws an interesting light on the events of the time, and of which the following is a translation:—

"By the favour of Śrī Mahā Śrī Raghunāth jī—Makarsa is the Kingdom of Śrī Raghunāth jī, and he has given it to Śrī Mahārāja Bahādur Singh. It is the possession of Mahārāja Bahādur Singh.

"The Ladhyāra Thākur Hāthī.

Then above Churwaḍhi he (Hāthī) seized the chiefship (*thākuri*) of Manimuas and killed the Thākur. He then captured the Thākur of Kot Kandhi, and bringing

him, presented him to Bahādur Singh and seized Kot-kandhi. He brought Bahādur Singh by the back way to Ladhyāra. Then he killed the Thākur of Bhalān and seized his barony. Bahādur Singh was living at Ladhyāra. He sent Hāthī to seize Sainsar, he (Hāthī) occupied Sainsar and laid it waste. Then he seized the whole of Rupī and presented it to Bahādur Singh. Then Bahādur Singh greatly extended his kingdom. The baronies (*thākuri*) of Sarāj remained to be conquered and he (Bahādur Singh) ordered other officers to go. They replied, "We cannot go." Then Bahādur Singh said to Hāthī, "Without you the *thākuris* of Sarāj will not be conquered." Bahādur Singh remained at Ladhyāra and sent his army with Hāthī, appointing him Commander. Then Hāthī went to Shangar and took it. He also captured Tung, Nahodh, Chahan and Tund and called the last place Bahādurpur and built a fort. Then Hāthī returned and came to Banog and captured Anand the Sarāj Thākur and also Banog, and seized all the Sarāj Thākurs. He seized Sarāj and Rupī, laying them waste, and presented them to Bahādur Singh. Then Bahādur Singh having enlarged his kingdom made great rejoicings and killed goats. Hāthī gave the *drub* grass to the Rājā and the Rājā gave a bracelet to Hāthī, and bound it on his arm. The Rājā also gave Hāthī the whole of Ladhyāra; 72 *khārwārs* of land and 360 *khārwārs* in *sāsan* to be enjoyed in perpetuity. He also had it recorded in the court that Hāthī should enjoy the *khārwārs* and *sāsan*, as a reward for subduing the Thākurs, and that his descendants should also enjoy them. Then the Rājā made Hāthī his Wazīr on account of his brave deeds. Hāthī then said (to the Rājā) that there were many cultivators (*hālis*) living on the land, and he requested that the Rājā should give them to him as slaves, and they also were given in perpetuity. The Rājā also gave orders that the Wazīr of Rupī and the officials of Bhalān were not to give trouble when Hāthī was absent on military expeditions. Given Sambat 90—15th Paisākh."

The date of the document is probably Sh. 9=A.D. 1533, which would place it near the beginning of Bahādur Singh's reign, and though there is some doubt regarding its genuineness, "there can be no doubt"—says Mr. Howell—"that it correctly describes the conquest of part of Lower Sarāj." It is in the possession of a lineal descendant of the Thākur named Hāthī, referred to, who still resides at Ladhyāra on the family lands, but the family is not respected by the other Thākurs. As the worship of Raghunāth (Rāma) was not introduced into Kulū till the reign of Rājā Jagat Singh (A.D. 1637-72) the document cannot be accepted as genuine, but there can be little doubt that it correctly describes the manner in which Bahādur Singh conducted his campaigns.

It is probable that an accession of territory, to which a reference occurs in the Mandī annals, was also made in the later years of Bahādur Singh. After the conquest of Wazīrī Parōl, Wazīrī Rupī and half of Inner Sarāj, there still remained the small kingdom of Lag, on the right bank of the Biās, founded by the descendants of the Parohit of Rājā Parbat Sen of Suket. It included Wazīrī Lag-Sārī and Lag-Mahārājā, from the Phojal Nālā to Bajaura, also the tract now called Sarāj-Mandī and half of Inner Sarāj, as well as the north-west portion of Outer Sarāj, and a small

part of Chhota Bangāhal. The Mandī records state that Sāhib Sen of that State (c. A.D. 1554-1575) combined with Jagat Singh of Kulū in an invasion of Lag. Jagat Singh, however, was not a contemporary of Sāhib Sen, whose reign was synchronous with that of Bahādur Singh and Partāp Singh. On that occasion the portions of Inner and Outer Sarāj held by Lag were annexed to Kulū; and Mandī seized the tract now called Sarāj-Mandi. As the result of a subsequent invasion of Lag, probably in the same reigns, Mandi obtained the districts of Sanor and Badar, while Kulū took Pirkot, Madanpur and twelve neighbouring villages. The Lag State then probably became tributary to Kulū.¹

This is incidentally corroborated by a title-deed issued by Bahādur Singh in A.D. 1559 to Ramāpatī, the Rājāguru of Chambā, granting him a piece of land in *sāsan*, or free hold, in the neighbourhood of Haṭṭa or Hāt, at the confluence of the Rupereri and Biās rivers near Bajaura. Hāt must originally have been in Lag State and presumably had been annexed to Kulū by Bahādur Singh.²

³ It is also possible that Sultānpur was founded by Bahādur Singh, though local tradition assigns its foundation to Sultān Chand, brother of Jog Chand, the last Rājā of Lag, who was subdued by Jagat Singh (A.D. 1637-1672). According to one local tradition Sultānpur was founded by one Sultān Singh and Dhālpur, the suburb on the right bank of the Sarvari Nālā, by Dhāl Singh.

Now in the copper plate referred to Bahādur Singh is called "Suratrāna Rājā," that is, "Sultān Rājā," and the fact that this name was actually in use is known traditionally in Kulū. It is therefore possible that Bahādur Singh was also called "Sultān Singh," and as Lag was tributary to him he may have conquered or acquired the site, and founded the town of Sultānpur. But, as we know, he resided at Makarāha, and died there.

⁴ In Sh. 35=A.D. 1559, towards the end of Bahādur Singh's reign, a marriage alliance took place between the royal families of Kulū and Chambā, of which we possess an interesting record in the form of a copper-plate title-deed. This deed was granted by Bahādur Singh to Ramāpatī, the *Rājā-guru* or spiritual-preceptor of the Chambā Chief, presumably in recognition of his services in negotiating the marriage, to which much importance was evidently attached by the Kulū Rājā. The Rājā of Chambā of the time was, probably, Ganesh Varman, and the bridegroom, Partāp Singh, his son and heir—to whom three Kulū Princesses were married at the same time. The fact of such a marriage need cause no surprise, as it was not an uncommon practice among the Hill Rājputs for two or more sisters to be married at the same time and to the same person.

The title-deed conferred on Ramāpatī various grants of land, and other boons which were to be enjoyed by him, and his offspring "for as long as the moon, the sun, the polar star and the earth shall endure." The descendants of Ramāpatī still hold the office of *Rājā-guru*, and their family is one of the first in Chambā—but the lands conveyed to their ancestor by the bounty of Bahādur Singh have long since

¹ Cf. J.P.H.S., Vol. vi, No. 1, p. 8.

² Arch. Survey Report, 1902-03, pp. 265-6.

³ Arch. Survey Report, 1902-03, pp. 262-3.

⁴ Arch. Survey Report, 1902-03, pp. 261-269.

passed into other hands. The title-deed is dated in the Shāstra year 35=A.D. 1559, which was probably the year of Bahādur Singh's death, though the vernacular history places that event in A.D. 1569.

Bahādur Singh was succeeded by *Partāp Singh* (A.D. 1559-1575), *Parbat Singh* (A.D. 1575-1608), *Prithī Singh* (A.D. 1608-1635), and *Kaliān Singh* (A.D. 1635-1637), the last named being a brother of the previous Rājā. Of the events of these reigns we unfortunately have no records. They synchronised with the reigns of Akbar, Jahāngir and the early part of Shāhjahān's reign.

Though no mention of the Mughals is found in the Chronicle, it is probable that Kulū, like most of the other hill states, came under Mughal control in Akbar's reign. In this connection reference may be made to the association of Akbar's name with the temple of the god Jamlu in the village of Malāna, on the Malāna Nālā, a branch of the Pārbatī river. Briefly told, the story is that a *sādhu*, or religious mendicant, received two pice on his visit to Malāna from the treasury of the local deity. On arriving at Delhi the pice were taken from him in name of a poll-tax and thus found their way into the imperial treasury. Soon afterwards Akbar, it is said, became afflicted with leprosy, and on inquiry at the Brahmans he was told that an insult had been offered to Jamlu, and the two pice must be restored if he wished to recover. On search being made in the treasury the two pice were found stuck together, and Akbar was told to take them in person to Malāna and restore them to the god. A compromise was made, by the Emperor sending them along with various images in gold and silver of himself and his court, which were presented to Jamlu, and thus his wrath was appeased and Akbar recovered. Every year in Phagun at the annual festival these images are brought out, so that Akbar may do homage to Jamlu. It has even been said that Akbar visited Malāna, but this we may safely assume is incorrect.¹

The Rājās who followed Bahādur Singh continued to reside at Makarāha, though Nagar seems to have been regarded as the capital of the State.

Jagat Singh (A.D. 1637-1672). Jagat Singh was one of the most notable of the Kulū Chiefs, and during his reign the kingdom was further enlarged and consolidated. For some time after his accession he continued to reside at Makarāha, and from there he directed his conquest of Outer Sarāj and the territory on the right bank of the Biās still under the rule of Lag.

In the beginning of Jagat Singh's reign an incident occurred which had important political consequences. A Brahman residing at Tippiari between Chaman and Jhari, was said to have a *patha* (i.e. about three pounds) of pearls. The Rājā sent to demand the pearls and met with a refusal. He was on his way to Manikarn, and at Sarsari he again sent to the Brahman for the pearls. Being angry the latter replied that he would produce them on the Rājā's return from Manikarn, but on the approach of the royal party he set fire to himself, and perished with all his family. The house is still shown. The Rājā then went on to Makarāha, and on food being set before him it all turned to worms. This caused much alarm, and a Brahman of

¹ Cf. J.P.H.S., Vol. iv. No. 2, pp. 98-111, from which it appears that Akbar is now the object of worship, though he originally appeared (by proxy) as a suppliant before the shrine of Jamlu.

reputed piety was sent for from Suket, who came unwillingly. On the matter being laid before him he told the Rājā that it had been revealed to him in a dream that the sin of Brahman-murder could be expiated only by bringing the image of Raghunāthji from Oudh¹; and making a surrender of the kingdom to that deity. On hearing this Jagat Singh ordered the Brahman, named Damodar, to bring the image. Now Damodar had a *gutka-sidh*, or ball used by devotees, which, on being put in the mouth, made the bearer invisible. He went to Oudh—probably the town of Ajudhya—and lived a long time in the temple waiting for an opportunity to carry off the image. Having at last secured it he put the *gutka-sidh* in his mouth and at once reached Hardwār. On the theft being discovered, one of the temple attendants who also had a *gutka-sidh* started in pursuit, and also arrived at Hardwār where he found Damodar worshiping the image. Being challenged with the theft, he replied, that he had not stolen the god, as it was at the latter's own request that he was being taken to Rājā Jagat Singh of Kulū. "If I do not speak the truth," said Damodar, "take the god back if you can." The Oudh Brahman then tried to lift the image but in vain, while Damodar raised it with one hand. Being satisfied, the Oudh Brahman returned empty-handed, and Damodar brought the image to Makarāha. There Jagat Singh formally conveyed his realm to the god, by placing the image on the *gaddi*, and henceforth the Rājās of Kulū regarded themselves as only the vicegerents of Raghunāth (Rāma), and as ruling only in his name. A great feast or *yagya*² was also held on the occasion. A similar transfer of the kingdom to a god took place in Mandī about the same time, in the reign of Sūraj Sen, A.D. 1637–64. In this way the curse was removed, and in gratitude Damodar was granted 84 coolie loads of goods and also a temple at Bhuin village with all its rights. Jagat-sukh Kothī was also made *dharmarth*, that is, every one visiting the place was allowed food free, in the name of the god. Jagat Singh also ordered one rupee and two copper coins to be placed daily before the god and gave orders that this money was to be put aside and sent every year to Ayudhya.

As we have already seen, the first invasion of Lag probably took place in the reign of Partāp Singh. But although much of the territory was then lost the Rājās of Lag continued to hold the rest of the State down to the reign of Jagat Singh. It included the whole of Lag proper; Kodh Sawār of Chhota Bangāhal; and all the slopes to the Uhl river from the outer Himālaya, the upper part of which is now known as Chuhār—originally a part of Bangāhal State.

Jagat Sing invaded Lag in conjunction with the Rājā of Mandi, probably Sūraj Sen. After the conquest Mandi took Chuhār, and all the rest seems to have gone to Kulū. The Lag State was then ruled by two brothers, one of whom, Jai Chand or Jog Chand, resided at Dughi Lag, and the other, Sultān Chand, at Sultānpur, which according to tradition was founded by him and named after him. Jagat Singh invaded Lag, and his advance was made by way of Dhālpur, near Sultānpur, where he attacked Sultān Chand. The latter was a renowned warrior, and a large cave is still

¹ Probably the city of Ayodhya is indicated.

² Skr. *yajna*, "a sacrifice"

shown on a mountain near Sultānpur, as the favourite hiding-place of the two brothers when carrying on a guerilla war against Jagat Singh. At last Sultān Chand is said to have had his head severed from his body in battle, but it remained in place, and he went on fighting till he reached the *Padhka*,—a kind of pillar in Sultānpur,—where the head fell off and he died.¹ Traditionally, however, Jai or Jog Chand is said to have been the hero of this incident. However this may be, the second brother was also soon afterwards killed, and the whole territory of Lag was then annexed to Mandi and Kulū as already related, probably about A.D. 1650–55.

² Jagat Singh's attack upon the Lag State is fully corroborated by one of the *jarmāns* already referred to, addressed to him by Dārā Shikoh in the year A.H. 1067 = A.D. 1657. In this document it is stated that Jagat Singh had taken possession of the estate of Jog Chand after the latter's demise, and carried captive some of his relatives, knowing them to be under the protection of the Emperor. He is enjoined to surrender the tract seized, and "if from obstinacy and imprudence he deferred releasing Jog Chand's grandson and giving up the district an order would be issued to Rājā Rājrup Jahāngīr Quli Beg, and the Faujdār of Jammu, that they should go up to the districts of his *Zamīndārī* and annihilate him." Rājā Rājrup was the Rājā of Nurpur and son of Rājā Jagat Singh of that State, and not an uncle of Jaswant Singh of Jodhpur as is stated in the Sirmur State Gazetteer, Jahāngīr Quli Beg may have been the Faujdār of Kāngra, who resided in the Kāngra Fort, and was entrusted with the duty of collecting the annual tribute money, called *nazarāna*, from the Hill Chiefs of the Kāngra group of States.

Jagat Singh did not comply with the royal command. He had probably heard rumours of the impending conflict between Dārā Shikoh and his three brothers, and felt himself safe in disregarding the order. Soon afterwards the fratricidal struggle began and Dārā Shikoh was defeated at Samugarh near Agra.

Having thus subdued the whole of the Upper Kulū Valley, Jagat Singh transferred the capital from Nagar to Sultānpur, probably about A.D. 1660, and built a palace for himself and a temple for Raghunāthji. Thereafter he resided alternately at Sultānpur, Nagar and Thawa—the last-named place being above Nagar. 'It is now a heap of ruins and tradition says that Nagar Castle was built with the stones from Thawa.

Makarāha was then abandoned and probably soon fell into decay. It had enjoyed great prosperity during the reign of Jagat Singh, who erected a temple there to Rāmā and deposited in it a Murlī (flute) which he had obtained from Ayōdhyā. The following couplet is also interesting, as showing the prosperous condition of the place.

*Makarāhar Ajodhyāpurī mānōhēm Braj kī rīt
Jagat Singh Mahārāj kī Srī Rāgho-ji sem prīt.*

Makarāhar is another Ayōdhyā and is the counterpart of Braj (tract round Mathura). Mahārāja Jagat Singh is devoted to the illustrious Raghoji (i.e. Rāmā chandra)."³

¹ A similar story is related by the bards of Gugga Chauhan, a deified hero—also called Mundlikh—who is worshipped in the hills.

² Arch. Survey Report, 1907–08, p. 268.

³ Arch. Survey Report, 1907–08, p. 270.

¹ Of the thirteen *farmāns* referred to, twelve are addressed to Jagat Singh between A.D. 1650 and 1658. In them he is called Zamindār of Kulū, and is only once styled Rājā. One of the *farmāns* is from Aurangzeb in which Jagat Singh is spoken of as "well-established in his royal ways." He sent presents of hawks and crystal to Delhi, and deputed his son as a hostage at the Imperial Court. In the *farmān* referred to Jagat Singh was asked to join hands with Dhan Chand Kahluria of Bilāspur, in order to close the roads through the hills against Sulaimān Shikoh, son of Dārā Shikoh, who sought to rejoin his father.² The latter had fled to the Panjab after his defeat by Aurangzeb and Murād Baksh at the battle of Sāmugarh in A.D. 1658. *Vide* Bernier, *Voyages*, Vol. I, pp. 84 f.; also Manucci, Vol. I, p. 271.

An amusing tradition has come down about Jagat Singh and a Brahman *sādhu*, who lived in a small forest, called Nagar-Jhir forest, near Nagar and Thawa. The Rājā went to visit the saint, who changed himself into a tiger; but not being in the least afraid Jagat Singh lifted the tiger off the ground. At this the tiger was pleased, and patting the Rājā again changed himself into a *sādhu*. He made Jagat Singh his disciple, and put a *kanthi* or garland round his neck, at the same time giving him the god Narsingh to worship. He then added, "You are of the Kshatri caste so you should have one bird shot every day and cooked and then offered to the god, after which half is to be given to my disciple and the other part you should eat yourself." He also said, "Eight of your descendants will reign at Makarāha and the ninth at Pandori; after that whoever obeys Raghunāth the most will be king."

It appears that most of Outer Sarāj was still in the possession of Suket and Bashahr, so Jagat Singh went there with his army and captured the forts of Naraingarh, Sirigarh and Himri, and annexed them to the State. He died soon afterwards, having reigned about 35 years.

Bidhi Singh (c. A.D. 1672). Jagat Singh had three sons, Hari Singh, Bidhi Singh and Fakir Singh. Hari Singh was killed, probably in battle, and Bidhi Singh succeeded on his father's death. Fakir Singh went to Delhi probably as a hostage for the State, in accordance with the practice initiated by Akbar.

Bidhi Singh is said to have extended the boundaries of the kingdom in every direction at the expense of his neighbours. In his reign the Satluj became the State boundary to the south, and some of the small principalities of the Simla Hills—as now known—are said to have been subdued. Towards the north he, about A.D. 1670–80, advanced into Upper Lahul and freed it from Ladākh, to which it, as well as Kulū, had been tributary from A.D. 1125–50. This was probably rendered easy in consequence of the invasion of Ladākh by Eastern Tibet in A.D. 1646–47,³ which greatly weakened the power of the former State. As we have seen, the main Chandrābhāga Valley, especially on the left bank, from the junction of the two rivers, had been under Chambā from early times. Traditions to this effect exist in the valley, and

¹ Arch. Sur. Report, 1907–08, p. 268.

² A similar order was sent to Rājā Subhag Parkāsh of Sirmour, and to Rājā Rajrūp Singh of Nurpur. Cf. Sirmur Gaz., p. 13.

³ Cf. *Western Tibet*, Francke, p. 104 *et seq.* Cf. *Chamba Gaz.*, p. 94.

the people of Ghushāl say that they owned a copper-plate deed granted by a Chambā Rājā, which was lost when the Upper Valley passed under the rule of Kulū, in the time of Bidhī Singh. Lahul is named in the Chronicle among the places conquered by him, and Thiroṭ, which marks the boundary between Kulū and Chambā at the present time, is specified as coming under the control of Kulū. In one account, it is stated that Lahul was transferred to Kulū as dowry with a Chambā princess, but this is improbable, as territory is seldom if ever given on such occasions. The conclusion we arrive at is, that Bidhī Singh invaded Lahul and expelled Ladākh influence from the Upper Valley, and also acquired the main valley down to the present boundary from Chambā, either by conquest or private arrangement.

Bidhī Singh also annexed the Kothis of Dhaul, Kot Kandhi and Baramgarh in Outer Sarāj, after taking them from Bashahr. He died in A.D. 1688.

Mān Singh (A.D. 1688). Under Mān Singh the Kulū State reached the zenith of its power. In the early part of his reign he invaded Mandī and conquered the country as far as Drang salt-mines. The Rānī of Mandī, it is said, then fell at his feet and he relinquished his conquests. The Mandī records, however, state that he was defeated and driven back.¹ This event is said to have taken place in the reign of Gur Sen of Mandī, but it may have been somewhat later. A dagger was presented on this occasion by Mān Singh to the Mandī Rājā, which is still preserved in the State Armoury at Mandī.

Mān Singh completed the *tālūka* of Outer Sarāj, as it now exists, by taking the present Kulū Kothī of Pandrabīs from Bashahr, and he built the forts of Pandrabīs, Dabkopochka and Tangusta.

² About A.D. 1700, Mān Singh again took the field against Mandī in consequence of the invasion of Bangāhal. This was an ancient principality with the capital at Bīr-Bangāhal, and it embraced most of the country along the southern outskirts of the Dhaula Dhār between Kāngra and Kulū, as far south as the Biās. It also included the district of Bara Bangāhal in the head waters of the Rāvi, to the north of the Dhaula Dhār. Some time previous to this the most southerly *ilāqās*, containing the salt mines of Guma and Drang, had been seized by Mandī, and Sidh Sen of that State now cast covetous eyes on the rest of the State, which he sought to add to his dominions by treachery. Prithī Pāl, the Rājā of Bangāhal was his son-in-law—and the latter's sister was married to Mān Singh of Kulū.

Prithī Pāl was invited to Mandī on the pretext of seeking his assistance against Suket, and on his arrival was received with every mark of honour, but a month afterwards he was inveigled into the Damdama palace and murdered. Sidh Sen then sent an army against Bangāhal, but Prithī Pāl's mother, who was still alive, appealed to Mān Singh of Kulū for help. He set out with a force by way of the Sāri Pass and captured the fort of Ratnagir. At the end of the campaign Bara Bangāhal, Chhota Bangāhal, and part of Bīr Bangāhal, were also annexed to Kulū. Mān Singh then returned to Sultānpur where he remained for some time, but on trouble arising

¹ J.P.H.S., Vol. vii, No. 1, pp. 14-15.

² Vide J.P.H.S., Vol. vii, No. 1, p. 15.

with Ladākh he marched through Lahul, and fixed the boundary with that State, probably at the Lingti Plain, where it still is. Being then near the borders of Spiti he subdued the country, and compelled the people to pay tribute, and then returned to Kulū. After that Spiti seems to have formed a part of Kulū State for some time. His next expedition was towards the south. Passing through Sarāj he crossed the Satluj and seized Shāngri, which was then held by a Thākur, to whom he assigned a *jāgīr*, and annexed the country.

He built the fort of Kalgarh, and after making a deduction from the revenue of Shāngri for servants, etc., he fixed a payment of Rs. 100 per annum only. He also built forts at Sirikot, Salāchani, Ratu, Rararna, and Pagi, and took tribute from Kotgarh, Kamhārsen and Balsān.

Soon afterwards Mandi invaded Kulū, and Garhchula, Madanpur, Bisturi and Tārāpur were attacked. On Mān Singh's advance the invaders retreated and were pursued as far as Guma and Drang, both of which places were occupied. Mān Singh then advanced to Dhangri where he remained till the Mandi Rājā came to terms, and presented a large sum of money, probably as tribute, on which the country was restored and the Kulū force retired. The Rājā built a palace at Ratah village.

Mān Singh's reign came to a tragic end. Having fallen in love with the wife of the Rājā of Kamhārsen, her husband enticed him across the Satluj to Sirikot, unguarded, where he was set upon by Bashahris and killed. During his rule Kulū had become a powerful State, embracing an area of at least 10,000 square miles. In addition to Kulū proper it comprised Upper Lahul, Bara and Chhota Bangāhal and Spiti, while towards the south it extended nearly to Simla and to the town of Mandi.

Rāj Singh (A.D. 1719). This reign seems to have been uneventful, for there is practically nothing recorded regarding it. It was about this time that Gobind Singh—the tenth Sikh Guru—visited Kulū, it is said, to ask assistance against the Muhammadans. The Rājā seems to have been unfavourably disposed towards the Guru, and treated him inhospitably. On being asked to perform a miracle, the Guru drew out his own beard to a great length, on which the Rājā breathed out a flame which consumed the Guru's beard. The Guru was also imprisoned in an iron cage, but he caused himself to be carried through the air, cage and all, to Mandi, where he was courteously entertained by Sidh Sen, the ruler of that State.¹

Rāj Singh's reign was a short one, and he died about A.D. 1731, and was succeeded by his son Jai Singh.

Jai Singh (A.D. 1731). During the early part of this reign the Wazir of the State was one Kālu of Diyār, whose descendants still live in Kulū. For some reason unknown, the Rājā was displeased with him and expelled him from the country. He retired to Kareti, a village above Kepu on the left bank of the Satluj, and stirred up a revolt. The State officials were seized and thrown from the high rocks of Sewda in Sarāj, at a place called Paldhag. On hearing of the revolt Jai Singh fled to Lahore,

¹ Vigne, *Travels*, Vol. i, pp. 99-100.

accompanied by 500 men, probably for the purpose of appealing to the Mughal Viceroy. Hearing of this, Shamsheer Sen of Mandī invaded the State and took possession of Chuhār *ilāqa*, which with only one short interval has been Mandī territory ever since. Jai Singh is said to have been a handsome man, and when in Lahore the King's (Nawab's) daughter saw him and wanted to marry him.¹ On her father approaching the Rājā on the subject, he became alarmed and fled by night with 50 of his men, leaving the others to take back his property to Kulū.

Jai Singh did not return to Kulū, and wrote to his brother, Tedhī Singh, that he had gone on pilgrimage to the holy places. He went to Oudh and lived at Rāmdarbar,² devoting himself to the worship of Raghunāth till his death.

Tedhī Singh A.D. 1742. On receiving his brother's letter Tedhī Singh went to Kulū and assumed the government, but many of the people refused to acknowledge him, probably in the expectation that Jai Singh would return.

About that time a band of wandering Berāgis or Hindu ascetics had come to Kulū, and Tedhī Singh gradually enlisted them in his service as a body-guard, to the number it is said of one thousand. Having them entirely under his own control as a band of mercenaries, he decided on a drastic procedure in order to establish his authority. The ring-leaders of the opposition were inveigled into the palace on some pretext, and their liquor being drugged, the mercenaries fell upon them and put three hundred and sixty of them to death.

This crime, however, failed of its object, and only resulted in another outbreak, of a still more serious character, led by a Sanyāsi faqīr, claiming to be Rājā Jai Singh returned from exile. This impostor bore a strong resemblance to the Rājā, and had formed a connection with a Hindu dancing girl, who had been with Jai Singh in Kulū, and had accompanied him in his flight to Lahore. With her assistance, he managed to answer questions in such a way as to deceive the people of Sarāj and Rupī. The revolt seems to have lasted for some time, till Jai Singh died and the men who had been with him to the end and had burnt his body, returned to Kulū. The impostor was then exposed and killed. Tedhī Singh was a contemporary of Rājā Ghamand Chand of Kāngra, grandfather of Rājā Sansār Chand, and it must have been during his reign that the invasion of Kulū, referred to by Moorcroft, took place. On that occasion the images on the Bajaura temple were mutilated, probably by Muhammadan mercenaries in the pay of the Katoch Chief.³

On the decline of Mughal power and the cession of the Panjab to Ahmad Shāh Durāni, the latter, in A.D. 1758, appointed to the office of Governor of the Jālandhar Doāb Rājā Ghamand Chand, who probably also sought to acquire the supremacy over the whole of the Kāngra group of states. In this design, however, he was thwarted by the Sikh inroads into the hills, which began soon after 1760: and in the general confusion most of the hill states recovered their independence.

Tedhī Singh had no legitimate son, but there were three sons by concubines, named Prītam Singh, Charan Singh, and Prem Singh.

¹ A similar story is told of Rājā Dhīraj Pāl of Basohli. Cf. J.P.H.S., Vol. iv, No. 2, p. 91.

² Probably a Rāma shrine in Ayodhyā.

³ Moorcroft, *Travels*, Vol. i, p. 170.

Prītam Singh, A.D. 1767. On his father's death he was recognized as Rājā. Soon after his accession he invaded Mandī and recovered the forts of Deogarh, Mastpur, Sari and Amargarh.

There is no mention of the Sikhs in the Kulū records till a later period, but their influence must have been felt from an early date in Prītam Singh's reign.

Jassa Singh Rāmgaria had established a suzerainty over several of the hill states of the Kāngra group before 1770; and in 1776, on his defeat on the plains, the suzerainty passed to Jai Singh Kanheya. In 1776 Sansār Chand succeeded to the kingdom of Kāngra, and began to lay plans for the capture of Kāngra Fort, which was still held by the last of the Mughal governors of the hills, named Saif-ullah Khān. This brave man, though possessing almost nothing outside the walls, had yet continued to maintain his position against all assailants for nearly 40 years. Jai Singh Kanheya was also keen on capturing the fort, and when asked for help by Sansār Chand, he in 1781 sent a force under his son, Gurbakhsh Singh, to the assistance of the Katoch Chief. In 1783 the Mughal Governor died and the garrison was compelled to capitulate, but to Sansār Chand's disappointment the capitulation was made to the Sikhs, and not to himself. In 1786, however, it finally came into his hands; on the defeat of Jai Singh Kanheya on the plains by a combination against him, aided by Sansār Chand.

With the possession of Kāngra Fort Sansār Chand also acquired the supremacy over all the hill states between the Satluj and the Rāvi, and maintained it for twenty years.

Prītam Singh's reign seems to have been on the whole uneventful and prosperous, but plots were, as we know, being hatched against him, of which he was probably ignorant. In the Chambā archives there exists an agreement in Tānkari between Rājā Shamshēr Sen of Mandī; his son, Miān Surma Sen; Rājā Sansār Chand of Kāngra and Rājā Rāj Singh of Chambā, to attack Makarsa (Kulū) and seize Bangāhal, and divide it equally among them, each taking the portion nearest to his own territory. The document is dated 1 Magh Vik. 1834=A.D. 1778.²

From this it would appear that Bangāhal was then in the hands of Kulū, and the three States—Mandī, Kāngra, and Chambā—agreed to seize it. Chambā territory then embraced the southern outskirts of the Dhaulā Dhār, in the Kāngra Valley, as far east as the borders of Bīr Bangāhal, and the Pathyār Fort, near Pālampūr, was garrisoned by Chambā troops. It was easy, therefore, for the Chambā Chief to invade Bīr Bangāhal, and this he seems to have done. A letter exists from Prītam Singh of Kulū to Rāj Singh of Chambā, complaining that Bangāhal had been occupied, and asking for its restoration. The Wazīr of Kulū, named Bhāg Chand, had also been captured, and his release was asked. This request was not complied with, for another letter, dated in 1781, states that two men—Tulsi Rām and Jassi Rām—had become security for the payment of Rs. 15,000 for Bhāg Chand's release. Presumably he was then set at liberty.³

¹ Cf. Forster, *Travels*, Vol. i, p. 239.

² Chambā Museum Catalogue, p. 69, C. 18.

³ Chambā Museum Catalogue, p. 69, C. 19 and C. 27; also p. 71, C. 39.

At a later date another agreement was entered into against Kulū, between Chambā, Mandī and Kahlūr (Bilāspur), to invade and conquer Makarsa (Kulū), and divide the country equally among them. It is dated in A.D. 1786. Nothing seems to have come of this agreement. It was the year in which Sansār Chand acquired possession of Kāngra Fort and assumed the supremacy over the hill states, and the hill chiefs were probably too much concerned for their own territories to think of making inroads on one another.

¹ With the acquisition of Kāngra Fort, Sansār Chand was left free to prosecute his ambitious designs and henceforth for more than twenty years there was no peace in the hills. His grandfather, Ghamand Chand, had raised a force of 4,000 men—composed chiefly of Rohillas, Afghans and Rājputs—drawn from the Delhi and Afghān armies, to whom he gave liberal allowances, and Tegh Chand, his father, continued the same policy. At his accession, Sansār Chand thus had a force of trained men with which it was hopeless for any of the hill chiefs to cope. They were all, therefore, forced to submit to his control, pay him tribute, and send contingents for his military expeditions. In 1792 he invaded Mandī, and seized three districts, one of which, Chuhār, he gave to Kulū, but it was at a later date restored to Mandī.

Kulū does not seem to have been interfered with by Sansār Chand to the same extent as some of the other states. Its isolated position in the high mountains was probably its protection. Pritam Singh had a long reign and was still in power as late as 1801, when he addressed a letter to Rājā Jīt Singh of Chambā, promising assistance in a united attack upon Kāngra.² By that time Sansār Chand's high-handed treatment of the hill chiefs had aroused bitter resentment against him, and many of them were ready to assist in his overthrow, but distrust of one another prevented combined action. Pritam Singh died about A.D. 1806 and was succeeded by his son Bikrama Singh.

Bikrama Singh, A.D. 1806. In the early part of this reign Mandī invaded the State and retook the forts of Deogarh, Mastpur and Sarī.

Previous to this the Gurkhas had conquered the hill country north-west of Nepāl, as far as the Satluj, and Kulū paid tribute to them for Shāngri, and to Sansār Chand for Kulū itself. The Gurkhas entertained the hope of conquering the western hills as far as Kashmīr, but were for a time kept in check by the Katoch Chief. In 1806, however, the feeling of resentment against Sansār Chand reached a climax in consequence of his attack upon Kahlūr (Bilāspur), and a confederacy of all the hill states as far west as the Rāvi was formed against him. Communications were opened with the Gurkha leader, Amar Singh Thapa, and he agreed to cross the Satluj and invade Kāngra.³ Moorcroft states that the Katoch army had been weakened by the dismissal of old mercenaries, and the engagement of less efficient men on smaller pay. However this may be, Sansār Chand was defeated and sought refuge in Kāngra Fort. After holding out for four years, he in despair asked help from Ranjīt Singh, the cost of which was the loss of the fort, and of the independence of his kingdom. In

¹ Cf. Moorcroft, *Travels*, Vol. i, p. 127.

² Chambā Museum Catalogue, p. 73, C. 51.

³ Moorcroft, *Travels*, Vol. i, p. 129.

this subjection Kulū and all the other hill states were included. Soon afterwards, probably in 1810, a Sikh force advanced into the Kulū Valley to demand tribute, which was paid to the amount of Rs. 40,000. Three years later a second demand was made, and not being complied with, an army under Diwan Mohkam Chand entered the valley by the Dulchī Pass, and the amount of Rs. 50,000 being still refused, the Sikhs plundered the capital and looted the treasury. The Rājā fled up the mountains to Bangla village, but ultimately had to pay a much larger sum to free the country from the invaders. The total amount is said to have been three lakhs of rupees, of which one lakh was given as a bribe to Mohkam Chand.

Bikrama Singh is said to have ruled for eleven years, and may have died about 1816.

Ajit Singh (A.D. 1816). Ajit Singh was the son of a concubine, but in the absence of a direct heir was acknowledged as Rājā, and was installed by the Rājā of Mandī acting by deputy. This right had been claimed and exercised for some time by Sansār Chand as lord paramount, and though his suzerainty had passed away, he was annoyed that the ceremony of investiture should have been performed by another. He therefore stirred up Kishan Singh, the Rājā's uncle, to dispute the succession. His claim was supported by the Rānīs, but the people disapproved and Kishan Singh then fled to Kāngra. With the assistance of Sansār Chand he collected a force and advanced into Kulū. Ajit Singh was defeated, and fled to Mandī, but returned with a force, and Kishan Singh was overpowered and made prisoner with all his men by the combined Mandī and Kulū army. The Katoch men were stripped naked and left to find their way home over the mountains in this condition. As a reward for his services the Mandī Rājā claimed the restoration of two forts, and the *ilāqā* of Chuhār which had been in the possession of Kulū for some time.

Kishan Singh soon afterwards died, and a boy was put forward by his supporters as his posthumous son, of whom further mention will be made.

Some time in 1816-17 the ex-Amīr of Kabul, Shāh Shujā, passed down through Kulū into British territory. After his flight from Lahore in 1815, he found an asylum in Kashtwār for two years, and on Ranjit Singh hearing of his whereabouts, and demanding his surrender, he fled over the high ranges into Zanskar, and by the Bārālācha and Rotang Passes into Kulū. On learning that Shāh Shujā had been allowed to escape, Ranjit Singh imposed a fine of Rs. 80,000 on Kulū, which was paid. In his diary Shāh Shujā says that the Kulū people treated him very inhospitably.

¹ Mr. Moorcroft was the first European to visit Kulū, on his way to Ladākh in 1820. On reaching Mandī he was refused permission by the Sikhs to proceed further, and went to Lahore to wait on Ranjit Singh. Armed with the necessary order he returned by Nadaun and Tara-Sujānpur, where he was the guest of Rājā Sansār Chand. On his further journey he passed through Baijnāth and Guma, and over the Bajaura or Dulchī Pass into Kulū. Of the Rājā he thus speaks: "The Rājā of

¹ Moorcroft, *Travels*, Vol. i, p. 125 *et seq.*

Kulū, Ajit Singh, is at present a boy of less than ten years of age, and the affairs of the Rāj are administered by the Wazīr Sobha Rām, who appears to be a plain, intelligent man. He complains bitterly of the tyranny and exactions of Ranjit, and in common with all the hill chiefs is desirous of being taken under British protection: he has paid rather dearly for his attachment to us."

Moorcroft also states that in the Nepalese war, Kulū was called upon for some co-operation which was afforded, and the Wazīr acting as regent received a present of five thousand rupees. Ranjit Singh thereupon fined him fifty thousand for accepting the remuneration and for interfering in the war.

For nearly twenty years after Mr. Moorcroft's visit, things seem to have moved on quietly in Kulū; the yearly tribute was duly paid, and there was no excuse for invading the State. In 1839, a force was sent against Mandi under General Ventura, which met with little opposition, and the Rājā was captured and sent a prisoner to Amritsar. After Mandi had been subdued a portion of the Sikh army under the Sindhanwālā Sirdārs was detached for the invasion of Kulū.¹ No opposition was offered, and the force advanced to Sultānpur. For a time friendly relations were kept up by the Sikh leader, and the Rājā being unsuspecting was invited to the Sikh headquarters, and made prisoner. He was then told that he would be set at liberty if he gave up the country, on a promise that he would receive Wazīrī Parōl in *jāgīr*, and to this he agreed. Ten days later a portion of the Sikh force was told off to take over Sarāj, and the Rājā was compelled to accompany it, and to order his people to surrender the forts. It is said that the Sikhs treated the Rājā with great indignity and want of courtesy, and the report of this treatment aroused strong feelings of anger among his people. With the connivance of the Rājā, but unknown to the Sikhs, it was determined to attempt a rescue—the lead being taken by Kapuru, the Wazīr of Sarāj,—the head of a branch of the family of the Wazīrs of Diyār. ² Kapūru or Kapūr Singh, Wazīr of Sarāj, is said to have invited the Sikhs to invade Kulū, out of revenge for an outrage to which he was subjected. Tulsu Negi—the Rājā's guardian and special friend—was an enemy of Kapūru's and a plot was laid to kill him on the occasion of an interview with the Rājā. Kapūru, however, became aware of the plot and on arrival pitched his camp at Dhālpur near Sultānpur. At the appointed time, instead of going himself he attired his servant in his own robes and seated him in the *pālkhī*. It being customary to fire a salute on such occasions with light guns, one of them was loaded, and the servant being mistaken for his master was shot at and died. Kapūru then fled to Sarāj and raised a tumult, or "Dum," and Tulsu had to flee accompanied by the Rājā. This incident left much bad feeling, but Kapūru seems to have repented of his act in calling in the Sikhs, when he saw how the Rājā was treated by them, and took the lead in the rescue.

The story of the rescue is thus told by Mr. Lyall in the Kāngra Settlement Report: ³ "The Sikh force was probably about one thousand strong: it had done

¹ Cf. Kangra Settlement Rep., p. 78. This expedition was preliminary to an invasion of Tibet which did not mature.

² Vide Punjab Hist. Society—Journal, Vol. vi, No. 2, pp. 76, 77, 78.

³ Kangra Settlement Rep., p. 78.

its work and had returned from Outer Sarāj, by the Basloh Pass. A little way below the fort of Tung, the road—a mere footpath and here very narrow—runs along the brink of a wooded ravine; in these woods the Sarājīs lay in ambush and awaited the Sikhs, who were marching along in single file and undisturbed by any feeling of insecurity. When that part of the line which held the Rājā came opposite the ambush, a sudden rush was made, a few men were cut down and the Rājā was caught up and carried swiftly up the mountain side. At the same time all along the line rocks were rolled down and shots fired from above at the Sikhs, who were seized with a panic and fell back into the fort of Tung. Here they remained two days till they were forced to move out by the failure of their provisions. They were attacked again as they marched down the valley, and made slow progress. At last they struck up the mountain side in Kothi Nohanda, hoping to get supplies and uncommanded ground in the villages above. But they did not know the country and only got on to a barren, steep, and rugged hill-side, where they could barely keep their footing, and did not even find water to drink. The light and active hillmen kept above them wherever they went, knocking over some with rocks, and driving others to fall over the precipices. After a night spent in this way the miserable remnant were driven down again into the valley, and there induced to give up their arms on the promise that their lives should be spared, but no sooner had they been disarmed when the Sarājīs set upon them and massacred them without pity."

The means used to secure a surrender were probably regarded as perfectly legitimate in the circumstances. Four or five low-caste men dressed as Brahmans were sent into the Sikh Camp, and with their hands on a cow's tail they gave assurances of safety. Such a promise was not regarded as binding, and on the Sikhs surrendering and being disarmed they were killed almost to a man. This happened in the spring of 1840. Meantime Rājā Ajit Singh was conveyed across the Satluj to his small State of Shāngri which was under British protection, and where he knew he would be safe from the Sikhs. There he died in September 1841.

The main Sikh army had remained at Sultānpur, and against it the Kulū people were powerless. An attempt to release the Rānīs from the palace failed, and the Sikhs sent a force into Sarāj to avenge the disaster to their arms. The people fled to the mountains, and some villages were burnt and the country plundered, and thereafter it was farmed out to the Rājā of Mandi for Rs. 32,000. The rest of the State was placed in charge of a Sikh Kārdār, who had the management of the revenue. A Sikh force was also retained in the country.

In the autumn of 1841 Ajit Singh's two Rānīs managed to escape from the palace by a subterranean tunnel, dug under the walls, and they fled to the mountains. On their way to Shāngri they heard of the Rājā's death and returned to Sultānpur.

On Ajit Singh's demise Mr. Erskine, the Superintendent of the Simla Hill States, made an inquiry as to the succession to the fief of Shāngri, and reported in favour of Ranbīr Singh, minor son of Miān Jagar Singh, first cousin of Ajit Singh. Mian Jagar Singh was passed over, owing to his being an imbecile. The Sikhs as well as Ajit Singh's Rānīs also admitted the claim, as being next in the succession to the Kulū

gaddi, but before any further steps could be taken the child fell sick and died. Thākur Singh, a first cousin once removed of Ajīt Singh, was then selected by the Sikhs and made Rājā, with Wazīrī-Rupī in *jāgīr*. The fief of Shāngrī remained in the hands of Jagar Singh and is still in his family, forming one of the Simla Hill States. Thākur Singh was invited to Lahore in the reign of Mahārājā Sher Singh, who received him kindly and, it is said, installed him as Rājā. It is also said that he was offered the whole country under the burden of a heavy tribute, but being a timid man he declined the responsibility.

By the treaty of 9th March, 1846, after the First Sikh War, the hill country between the Satluj and the Indus was ceded to the British Government, and the portion between the Satluj and the Rāvi including Lahul finally remained British territory, the rest being sold to Rājā Gulāb Singh of Jammu. Kulū being within the ceded territory, Thākur Singh was confirmed in his *jāgīr* of Wazīrī-Rupī with sovereign powers, the remainder of the State, including Lahul and Spiti, being placed in charge of an Assistant Commissioner, as a portion of the newly formed district of Kāngra.

On his death in 1852, Thākur Singh was succeeded by his son Gyān Singh, who was illegitimate, and Government while continuing the *jāgīr*, changed his title to Rāi and withdrew all political powers, also reserving the right to fell and sell timber in the *jāgīr*.

As already narrated, Ajīt Singh's claim to the *gaddi* was disputed by his uncle, Kishan Singh, who at his death left a posthumous son. Shortly before the Mutiny in 1857 a man, calling himself Partāb Sing and claiming to be the posthumous son of Kishan Singh, appeared in Kulū. Some of the people believed in his claim. On the outbreak of the Mutiny he wrote letters affirming his claim to the Rāj of Kulū, and tried to stir up trouble. Thereupon he was arrested by Major Hay, the Assistant Commissioner, and after trial was hanged at Dharmasāla. Many of the people, however, believed that he was really Partāb Singh.

Gyān Singh died in 1869, and the *jāgīr* passed to his son Dalip Singh, on his attaining his majority in 1883. He too enjoyed his possessions only for a few years, and died in 1892. As he left only an illegitimate son, named Megh Singh, Government continued the *jāgīr* to him, but under special restrictions which need not be specified. He usually resides at Sultānpur, in the palace of his ancestors.

LITERATURE.

- Archaeological Survey Reports.
- Journal Panjab Historical Society.
- Ancient Geography of India.* Cunningham.
- Antiquities of Chamba State.* Vogel.
- Kāngra Settlement Report.
- Chambā Gazetteer
- Kulū Gazetteer.
- History of Western Tibet.* Francké.

Rājataranginī.

Coins of Ancient India. Cunningham.

Journal Royal Asiatic Society for 1900.

Moorcroft. *Travels.*

Kooloo, Lahoul and Spiti. Harcourt.

Majma-tawārīkh-riyāsathāi-Kohistan Panjab. Hardyāl Singh.

Vigne, *Travels.*

Forster, *Travels.*

The Kanets of Kulu and Lahoul. By Holland. [Journal Anthropological Inst.,
vol. xxxii, pp. 96-123].

A Journey to Toling and Tsaparang in Western Tibet.

By G. M. YOUNG.

NOTE.

In the spring of 1912, I was sent to Gartok, the headquarters of the Government to Western Tibet, to inquire into the delinquencies of a former trade agent of the Indian Government. The Rev. Father H. Hosten, of the Society of Jesus, heard of my going, and communicated to me, through our President, a number of notes on the Jesuit Mission at Tsaparang, and some unpublished correspondence of the Fathers, with the request that if possible I should contrive to visit the place. This I was able to do by returning to India across the Tangi-Kuno passes, a straighter though more difficult route than the usual one by the Hindostan-Tibet road and Shipki. As I left Simla at less than ten days' notice, with strict orders to accomplish my errand without loitering and to turn neither to the right hand nor to the left of my route, and as I did not and still do not know any Tibetan, my visit was a short one, and my impressions of Toling and Tsaparang necessarily those of a week-end tripper. My excuse for recording them is that Tsaparang has had not even another week-end tripper, since the Jesuits left it nearly three centuries ago. Much that is now known about the kingdom of Guge and the cities of Toling and Tsaparang, was not published or available when I read a short paper to the Society on the subject in June 1913. Accordingly, in preparing that paper for the Society's Journal (which I have only recently had leisure to do) I have taken the opportunity to re-write it. Acknowledgment of the principal authorities cited is made either in the text or in footnotes.

The orthography of Tibetan names presents some difficulty. The correct spelling as exemplified in Francke's "Antiquities of Indian Tibet" cannot be followed or pronounced, by anyone but a Tibetan scholar. I have tried to adopt, save in quotations from other writers, the phonetic spelling used in the same author's "History of Western Tibet."

The history of Catholic missionary enterprise in India during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries is full of romantic adventures. Of these hardly any is more remarkable than that of the Jesuit Antonio d' Andrada, who in 1624 discovered a kingdom in the deserts of Western Tibet, established a mission and built a church there, and by his own account induced the king and his household to embrace Christianity. Andrada's story is supported by letters from other members of the mission, which apparently remained at Tsaparang for about seventeen years; but several writers have none the less doubted whether it could be true. There was ground, it

must be admitted, for these doubts. From the time that the Jesuits left the country until the other day, no European had visited Tsaparang,¹ the capital where Andrada's king reigned, and where the mission was founded. On the contrary, in 1783 another Jesuit, Ippolito Desideri, traversed Tibet from end to end in an attempt to re-discover the place, but met no one who admitted to having heard of it. The lama history of Tibet² has much to tell of a kingdom in those parts, but refers to a period six hundred years before the date of the Jesuit mission, and nowhere describes a king who could be identified with Andrada's patron. Moreover, the capital of this kingdom was not Tsaparang, but Toling, a few miles further up the bank of the Satelej. Tsaparang is not even named in any known Tibetan chronicle. In recent years, however, fresh light has been thrown on the whole subject from a variety of sources. It is the aim of this paper to describe what is now known of the history of Toling and Tsaparang from those sources, to recount briefly Andrada's story, and to supplement it with a narrative of the writer's own journey there in 1912.

The country in which Andrada's king ruled was, and is still, called by the Tibetans, Guge. This name strictly applies to a portion only of the upper basin of the Satelej above Shipki, though some of the kings of Guge actually reigned over a wider area, as we shall see. The known history of Guge begins at about 1000 A.D. Some twenty-five years before that time the whole of Western Tibet had been conquered by a Central Tibetan adventurer from Lhasa, whose name was Kyid De Nima Gon. His territories included Ladākh, now part of the Kashmir State, Spiti and Lahul, now part of the British district of Kangra, and the whole of modern Western Tibet. Before his death De Nima Gon divided his kingdom among his three sons. The particulars of that division are not altogether clear.³ But at all events one of the new kingdoms was Guge, and the grandson of De Nima Gon's second son was reigning over this tract in his capital at Toling, about the last quarter of the eleventh

¹ In recent years occasional sportsmen have entered the Tsaparang district in pursuit of the *Ovis Ammon*; but for obvious reasons have not described their journeys in print. I believe that none of them ever went to Tsaparang itself, where the presence of a British officer unauthorized might indeed have embarrassed the Tibetan officials.

² The Pag Sam Jonzang, a history of Tibet from early times to 1745 A.D. By Sumpa Khampo Yeshe Paljor. A summary of this work, in so far as it relates to Guge, was kindly made for me by Negi Amin Chand of Kanam.

³ Francke (History of Western Tibet, chapter VI) allots Ladākh to the eldest brother, Guge and Purang with other sub-Himalayan tracts to the second, and Zangskar, Lahul and Spiti to the third. But he admits (Antiquities of Indian Tibet, page 23) that the Zangskar dynasty was shortly afterward reigning at Toling in Guge: he also conjectures that the last two kings of Guge came from a younger dynasty at Daba, the capital of Purang. Amin Chand's version of the Pag Sam Jonzang gives the following partition; the eldest son, Mang Yul; the second, Purang; the third, Shangshung or Guge. The Tibetan name for Western Tibet, Nari Khorsum, or the three Provinces, commemorates De Nima Gon's division. The provinces are, Rudok (= Mang Yul?), Guge and Purang. There certainly was a line of kings reigning at Daba, whether they were distinct from, or an offshoot of the Guge dynasty in the first instance, and whatever their connection may have been with the last two Guge kings. Moorcroft (A Journey to Lake Manasarovara in Undés, 1812. Asiatic Researches, Vol. XII) quotes legends indicating that there were kings of Daba until the Central Tibetan invasion; and that that invasion was actually brought about by an appeal from the last Raja for help against the "Tatars" who had killed his father. He says that the rajas of Daba were Surajbansi Rajputs. His account may be compared with the opening words of the Treaty made by Geldan Tsang with the Raja of Bashahr. "When the inhabitants of Nari Khorsum were still subject to the power of the lords of Guge, the king of Ladākh was wont to subdue the people of Nari Khorsum." Moorcroft's "Tatars" may have been the Ladakhis, or, possibly, the people of the neighbouring kingdom of Guge. Possibly, again, the kingdoms of Guge and Purang were at that time amalgamated, and the Daba legends refer to the last king of Guge and a son of his. The connection between these two kingdoms is almost as obscure as their origin.

century. This king, whose name was Khore, abdicated and became a monk. He is better known as Yeshe Hod, the name which he took after his abdication.

His period is famous in the annals of Tibet as one of religious activity and reform. Disgusted with the corrupt Tantrik Buddhism, which was then prevalent in Guge, he is said to have applied himself earnestly to the introduction of a purer and more authentic form of worship. He encouraged the immigration of Buddhist pandits from Kashmir, and it was from among their ranks that he obtained his foremost helper, the Lotsa Lama, Rinchhen Tsangpo, greatest of Western Tibetan saints, who was born in Guge of Kashmiri parents, probably about the beginning of the eleventh century. These two men founded many new monasteries in Western Tibet, and built a temple with a golden roof at Toling itself. The approximate date given by Sarat Chandra Das¹ for the construction of this temple is 1025 A.D. Rinchhen Tsangpo in time became the spiritual leader and chief ecclesiastical dignitary of the country under the kings who succeeded Yeshe Hod on the throne. He and his pupils translated many religious works from the Sanskrit, and earned the name of Lotsawa, that is, interpreter or translator. Rinchhen Tsangpo further qualified himself for this title, which is now peculiarly his, by compiling a Sanskrit-Tibetan dictionary.

Yeshe Hod twice sent missions into India to study Buddhism, and to invite learned Buddhist divines to come to Guge. The first mission was a failure. Out of twenty lamas only three returned, among whom was Rinchhen Tsangpo. The second mission was addressed to the most renowned Indian pandit of the day, Atisha the Bengali, before whom the emissaries appeared bearing a great lump of unwrought gold. Atisha refused to accompany them to Guge, observing that there could be only two good reasons for his doing so, the gold, and the spiritual welfare of the Tibetans. He did not care for the one, and felt himself unequal to achieving the other. Disappointing as the answer was, it did not quench the enthusiasm of Yeshe Hod. In the hope that a larger offering would prove successful, he set out in person on a journey through Western Tibet to collect more gold. But in the course of his tour this unfortunate reformer fell into the hands of the king of Garlog, whom Sarat Chandra Das conjectures to have been either the Raja of Garhwal or the Raja of Kanauj. Amin Chand's version, however, makes him out the king of certain mountain tribes to the north-west: and Francke identifies Garlog with Turkestan. Whoever he was, he imprisoned Yeshe Hod, and held him to ransom for a life-size statue of his person in gold. Yeshe Hod's sons and great nephews, one of whom was by now King of Guge, extracted yet another contribution of bullion from their subjects, but it was found insufficient for a replica of Yeshe Hod's head alone. The King of Garlog accordingly refused to release his prisoner. Yeshe Hod, who was of the martyr strain, charged his followers not to amass more gold for his own rescue, but to use what they had and as much more as they could scrape together in a final effort to bring Atisha from India. Not long afterwards he died in prison.

Atisha did eventually come to Tibet by way of Nepal, and remained for three

¹ "Indian Pandits in the Land of Snow." Calcutta, 1898.

years, teaching and diffusing a general air of sanctity at Toling. It is said¹ that Rinchhen Tsangpo refused at first to rise from his abbot's chair and pay respect to Atisha. But when he found that the Bengali was able to recite the name and attributes of every idol in the monastery temples, and offer appropriate praise to each, he acknowledged his superiority and did obeisance to him. There are at the present day several thousands of statues of different gods and goddesses at Toling, and if there was anything like the same number in Atisha's time, his performance must have been very creditable.

The successors of Yeshe Hod as Kings of Guge were Song Ne, who died a few days after taking over the government, Lha De his son, and Hod De his grandson. Hod De's two younger brothers, Jangchub Hod and Shiwa Hod, took vows of celibacy. It was they who with their brother brought Atisha to Guge during Hod De's reign. Jangchub Hod is sometimes referred to as if he were king, and seems to have held a special position very similar to that of Yeshe Hod. On leaving Toling, Atisha went to Central Tibet, and died there ten years afterwards at the age of seventy-three. Hod De was succeeded by his son Tse De, in whose reign and under whose auspices a grand Buddhist synod was held at Toling, and attended by pandits from Central Tibet. This was the last noteworthy event in the golden age of Toling, which corresponded more or less with the eleventh century of our era. It synchronized also with the life of Rinchhen Tsangpo who attained the great age of ninety-five, and may be said to have reached its zenith in the visit of Atisha. The historian, a Central Tibetan Lama, has hardly anything to relate of the Kings of Guge after its close. The reason of his silence is probably this. The Buddhist revival associated with Atisha's name had its origin, as we have seen, in Western, not in Central, Tibet. Kashmiri pandits played a great part in it, and other sages from India, who need not be mentioned here, came to Guge, not Lhassa, in the first instance. Atisha himself entered Western Tibet through Nepal, where he spent a year, and it was only after three years' residence at Toling that he departed for Central Tibet. When the reformation, which Atisha personifies, had spread to the valley of the Brahmaputra, it took root there independently, and soon lost its connection with the country of its birth. At any rate the history of Guge becomes, after Tse De's reign, little more than a genealogical tree. There are nine kings of the De dynasty subsequent to Tse De, and they are followed by nine kings of a Mal dynasty, with very un-Tibetan sounding names, such as Jinda Mal, Kalan Mal, Pertab Mal, and Prati Mal. One of the "De" kings has a name, Dragpa De, synonymous with the last part of the name of Andrado's convert. But as he is only the eighth king after Tse De, he can scarcely be identified with a man who was reigning in 1624. Francke gathers² (but does not mention his authority for doing so) that on the extinction of the Mal dynasty, a member of a junior branch of the De dynasty was re-imported from the neighbouring kingdom of Purang. I was able to collect information which to some degree tallies with this conjecture, and

¹ Amin Chand is my authority. He may be quoting from the Pag Sam Jonzang or from the Life of Atisha. Sarat Chandra Das does not mention this incident in the work already cited.

² "Antiquities of Indian Tibet," Vol. I, page 23.

shall refer to it again later. It is enough to note here that the Tibetan history mentions no kings of Guge subsequent to the Mal dynasty, and that Andrada's king certainly did not belong to that dynasty.

Such, in brief, was the previous history of the country towards which Andrada was making his way from Agra, in the spring of 1624. He himself, of course, had no knowledge even of the existence of Guge. But it was commonly believed at that time that, in the undefined territory lying north-east of India and vaguely called Cathay, there had once been great and prosperous Christian churches, and that remnants of them still survived. These rumours, of which the legend of Prester John is the chief example, were doubtless based on travellers' descriptions of Buddhist monastic orders and ritual,¹ which in many particulars closely resemble those of Christian churches. When therefore the Jesuit Fathers of Lahoré, with the permission of the Provincial at Goa, organized an expedition, consisting of Andrada, one other Father, and two attendants, for "Cathay," it was in the hope rather of re-discovering ancient churches than of converting the heathen.

The party attached themselves to a pilgrim caravan bound for Badrinath and the sources of the Ganges. Fifteen days after leaving Delhi they arrived at Srinagar in Garhwal, whence their route lay over the Mana Pass into Tibet. They were forced to cross at a very early season of the year, for if they had stayed longer in Garhwal, they might have been stopped altogether by the Raja, who suspected that the Jesuits had designs on the Tibetan trade. The Fathers therefore pushed on speedily, and after encountering fearful hardships (Andrada himself was incapacitated for a time by snow-blindness), struggled over the range, and descended upon the high plateau beyond. There they found themselves in the province of Guge, the territory of a king whose capital was at Tsaparang in the gorge of the Satlej, three marches away. The appearance of the Fathers excited the liveliest interest, for no such foreigners had been seen in that country before. The king sent a deputation to meet and escort them to the capital. When they arrived, they found the whole town awaiting them, and as the little procession passed up the street leading to the citadel, the queen and her ladies were seen watching eagerly from a balcony. The king, like the Raja of Garhwal, at first mistook the Fathers for traders, whom he was as eager to welcome as the Raja had been to turn them back. Indeed, when he heard that they were only missionaries, he refused to see them for two days. But he had already swallowed his disappointment, if it were such, when they came before him. With great affability, he introduced them to his queen, and ordered that they should be well housed and fed. This, notwithstanding the efforts of an evilly disposed Kashmiri interpreter to discredit Andrada, and misrepresent what he said. The next morning the Fathers were summoned again, and there began a series of daily theological discussions, which lasted all the time that they were there. The effect upon the king was most striking. After twenty-five days Andrada, having no authority to remain

¹ Inaugurated by Tsongkapa, the great reformer of Buddhism, who lived at the end of the fourteenth and beginning of the fifteenth centuries. Wilson mentions a legend that he was taught by a "long-nosed lama from the west" to account for the similarities in Buddhist and Catholic ritual.

in Tibet, announced that he must go. The king consented with reluctance, and took an oath of the Fathers that they would return the next year. Before they left he gave them a charter, which began thus: "We, the King of Potente"—that is, Bhutan, one of the Indian names for Tibet—"rejoicing at the arrival of Father Antonio the Feringhi in our land, take him for our chief Lama, and give him full authority to teach the holy law to our people. We shall not permit any to molest him in this, but shall issue orders that he be furnished with a site whereon to build a house of prayer, and with whatever further help he may need." The document concludes by earnestly beseeching the Great Father, that is the Provincial at Goa, to send the said Father Antonio back next year.

With such a passport, Andrada easily obtained the required permission from his superior. In the summer of 1625, he recrossed the Himalaya. During his absence the king had had a number of victories, which were ascribed to the auspicious influence of the Jesuit. It was remarked that the commander-in-chief, who was the king's brother-in-law, had gone into the campaign wearing on his breast a cross which Andrada had given to him. The return of the missionaries was a triumphal progress. They were escorted with honour for the last four marches, their personal property was exempted from all dues, and they were lodged in one of the royal palaces. The king was about to start on another expedition. When he returned a month later, once more victorious, he applied himself in real earnest to the study of Christianity. This naturally brought about a conflict with the lamas, who were beginning very naturally to feel jealous. It was however in vain that they persuaded the king to retire for several weeks to a monastery, and to exercise himself there on the mysteries of his own religion. He went unwillingly, and invited Andrada to see him often in his cell.

Andrada's narrative¹ is a valuable commentary on Western Tibetan manners and customs. In his account of the country, its savage climate and barren soil, the superstitions of its scanty and priest-ridden population and the appalling cruelty of the government can be recognized the mark of absolute authenticity and withal of an observant and sympathetic mind. Here are extracts describing his passages at arms with the lamas.

"Everybody resorts to them to know the future, including the king, although he pays little attention to their words, and much to ours Still, on state occasions he continues to consult them. Once, wishing to know what had happened to one of his armies, he sent for a certain lama who was held in great esteem This man made various diagrams, from which he affirmed that on a certain date, which he gave, the army had been victorious, and was by that time returning heavily laden with spoils. Seeing what a charlatan the man was, I turned to explain to the king the falsity of his pretensions. I pointed out that he could not have arrived at this result by diagrams, but only by witchcraft, and the help of the devil. To which the lama replied hotly that he held such things in utter abhorrence: all that he had

¹ In a letter written from Tsaparang in August 1626, and published in Italian at Rome in the Jesuit series of letters from China and Tibet, 1628. I am indebted to Father Hosten for all the facts about the mission which are not derived from this letter.

said was contained in his book, the precepts of which were such, that in following them he could neither deceive others, nor be deceived himself. A few days later, however, news arrived that the army was not only not victorious, but, having found the enemy too numerous to be attacked with safety, had not even engaged him. Upon this the king was much annoyed, and abused the lamas, saying that they made these statements in order to obtain alms, without knowing in the least what they were talking about.

On one occasion Andrada fell ill owing to the chilliness of his lodgings. Whereupon "the king offered me a chamber in his palace, but as I refused to accept it on my account for various reasons which can be understood, he told me that there was attached to the palace a chamber of his priest's, which was very warm, but which he did not offer me as it was haunted by evil spirits. It was not inhabited, but had been used as a store-room for several years. I answered that if he had offered it me, I should willingly have accepted, and gone there at once, and that I was not afraid of evil spirits, which would have taken fright and fled as soon as they saw the Holy Cross. The good king feared that evil might happen to me, and would not consent. But on being reassured, he had the place emptied and set in order, and made it over to me, not without some trepidation. Yet it pleased God that I should not be molested by anything at all. The king, seeing this result, said to a number of the lamas, 'You ascribe great virtue to your holy water which you sprinkle over houses I tell you for certain that it has no more virtue than the water which flows in the river yonder.'

The king's enthusiasm for the Fathers was unbounded, and he never missed an opportunity of impressing their excellencies on the lamas. On one occasion Andrada interceded for a Garhwali thief, who was in prison. The man was set free, but returned to his old ways immediately. He was re-captured, and subjected, according to Tibetan custom, to revolting tortures, from which he died. Andrada's critics jeered at him, and said that if he had not got the thief out of prison, the latter would never have suffered torture and execution. But the king, who was present, replied that the Father was carrying out his duties as a Father, which was just what the lamas neglected to do. If the thief refused to profit by it, so much the worse for him. "In truth," writes Andrada ecstatically, "one cannot say too often how highly this great man esteemed and protected us."

He dwells with gentle irony on the lama's appetites. "They were astonished," he says, "at the severity of our fasting. They have a particular fast on which they eat only one meal, and do not drink tea, which is for them a great mortification. On that day they do not talk at all, but use gestures. On ordinary fasts they break-fast twice in the morning, eat meat at midday, and thereafter sweets, milk, raisins *et cetera*. They call it *fasting*, because they eat meat only once in the day, though they drink tea in huge quantities as usual. And they say that they do God a great service by this tea-drinking, inasmuch as it loosens their tongues and enables them the better to glorify the divine majesty." Andrada however admits that he himself found fasting extremely difficult in the climate of Western Tibet, and would have failed altogether, but for direct help from Providence. He also excuses the lamas

reasonably enough. "It happened one day that finding myself in the house of the Grand Lama, we discussed the question of fasting. He opined that their excessive eating of meat was due to the lack of fish and fresh vegetables. Some lamas, he said, in order to make their fast stricter eat only very little meat. In Utsang (Central Tibet) they abstain from it altogether. They find it hard to live on nothing but bread, peas and turnips in winter-time. Even these they would not have if they did not store them at the right season. and preserve them for their needs."

One day Andrada rode with the king to a city not more than half a day's journey from Tsaparang, on a visit to the king's mother who had gone there on a pilgrimage. Here he says, "there are many temples and five hundred lamas. But on that day a large number had also collected from the surrounding country, so that there were more than two thousand assembled. We found them ranged two and two together, just like our monks in processions, all chanting after their manner, and the more important of them carrying various insignia in their hands. On seeing them the king dismounted instantly, and made three reverences to the community on a silk cloth which they had spread for him After that, the gathering made six reverences to the king in the same fashion. Such is the respect in which His Majesty holds his lamas when they are in conclave. When they are alone he heeds none of them, save only the Grand Lama, his brother."

Although Andrada does not say so, this place is Toling. It is worth noting that there were as many as five hundred lamas there in his day.

Of angels he says, "Theirs are variously represented, some beautiful, and some hideous, fighting with demons." The notion of bestowing a repulsive appearance to St. George as well as the dragon would hardly occur to a western painter, but I saw more than one such group among the frescoes of Toling. He continues, "I saw one angel, however, depicted as a young man wearing a breast-plate, and threatening the devil, whom he had beneath his feet, with a sword. Him they call the principal angel, and great interpreter between God and man. He would therefore appear to be the Archangel Michael, except that he has neither scaly armour nor wings." This can be none other than Rinchen Tsangpo himself, who is credited with the suppression of a demon named Sang Gyi Kargyal, and whose title of Lotsawa means, as we have seen, an interpreter. He is in fact the Lotsawa *par excellence*, and his later incarnations, who enjoy in Western Tibet a sanctity not much inferior to that of the Tashi Lama, or even of the Dalai Lama himself, have always borne the name. Thus Alexander Gerard writes in 1821¹: "The third in order" (after the Dalai and Tashi Lamas) "is Lochawa Rimboche. These three personages . . . are never supposed to die, but, on the dissolution of the body, the spirit is thought to take possession of another tenement."

Notice the underlying comparison with Catholicism throughout the last few passages. Andrada is still searching for traces of a lost Christian church.

¹ "Account of Koonawur in the Himalaya," London, 1841, page 121. In the same passage Gerard seems to suggest that the line of incarnations was only forty years old in his time. He may have been wrongly informed, or have misunderstood his informant. To-day, at all events, Western Tibet traces the line back to Rinchen Tsangpo.

In course of time the king and most of the members of his family were baptized. In April 1626 he and his brother-in-law came to Andrada, and said that the moment had arrived for building a church in Tsaparang. A site was found, and the same month saw the laying of the foundation-stone. Next morning news came that two of the king's armies had won victories over petty Rajas, and that his chief enemy, the Raja of Garhwal, was dead. Andrada pondered long that day on God's mercy, which "granted to the king the tidings that he most desired, on the day after he had resolved to consecrate a church to God."

The church was a small but pleasing structure of *kachchā* brick. All the royal household gave something towards it, and the king especially disgusted the lamas by pulling down houses belonging to his father and grandfather to provide the necessary timber. Nor can the Lamas have been much pleased when a giant cross was erected on a summit above the town, proclaiming to all and sundry the king's change of faith.

Other Fathers were sent in time to Tsaparang, and the mission prospered. Then, however, the Grand Lama, who was the king's brother, died, and Andrada himself was called away to take up the office of Provincial at Goa. The two men seem to have been good friends, and, so long as they were together, to have averted anything like a serious collision between the rival creeds. But now the king, egged on by his military brother-in-law, determined to make the lamas' position impossible. He confiscated their estates and reduced their monasteries, endeavoured to prevent novices from joining the order, and even went so far as to command every existing lama to abjure his vows of celibacy and take a wife. This seems to have been the last straw. The angry monks appealed to the King of Ladakh, the suzerain of Western Tibet, to come to their aid. He, nothing loth, invaded Guge in 1629, as we learn in one of the later letters from the mission. The King of Tsaparang was deserted and betrayed by his subjects, and left to defend himself with a mere handful of followers in his citadel. After a short siege he was forced to capitulate, carried off a prisoner, and never heard of in Tsaparang again. The King of Ladakh bore the Fathers no grudge, and did not interfere with them. The lamas had probably given him the pretext for an expedition that he would in any case have made. But the missionaries' power at Tsaparang was now broken. The lamas lost no time in stirring up the people against them, and their converts fell away. Several of them returned to India, and those that remained were persecuted. They withdrew themselves with difficulty, one, at least, dying in Tsaparang, and another in Bashahr on the way back to India. Soon after 1640 there were no Jesuits left in Western Tibet.

We have now to identify this king, and the other persons mentioned in the Jesuit's story, as far as we can, from the Tibetan side. Our authorities are Francke's History of Western Tibet, and two inscriptions discovered by the same scholar in Spiti in 1909, with his notes on them.¹ The King of Ladakh was Sengge Namgyal, who reigned from about 1590 to 1635, and made two expeditions against Guge, one

¹ The second volume of "Antiquities of Indian Tibet," which will contain these inscriptions, is not yet published. I have a manuscript translation of them, and some notes by Francke from which I have ventured to quote.

in his youth, and the other towards the end of his life. In the latter, according to the Ladakhi Chronicle, "he deposed the chief, the owner. Then he seized Tsaparang, and the *Los Long*." "The expression *Los Long*," says Francke in a note containing this passage, and communicated to me by Father Hosten, "is of particular interest, for it means 'the really blind one.' It evidently refers to the Christian King of Guge, who had been blind enough not to see the beauty of Buddhism. The Tibetans often use the word 'blind' in similar connections."

The inscriptions are still more informing. The first refers to two chiefs, father and son, of Drankhar, the capital of Spiti, who were subjects of the King of Tsaparang. It mentions a great "king of faith," by name Shri (?) Trashi Dragpa De, who resided "on the summit of the great palace of Tsaparang, to the right of the murmuring Satlej" (that is, on the right hand as one approaches from Spiti, Tsaparang is on the left bank of the river. It speaks of a time when this king's "helmet was high," and, apparently, of a later period, when he was wandering about, and was helped by the two chiefs referred to above. The second inscription, only a fragment of which was taken down by Francke, also mentions the great king of faith Trashi Dragpa De, and contains the significant words "Graciously forgive" (or "Thou who makest clear") all the apostasy and darkness at the great palace of Tsaparang Tse. Francke's discoveries have thus vindicated Andrada, firstly, by giving us the name of his king, which is nowhere mentioned in Tibetan chronicles, nor in any of the mission letters, and secondly by establishing the fact that the apostate king did reign at Tsaparang. These discoveries however were not published when I was in Western Tibet in 1912. The Abbot of Kanam in Bashahr, who is the present Lotsawa and successor in incarnation of Rinchhen Tsangpo, told me that Tsaparang had been the winter capital of Guge, and that Daba, the chief place in the province of Purang to the east, was the summer capital. Tsaparang used to be, he said, a large city, with ten thousand inhabitants. More than this the abbot did not know. The Changsud, or lay manager, of the Toling monastery said that the last king of Tsaparang and the king of Daba were brothers, and that the king of Tsaparang was conquered by the King of Ladakh, who thereupon absorbed the province of Guge into his own kingdom.¹ These statements, though conflicting somewhat, bear out Francke's view to the extent of showing that there was, at any rate, a connection between the ruling houses of Daba and Tsaparang. The Toling monks said that the last two kings of Guge were father and son, and reigned at Tsaparang; all previous kings had reigned at Toling. There is a temple in Tsaparang in which there are two central figures of the seated Buddha, one behind the other, instead of the single principal image which is usual. My guide at Tsaparang, a peasant of the place, told me that the two kings of Tsaparang, the father and son, had each set up one of these idols. The last king is affirmed on all sides to have built the iron chain suspension bridge which spans the Satlej at Toling, and the story of his siege and fall is common knowledge there as well as at Tsaparang. I asked the Toling monks for the king's

¹ Compare this with Moorcroft's story of the King of Daba in the note on page 178 of this paper.

name; they answered "Chodak-po," which Francke told me is merely a dynastic title, meaning "Great Lord." It must have been in general use, because it is also mentioned in one of the letters from the mission, in the only passage of the whole Jesuit correspondence in which the king is named; and the monks also told it me without being prompted. I then inquired what was the name of the Grand Lama, the king's brother, but obtained nothing more satisfactory than "Jang Chub," who was, you may remember, the brother of Lhade and the host of Atisha. I am not sure whether this obvious error arose out of mutual misunderstanding between the lamas and myself, or whether, as is quite likely, they confuse the period of Yeshe Hod and Rinchen Tsangpo, of which they have a written history, with the second great age of Guge, of which they have none. In either case it looks as though "Chodak-po" were a designation usual to the kings of Guge. The Abbott of Kanam and the Changsud of Toling alike knew, or professed to know, nothing of the king's conversion to Christianity, and their ignorance was shared by such of the peasants of Toling and Tsaparang as I was able to interrogate. Realizing that it would be useless to put the direct question to the monks of Toling, I asked them whether they had any tradition that the king whom they called Chodak-po had persecuted their order. The shot went further than I anticipated. It produced a noisy altercation; and my interpreter, the Trade Agent, who listened carefully, said that one or two had suggested that there was something wrong with the king's religious beliefs, and that others were violently repudiating this, presumably with an eye to me. I give this dialogue for what it is worth: it was conducted with about twenty clamorous and not altogether friendly monks through an Urdu-speaking interpreter. If however I have reported it correctly, it illustrates a characteristic of Tibetan historiography, and helps to show why Andrada's story remained so long unconfirmed. The priest chroniclers of the Old Testament are content to write down a king who dabbles, as did Ahab for example, in a foreign religion as one of those that "did evil in the sight of the Lord," and to paint his career accordingly as black as they can. The lama's revenge in a similar case is at once more subtle and more thorough. He omits the monarch's name and doings from his written histories: he obliterates all trace of him from such inscriptions as he can find and damage: and he persuades the common people never to speak of him again. Francke instances three separate princes of Ladakh, who either embraced or showed leanings towards Islam, and whose very names have been suppressed by the lama historians in consequence.¹ The boycott of the Tsaparang king seems to have extended to his father as well, with the result that a whole dynasty and the name of its capital city have fallen out of the record.

Some time after the deposition of the Tsaparang King, a son of the King of Ladakh, by name Indra Bodhi Namgyal, was made vassal King of Guge. There are no traditions of him, so far as I know, in Toling or Tsaparang. It seems likely that he was a nominal and absentee ruler, and that the King of Ladakh preferred

¹ History of Western Tibet, pages 109-110.

to keep the control of the province in his own hands. After Sengge Namgyal's death in about 1635, a period of anarchy and confusion may have set in. Twelve years later came the invasion of Geldan Tsang, as a consequence of which the whole of Western Tibet except modern Ladakh, Spiti and Lahul came eventually under the Dalai Lama, and was governed, as it is to this day, by officials from Lhasa. Guge proper is now a Dzong or district (literally fort), under a Dzongpon or district official whose headquarters are at Tsaparang. The adjacent province of Purang is similarly under the Dzongpon of Daba.

We do not hear again of Tsaparang for some time. The Jesuit Ippolito Desideri travelled through Tibet in 1715, hoping to rediscover the place, and, if possible, to revive the mission. He started *via* Kashmir, apparently mistaking Andrada's Srinagar in Garhwal for the better known city on the Jhelum, whither he went accordingly. From there he marched through Leh along the Indus Valley asking every one whom he met for Tsaparang. Somehow he missed it, though it was even then the headquarters of a district, and lies not more than five marches from Gartok, through which he must have passed. It is conceivable that his intention of restoring the mission was suspected or known, and that he was on that account deliberately misled. At any rate he reached the head waters of the Indus, crossed the divide by the Mansarowar Lake, and went on eastwards down the valley of the Brahmaputra, still asking for Tsaparang. In the end he reached Lhasa, where finding a Capuchin mission temporarily vacant—Tibet, it must be remembered, was not closed to Europeans much before 1816—he concluded that he had at last discovered Andrada's city and church. From this conviction the Capuchins, who returned soon afterwards, were unable to dislodge him; and the question whether Lhasa was or was not Tsaparang was actually referred to Rome. The Pope gave his decision against Desideri, who thereupon gracefully withdrew.

After him it was nearly two hundred years before a European visited either Toling or Tsaparang. The late General Rawling, on his journey from Lhasa to Simla through Gartok in 1904, digressed from his route in the depth of winter to spend one day in Toling, and has given a description, admirable as his always were, of the place itself and the surrounding country. He did not however see Tsaparang. Sven Hedin passed through Toling on his way to Simla in 1908; but the fame of that explorer had preceded him to such purpose, that he was forbidden to approach the monastery, and compelled to pitch his tents in a ravine half a mile away. He too did not visit Tsaparang. Tibetan research might have profited immensely if Francke could have gone there in 1909, as he wished; but he was not allowed to penetrate beyond Shipki. Three years afterwards an official errand gave me the opportunity denied to him.

I left Simla on April 22nd, 1912, and on the 9th of May reached Kanam in Bashahr, four marches beyond Chini. The monastery contains a famous library

where the Hungarian Czöma di Körös lived and studied about ninety years ago. I asked for recollections of him, and found that he was remembered as a Musalman. At the time of my visit an even more interesting and much older personage than Czöma di Körös himself was staying in the monastery. This was the Lotsa Lama, now in his twelfth incarnation or more from Rinchhen Tsangpo. Kanam is now his principal monastery, but he owns others in Spiti. Toling has a separate Abbot or Khanpo of its own. Several generations ago (the Lotsa Lama could not say exactly when), it ceased to be controlled by Rinchhen Tsangpo's successors, and came under the authority of the Dalai Lama. The Lotsawa is always re-incarnated somewhere in Guge or Kanawar, but he seems to live generally at Tashi Lumpo, the seat of the Tashi Lama near Shigatze. Gerard, in the passage about the Lotsa Lama from which I have already quoted, mentions three successive incarnations (the last a double one) of his time, all of whom were summoned in due course by the Tashi Lama to Tashi Lumpo, and made their residence there. The present incarnation was the Tashi Lama's tutor and spiritual guide, and lived for twenty-nine years at Tashi Lumpo. Sven Hedin, while at Shigatze, met this lama, whom he describes as being very anxious to return to Western Tibet. The Tashi Lama would not however let him go. The Lotsawa eventually obtained leave and came to Kanam in 1912. His journey through Western Tibet had been one long triumph and no little source of profit. The villagers for miles round hastened to throw themselves and most of their possessions at his feet, and one shepherd, who had no money to hand, is said to have offered him five hundred sheep. It was estimated that he went back to Tashi Lumpo where, by the way, his influence with the Tashi Lama diminished considerably as the result of his excursion, with sixty thousand rupees—more coin than one would imagine to have existed in the country. He was evidently a man of wealth, and his baggage mules were finer than any recently seen in those parts. The veneration in which this lama is held in Western Tibet is clearly due to the fame of the first incarnation, and to the circumstance that every succeeding Lotsawa has been a native of the district. If we consider also that the line claims to stretch back to the eleventh century, while the incarnations of the Dalai and Tashi Lamas date from the fifteenth only, the great prestige of the Lotsawa is not really so very astonishing.

I had a long talk with him on a balcony of the monastery at Kanam. He is a handsome, saintly-looking priest with charming manners, and was dressed in robes of apricot and black flowered silk, and long black velvet boots. His knowledge of the history of Guge was drawn, as one might expect, from the lama chronicles, and from the Tibetan Life of Atisha, copies of which he possessed. He had seen Tsaparang, which he described as having been in former times a very large city with a population of ten thousand. He is interested in Christianity, but he had heard nothing of Andrada or of the mission in Tsaparang.

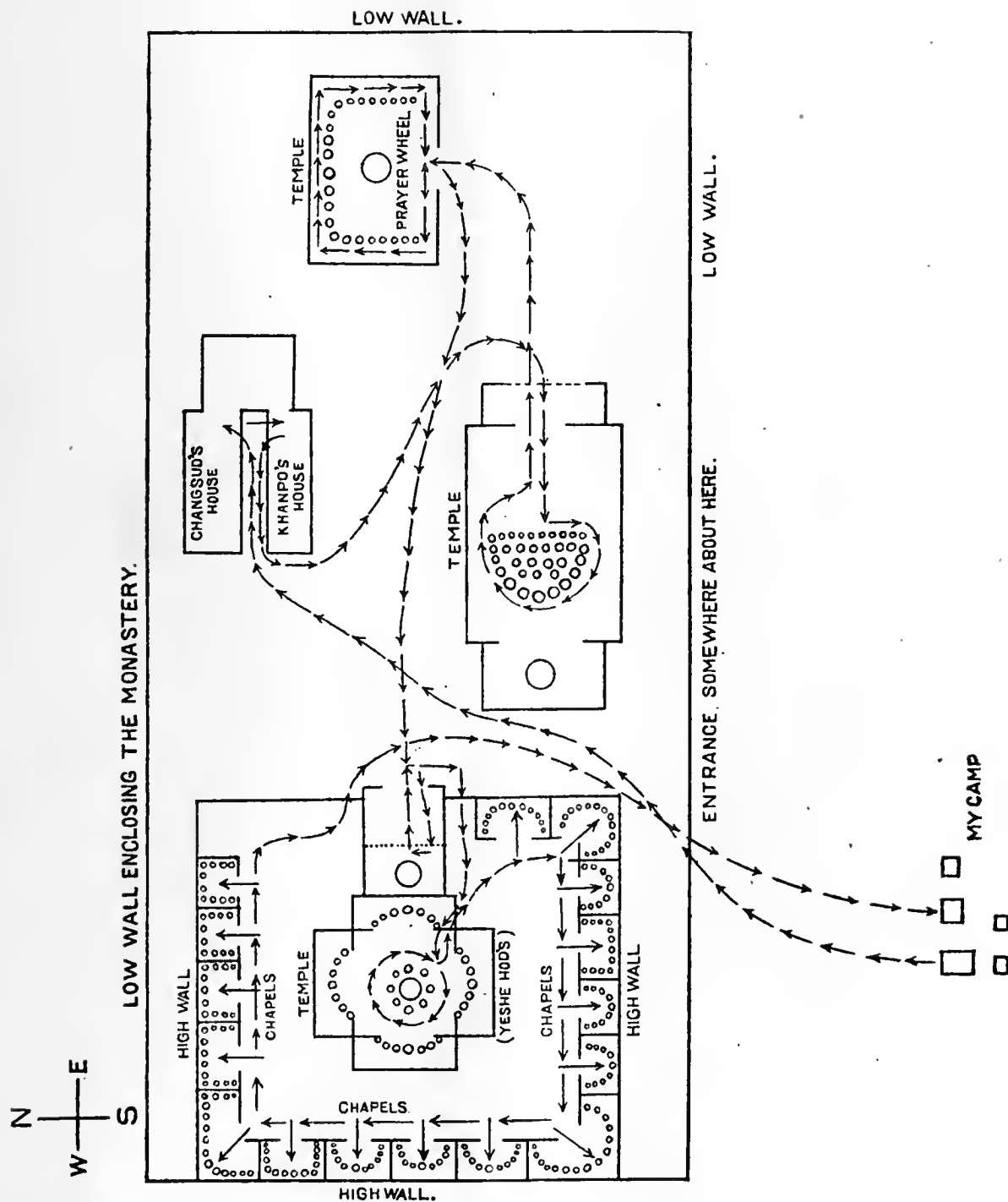
Beyond Shipki my line of march ran through a part of Guge. At Shangtze, seven days after crossing the Satlej, I met the Dzongpon of Tsaparang who had come across from his headquarters to see me. After Shangtze I left Guge for a

while, to return to it when I had finished my business at Gartok. On June 14th, I started homewards, striking out across the Bogo La for Toling. I had with me the British Trade Agent, two Gurkha orderlies, one police constable from the escort which I had brought from Simla, some chaprassis of the Agency, and servants. Three marches brought me over the Pass and across a wide sloping plain to Dongpo, a village lying at about 13,000 ft. in the upper end of a ravine leading to the Satlej. The village is part of the Toling monastery estate. From Dongpo the path follows a *nala*, which soon narrows, deepens and loses all sign of vegetation. We had left the plateau, and were re-entering the Satlej country. The weirdness of this neighbourhood has been picturesquely described by General Rawling and by Moorcroft before him. It was once a lake, the bed of which in the course of ages gradually silted up. Through the sandy strata the river's tributaries have carved for themselves gorges of immense depth, which meander aimlessly in all directions. Their edges are crumbled into shapes so elaborate and grotesque that they seem more like freak buildings than the work of nature. Now and again when in this country, I rubbed my eyes to see a real castle in ruins, its jagged outline merged indistinguishably in the ridge from which it sprang.¹ Often, at the bottom of the *nala* by the stream, there were boulders incredibly passed on slender columns of earth, like the glacier-tables of the Alps, but ten times as high.² It seemed an interminable march, but at last the path crawled out into the Satlej valley. The river bed is here a scorching waste of rocks and dust about a mile wide. Fantastic precipices bound the view on all sides. The monastery of Toling stands opposite, on a shelf overlooking the Satlej. Its long crimson walls, set off by a few brilliant poplars in full leaf, its rows of white pure *chortens*, and, high above, its gold roof sparkling in the haze, struck just that crowning note of unreality which the whole scene demanded. On the plateau I had had the sensation, common in Tibet, of wandering in another world. At Toling I thought that I was dreaming as well; and if Rinchhen Tsangpo himself, in black and yellow satin, had appeared then and there, grappling with his dragon on the bank of the river, I doubt whether I, or any of us, for that matter, would have been surprised.

What did take us not a little aback was the heat. True, the Satlej Valley is notorious as a sun-trap throughout its course in the hills; but at 12,000 ft. above sea level in these latitudes one feels aggrieved at a temperature rising well over 100°, even in June. We reached the Satlej at about eleven o'clock in a melting condition, and were exasperated to find that the bridge lay, not in front of us, but a mile and a half upstream. This is an iron chain suspension bridge, the only one of its kind, I believe, in Western Tibet. Nain Singh, the survey pandit who saw it in 1865, brought back a tradition that it was built by Alexander the Great, of all people.

¹ There are two such ruins, for instance, at Nu, close to the Satlej, on the way between Shipki and Gartok. Local tradition has it that they were built by the Mons; but Nu possesses a more ancient civilization in the Amazon kingdom which, according to Chinese historians, once existed there (see Atkinson's *Gazetteer of the Himalayan Districts of the United Provinces*, Vol. II, pp. 452, 457, 458). One would like to assign these great stone castles to that kingdom, but so attractive a conjecture must almost certainly be incorrect.

² I have in mind especially the Meiyang *nala*, two marches from Shipki, where there are crowds of these tables.



General Rawling was informed that it was the work of the last King of Western Tibet, that is, of Guge; and the Toling monks told me the same. Rawling's personal opinion from an examination of the bridge was that it was then less than a hundred years old. But Gerard mentions its existence in 1821,¹ and would probably have heard if it had been a recent structure in his time. On the other hand this kind of bridge seems to be Central Tibetan in origin, and the Toling bridge may therefore have been built after the invasion of Geldan Tsang. It is made of stout timbers, which are now however rickety and warped. My yaks were not taken across it, but forded the river at Toling. I looked round the bridge and the rocks close by for inscriptions, but did not notice any.

The next morning the Changsud, the lay manager of the monastery and its estates, came to see me. He told me some facts which I have already mentioned about the history of Guge. After breakfast I returned his visit. He has a comfortable house in the precincts, but was voluble in dispraise of the climate, as being unbearably cold in winter, and intensely hot in summer. I presented the monastery with money, and was rewarded by being shown round the temples very thoroughly. First, however, I was taken to the Khanpo's house. The Khanpo himself was away on a pilgrimage. When in residence, he sits all day in a large handsome room, on a railed dais; before him on a table are a hundred and eight brass, or possibly silver-gilt, bowl lamps. There is also in the room a cabinet containing some very beautiful gold or gilt statuettes, and the Khanpo's spare hats. From there we went round the temples. The first was evidently the principal place of worship, living room, and refectory of the lamas. We entered through a verandah, at each end of which was a horrific black stucco demon. The portals of all the large temples are guarded by similar figures. Inside was a huge gloomy hall, its ceiling supported by a great number of lofty wooden pillars. Long benches, on which the lamas sit reciting prayers and drinking tea, ran down the middle of the room. Silk banners and robes were hung in profusion, and on various parts of the floor were stacked piles of books, with many printing blocks of carved wood. An odour of greasy tea hung about the place. At the far end stood a platform, on which were mounted large gilded idols, and, at the back of all, a gigantic seated Buddha, also gilded. A sky-light above threw into prominence the cold repellent smile of its primitive features, and shed a half light on the grouped statues beneath. One of these, a gilt figure of a female deity, probably Tara, about eight feet high, was not without beauty. There were many other images of deotas and chortens, some of brass, others copper—or perhaps silver-gilt, ornamented with turquoise. Behind the head of the central Buddha there was a gilt screen forming a sort of reredos to the idol, very richly carved. We made the tour of this and all the other temples in the conventional manner, walking round behind the images from left to right. The passages are almost pitch dark, and there is nothing to guide one, but the echoing footfall of the monks and the sound of their monotonous chant. In the first temple the lamas jostled round me

¹ Account of Koonawur, page 35.

in a rather threatening way, being apparently afraid of my dodging back and looting some object from the temple, though that would have been quite impossible. I heard one of my Gurkhas mutter an order to the other to stick close to me and have his *kukri* ready, and I must say that the faces of some of the lamas were unpleasant enough to justify almost any precaution. Exactly behind the main Buddha in this temple was a great recess containing a yet more colossal Buddha of gilt stucco.

From here we went to another large square building, conspicuous also for its wooden columns. But it was not nearly so high as the first temple, and was well lighted; it looked more like a museum than a temple. There was the usual cluster of divinities round a seated Buddha at one end, but there were also great numbers of stucco figures and of stumpy clay bricks bearing images in relief. Hundreds of these bricks were quite small, and were laid out on tables. Precisely similar ones may be found packed into the pedestal of any brass or copper Tibetan idol. Others were much larger. In the centre of the room stood an enormous prayer-wheel like a great barrel, draped with flags. The feature of this temple was, however, the frescoes which covered its walls. The main scheme of decoration was a row of Avatars seated on lotus thrones, surrounded by representations of beasts and birds. The intervening spaces, and those above and below the principal figures, were filled with designs of elephants, horses, birds, and various scenes. There were groups of saints fighting with devils, as Andrada records, and the wall, in which the entrance was, displayed the usual panoramas of heaven and hell. The colours of these paintings were as fresh as if they had been laid on the day before. The principal tints were red and gold, but blues and greens were also prominent.

We now came to the most important of the buildings—the temple of Yeshe Hod and the chapels surrounding it. The whole forms a separate walled enclosure. We passed through a porch into an immense vestibule, the far end of which was screened off. Behind the screen I found a seated Buddha of stucco, partly gilded, and not less, I should think, than twenty-five feet high. Beyond this building is the principal temple, which is square, with a chapel opening out from each side. The famous gold roof is merely the canopy of a sky-light in the centre. Directly under this opening there is a statue of a female goddess, presumably Tara again, with attendant images. The pillars seem to be of pine-wood; in one of the side chapels the main prop has given way, and has been replaced by the trunk of a poplar. The ceilings are panelled, richly carved and painted. The side chapels each contain a large stucco figure with smaller statues round it. One of these is the chapel of Rinchhen Tsangpo, and the image in the centre is his portrait. The monks informed me that he had built the whole of Toling and many subordinate monasteries. The power of the first Lotsawa was apparently such, that he could erect a monastery in a single day—no mean contract for that, or any, age. One wonders whether the time limit included the provision of timber. The huge, square-cut beams of the Toling temples, whether they are of deodar, spruce or blue pine, must have come from forests at least ten marches away, and over some of the loftiest passes in the world. It is a mystery to me how they ever reached Toling.

Round Yeshe Hod's temple are some twenty chapels built against the enclosing wall. Of the central figures, some of which are of great size, I noticed in particular a physician god, surrounded by lesser doctors. There are innumerable brass statuettes and chortens in these chapels, varying from six inches to three or four feet in height. Many are studded with turquoise, and several seemed to be gilt. The figure of Shiv is hardly less frequent than that of the Buddha himself. The worship of this Hindu god is known to have spread to Western Tibet from the Himalaya many centuries ago.

This ended the round of the buildings at Toling. In the bewildering succession of chapels and images there was far more than I had time to see or remark, and a Tibetan scholar would probably find enough to occupy him for weeks. From General Rawling's book, and from a conversation which I afterwards had with him in London, I gather that he was shown much less than I was at Toling, and that he did not enter some at any rate of the temples, but remained in the monastery courtyard while various objects were brought out for his inspection. These included the wooden throne of Guge, which I do not remember noticing. There were political reasons for the difference in our treatment. Rawling visited Toling just after the expedition to Lhasa, in which he had himself taken part, and at a time when feeling in Western as well as Central Tibet was very sore against the British. It was for some reason impossible to disabuse the lamas of the fear that an officer with an armed escort would forcibly carry away any thing of value that took his fancy. By 1912 the example of Rawling himself and of the few officers who visited Western Tibet with or after him had largely dispelled that fear, and the people were also much gratified at the hospitable reception given to the Dalai Lama on the occasion of his flight to India in 1910. Orders had been issued facilitating my journey in every way; and the lamas of Toling, although their demeanour was rather surly, did not object to the Changsud showing me everything that there was to see. I may add that it was only the lamas who were ever in the least unfriendly. The laity was invariably pleasant and hospitable.

In the afternoon I determined to visit the place that General Rawling calls "Old" Toling. Readers of his fascinating book will remember the photograph of a towering mud cliff with a silhouette of ruins along the crest; also Ram Singh's description of the way up. General Rawling himself had not time to go there. I was told that the place was not "Old Toling" (the original monastery was the one that I had just seen), but an outlying monastery which had been used as a summer resort, and was now deserted. Francke also conjectured this independently from his own knowledge of other temples built by Rinchen Tsangpo, which, he says, are always on level ground close to a stream. Warned by Ram Singh's description of the track, I took with me, besides a local guide, two Kanawari chaprassies of the Agency, who could climb like monkeys, my Gurkha orderlies, and several lengths of good rope. My guide assured us that the rope would be unnecessary, and so, as a matter of fact it was. Half a mile's walk among broken ravines brought us to a steep slope of fine *débris* at the foot of the cliff. Near this point we saw the trenches

which Sven Hedin had dug round his tents five years before. It was heavy going up the slope. Where the cliff itself began, there were the remains of a half-tunnelled stairway and arch at right angles to it. The steps had crumbled away, and we had to clamber for about twenty feet; but that was the beginning and end of the climb, if such it could be called. From there onwards an excellently graded path led to the top, zig-zagging across the face of the cliff. There is a cluster of cave-like dwelling houses in good preservation near the crest. Further on is the temple, a square hall as usual, with slender wooden pillars painted bright red. There is a large stucco Buddha under the sky-light, and round it other clay statues, one of them headless. Gaudy frescoes on a blue background adorn the walls. Smaller images are scattered about in corners, some of painted stucco, others of a kind of *papier mâché* consisting of layers of paper, apparently pasted one over the other on to a solid mould, which is afterwards broken up; these figures are painted in staring colours with a high polish. The wooden reredos behind the Buddha has been dismantled, and probably used for fuel by shepherds, traces of whose camp fires are to be seen on the floor. Small fragments of brass and copper panel work lie buried in the dust of ages. The lamas of Toling never come here; they are too lazy and overfed to scale the cliff side, and our guide assured us that none of them had seen the place. Beyond this temple is another, adorned with dark stucco images of Shiv, riding or, in some cases, standing on an emaciated buffalo, and wearing a string of painted skulls. More interesting than either temple was the library, knee-deep in loose paper, for the book covers have been taken away, and the leaves tumbled anyhow on to the floor. There were masses of indigo-tinted sheets, with writing on them sometimes in gold, sometimes in gold and silver in alternate lines. I found no copper or brass idols in either of the temples. If there ever had been any, they were removed to Toling when the monastery was abandoned. A few of the stucco and *papier mâché* statues, some fragments of woodwork, and considerable sections of books, still awaiting a translator, are now in the Lahore Museum. The story of their getting there would swell this paper to yet more inordinate length, and, though exciting, must be left untold. It was essential that the lamas should not know, for while these gentry take no interest in relics which they and their predecessors have neglected for centuries, they would rather leave them to decay than let it be known that a European had carried them off. Such an event would lower their dignity. This sentiment is admirable when applied to the treasures of Toling itself; and I appreciated the lamas' contemptuous refusal of the big prices which I offered them for one or two small statuettes in the side chapels there. But the objects in the ruined monastery had neither an owner nor intrinsic value, and their removal to a place where they would be appreciated and cared for aroused no qualms in my conscience. As the guide, whose assistance was invaluable, had predicted, a few lamas were found doing nothing particular in my camp when I returned. But we were all empty-handed just then, and they moved away satisfied.

Next morning I went back to the monastery and questioned the monks about the history of Guge. I have related the conversation above. That over, we started

on the march to Tsaparang. The distance is something under nine miles.¹ The road, following the left bank of the Satlej, is broad and smoothly graded as befits a highway between the temporal and ecclesiastical capitals, and quite different from the tracks to which we were accustomed.

Tsaparang stands on and around the base of a steep promontory which juts out like a buttress from the plateau into the river bed. The foot of the cliff is perhaps a mile from the stream. The ruins of the city are extensive, and guarded on the outer side by a chain of small round mud forts. Terraced fields, no longer cultivated, lie round about. Near the cliff stand the Dzongpon's house, a temple with a single lama in charge, and the dwellings of the four families which constitute the population of Tsaparang. I spent the afternoon and evening among the ruins. The temples are in good preservation, and are kept by the Dzongpon under lock and key. An inhabitant showed me round them. They are in general smaller than the great Gompas of Toling, but surpass them in beauty and wealth of decoration. The two largest, on the slopes of the ridge, are particularly fine. The central figures are seated Buddhas of gilt metal, two in one temple, and one in the other. Their technique is superior to any thing on the same scale at Toling. Smaller images, if they ever existed, have all been removed; but there are still the gilt screens and reredoses of wood or metal work, with carved figures of animals and flowers, showing considerable taste and freedom of design. The frescoes are not entirely confined to religious subjects, but contain also groups from the everyday life of Tsaparang. There are Tibetan warriors, Kashmiri and Ladakhi merchants, and even banias from Hindostan. Besides these temples there are one or two dedicated to Shiv, where the idol of the god is a splendid piece of brass work lavishly decorated and to all appearances heavily gilt.

A well-paved roadway, almost a stair in places, winds up towards the palace, tunnelling here and there through the soft cliff. A hundred feet or more below the palace the path is crossed by a low block house, the only stone building in Tsaparang. This is the fort built by the Ladakhi army during the siege. There is a deep gap in the ridge behind the palace, preventing escape on to the plateau beyond. At one side I saw a funnel-like chasm, down which, my guide told me, men of the garrison used to creep at night for water. It was, I suppose, the regular means of supply for the palace, and it may be that the Ladakhis brought the siege to an end by occupying the spring or by making this path impossible. The principal rooms in the palace are, an audience hall—a wide chamber that must once have had pillars to carry the roof: a temple with the usual frescoes of Avatars: and the king's and queen's own apartments. Opening out of the king's room is his private chapel,

¹ Andrada calls it "half a day's journey." Gerard, whose information was always very accurate, says "half a stage or five miles." I made it more, but the going is very easy, and the journey is about equal to half an ordinary march in Kanawar. Fraser was told that Toling lay half-way between Tsaparang and Gartok, with other particulars which he himself considered "vague and unsatisfactory." He does, however, mention a Raja of Tsaparang, whom he seemed to think was reigning at the time. He says that he is called "Cotock" (=Chodak-po?). Neither Gerard nor Fraser say anything about the Jesuit Mission. See Alexander Gerard, "Account of Koonawar," 1814, page 146, also page 49; and Fraser's "Himala Mountain." London, Rodwell and Martin, 1820, page 291.

containing not a sign of his Christian beliefs, but, on the contrary, a collection of obscene statuary in painted wood. Clearly the king, after his conversion, still cherished a house of Rimmon. From the queen's room I stepped on to a carved wooden balcony looking over the city, the very spot from which she saw the Fathers climbing the hill for the first time, nearly three hundred years ago.

After leaving the palace I entered every house in the city that I could, but found no trace of a church or mission. Most of the houses are amazingly well preserved, although the roof timbers have been taken long ago for fuel, except in the temples themselves. The lamas no doubt abolished the mission buildings just as thoroughly as they wiped out the king's name from their chronicles. Judging by Andrada's account, the church must have been somewhere near what is now the Dzongpon's house. The inhabitants profess, truthfully I daresay, to have no tradition whatever of the Jesuits or of the king's conversion. I had already sounded the Dzongpon when I met him at Shangtze; I tried him again now, but with no better success. The next morning I had to continue my way to the passes and to India.

The existence of all the riches and civilization implied in the remains of Toling and Tsaparang is at first sight astonishing. But we must remember that Western Tibet, though in many respects the most desolate country in the inhabited world, has always had two great sources of wealth, its gold and its wool. The first is famous from the very dawn of history—from Herodotus and the Mahabharata onwards.¹ The early legends of Guge reflect, as we have seen, the rich output of the country's gold, and the Ladakhi chronicles mention great quantities that came as tribute from Guge to Leh. Whether any of the smaller statuettes at Toling are of solid gold, as they are alleged to be, or not, it is obvious that in both places gold is the commonest and most easily obtainable medium of decoration. There are statues of every size, woodwork, and metal panels plastered with it, to say nothing of the gilded roof, gold paint on the walls, and hundreds of books written in gold ink. We know from history that the traffic in wool and *pashm* also between Tibet and India, either by Kashmir or by Kanawar and Kulu, was at one time very great. The fame of the Rampur *chadars* continues to the present day; and the wool trade, though now mostly diverted to Almora and Garhwal, still furnishes the big manufacturing concerns in India with a large part of their supply. The Indian name for Western Tibet is Un-des, the wool country. Besides gold and wool Western Tibetans possessed

¹ The gold-producing area of ancient history is more strictly identified with that part of the Indus valley which lies about and below Leh, and is inhabited by the Dards. But the upper valleys of the same river are rich in gold, right up to their sources. As regards the well-known fable of the gold-digging ants (Herodotus, Book III. chapters 102 to 105), Francke discovered two local legends of such ants at Kalatse, and was even shown the creatures themselves. He somewhat tantalizingly omits these legends from his book, but tells us that the ants which he saw were of normal size, and not, as Herodotus says, "smaller than dogs, but larger than foxes." Rawlinson, who cites a parallel story of gold-digging ants from the Mahabharata, states that the idea probably arose from the crouching figures of the natives digging for gold. These are formidable authorities, and I do not know whether any other theory has been advanced to explain the fable; but anyone who has seen the sites of ancient gold workings in Western Tibet can hardly fail to be struck with the resemblance of the marmots, whose burrows abound there, to Herodotus' ants. The marmot corresponds very nearly to his description of size; and it is its habit to disappear into its earth during the heat of the day, and, indeed, at any time at which it is startled by the approach of a human being. See Francke, *History of Western Tibet*, pages 12 to 14.

useful commodities in their sturdy breed of ponies, and in the yak, which is an even more serviceable creature than is claimed for it in Belloc's rhyme. Silver, iron, brass and copper are to be had in plenty in the neighbouring Himalayan tracts, and there is little doubt that mines were worked also in Guge itself. At Toling the lamas said that the metal for their idols came from Luk, five marches from Shipki on the Gartok road. The timber however must have been brought laboriously, from India, and it is obvious that even in its hey-day Tsaparang was short of wood. Andrada's king had conquered territories in the Himalaya from which he could draw. This we may infer from traditions of a Tibetan invasion in the Baspa valley of Bashahr, and from a reference in Andrada's letters to grapes which were brought to Tsaparang from a place recently conquered, and about twelve marches distant. This description fits Chini, where vines are still cultivated.

The styles of sculpture, painting and decoration at Tsaparang struck one, in contrast to Toling, as being uniform and belonging to a single period of art. It is reasonable to assume that, as the period of religious reform belongs to Yeshe Hod and Rinchen Tsangpo in the eleventh century, so the great era of prosperity, and expansion in the sixteenth was the achievement of the last two kings, who set up a new capital at Tsaparang. The probable reasons for the collapse of this prosperity can only be touched on here. The capture and dethronement of Andrada's enterprising friend was the first. Then followed the invasion of Geldan Tsang, and the subjugation of the country to Central Tibet. Under the illiberal and grasping rule of Lhasa, directed by Pekin, the land has been steadily squeezed for the benefit of its conquerors, whose own ignorance and superstition, however, have prevented them from making use of its resources. Little has been effected but the impoverishment of its inhabitants. Near the beginning of the nineteenth century the country was visited by successive epidemics of smallpox, with disastrous consequences to a people for whom existence is at the best of times a hard struggle. Finally there is the perpetual drain of lamaism on the manhood of the country. The lama toils not, neither does he spin; but he is assured of a good house to live in and an abundance of food and tea. His hold on the superstitious peasantry is such that he can easily get anything done for or offered to him. His monastery owns practically all the culturable soil in the neighbourhood. Small wonder that the best of the young men become lamas as soon as they can; and, since lamas are strictly celibate, that the race does not multiply or prosper. It must have been a perception of the lama difficulty that prompted the last king to fling himself into the arms of the Jesuit Fathers. His own initiative and the hardihood of his subjects had secured, and were consolidating for him, the subjugation of his neighbours and the expansion of his wealth. To maintain these he required a permanent and dependable supply of warriors, to which lamaism was the gravest obstacle. To a practical man the lamas were a swarm of worthless tea-swilling drones. They would neither work for him themselves, nor beget others who would; and their growing numbers alarmed him. It is true that the Jesuits' creed also demanded a celibate clergy, but that was a difficulty that could be tackled later. The main thing was to break up the monas-

teries at once, and to force the lamas to work and to breed citizens. It was the latter injunction, you may remember, that finally goaded them into revolt. The king failed, like many another who tried conclusions with an established church, but I cannot help thinking that the course of history would have been different if the people of Guge had comprehended his aim, and rallied to him. The Ladakhis would have been defeated, and when, some eighteen years later, the Central Tibetan invasion came, the army of Guge might have proved too tough a nut to be worth the cracking. A treaty might have been made with Tsaparang, and not, as actually happened, with Bashahr. It were idle to guess what might then have been the career of a strong, compact, enlightened, and, incidentally, Christian monarchy in that wild region.

Enough however is known of the past of Toling and Tsaparang to stimulate further curiosity, which can only be satisfied by the despatch of a competent Tibetan expert to both places, with full permission to study their antiquities at leisure, and to hunt for inscriptions. Unfortunately this is not so easy as it sounds. Apart from our Government's engagement to prohibit Europeans from entering the country except upon official business, it is doubtful whether any available Englishman could undertake the task. The Moravian Mission contains several Tibetanists, worthy successors of Francke, who could do so, and would, moreover, be welcomed by the Tibetans, as they are highly qualified in medicine. On this last account a Moravian Missionary at Poo has been more than once invited by the Tibetans of Guge to enter their district. Here, however, political considerations of another kind arise, since the personnel of the mission is mainly German. A native of Indian Tibet, well versed in the religion of his country and in the rudiments of archaeology, would be ideal, if he could be found. He would be unlikely to meet with difficulties from the Tibetan Government or the lamas, and, if he did, would enjoy British protection and assistance through the means of the Trade Agency at Gartok. There is still much to be learnt of the great age of Toling, when its golden monastery radiated light and learning through all Tibet from Kashmir to Assam: of the history of Guge between the eleventh and seventeenth centuries, of which we know nothing but the occasional record of a successful invasion or levy of tribute by Ladakh: and, lastly, of the rise of the Tsaparang dynasty, its conquests and splendour, and its dramatically sudden fall.

The pleasure of these discoveries may some day reward a scholar who is capable of making them. For the casual visitor if another ever visits Tsaparang, there is, or was, a solitary object from which fancy may conjure a relic of the mission. A row of whitewashed chortens stands near the Dzongpon's house. One of them, some forty feet high, towers above the rest; and on its summit there lies horizontally a weather-beaten cross of wood. It may be that that chorten was being built while the lamas were demolishing the church close by; and that some one, carelessly, or perhaps thinking to lay up treasure for himself in two heavens, planted the rejected emblem on the Buddhist tomb. In all else the work of destruction was complete, and nothing is left to remind men that a Christian once reigned in Tibet.

Meetings, 1917.

January 20th.—Lahore. Annual Meeting. The Hon'ble Mr. J. P. Thompson, Vice-President, was in the chair. Professor Margoliouth of the University of Oxford read a paper entitled "The Earliest References to Russia by Muslim historians." The accounts of the previous year were passed, and the Office Bearers and Council for 1917 were appointed.

March 3rd.—Lahore. The Hon'ble Mr. H. J. Maynard was in the chair. A paper was read by Sardar Abdul Qadir Khan Effendi on "Kakas in Afghanistan." A discussion followed in which the Hon'ble Pandit Sheo Narian, Mr. Gulshan Rai and the Hon'ble Mr. Maynard took part.

April 2nd.—Lahore. The Hon'ble Mr. J. P. Thompson, Vice-President, was in the chair. Lala Gulshan Rai read a paper entitled "Struggles of the Hindu Sahi Rulers of Kabul and the Panjab against Central Asian Turks." A discussion followed in which the Hon'ble Pandit Sheo Narian, the Vice-Chairman and the Hon. Secretary took part.

July 31st.—Simla. The Hon'ble Mr. J. P. Thompson, Vice-President, was in the chair. Rai Sahib Daya Ram Sahni read a paper entitled "Excavations at Huvishkapura." The paper was illustrated by lantern slides. A discussion followed in which the Chairman, the Hon'ble Mr. Maynard and Dr. Spooner took part.

December 19th.—Lahore. The Hon'ble Mr. J. P. Thompson, Vice-President, was in the chair. The meeting was attended by the President (Professor Ramsay Muir) and several members of the History Conference of 1917. A paper was read by Qazi Fazl Haqq, entitled "Chathiān di Pauhri, a Panjabi Ballad dealing with the history of wars between the Chathas and the Sukarchakia Sikhs." A discussion followed in which the Hon'ble Pandit Sheo Narian, the Hon. Secretary, Mr. Tydeman, B. Sewa Ram Suri and others took part.

Report of the Honorary Treasurer for the year 1917.

During the year seven new members have joined the Society and five have resigned. We have to record with regret the death of two of our members: Sir P. C. Chatterji and Mr. F. E. Wilkins. The total membership of the Society is now one hundred and seventy-two.

Accounts.—The statement below shows only the actual amounts received and disbursed during the year. In addition to these the sum of Rs. 671-6-0 is due to the Baptist Mission Press, Calcutta, for printing journals, making a total deficit of Rs. 278-5-10. Sixty-eight members had not paid their subscriptions for the year on the 31st December, and the total amount due to the Society from members is Rs. 1,205. The names of those whose subscriptions are overdue are given on the list presented herewith.

I. T. WATKINS,
Honorary Treasurer.

Lahore, 2nd January, 1918.

PANJAB HISTORICAL SOCIETY.					
<i>Cr.</i>		Rs. As. P.			<i>Dr.</i>
Balance from 1916		6 9 2	Payments		Rs. As. P. 1,259 1 0
Subs. and sale of journals, 1917 ..		1,645 8 0	Balance { with Treasurer ..		2 14 0
			{ „ Bankers ..		390 2 2
		<hr/> 1,652 1 2 <hr/>			<hr/> 1 652 1 2 <hr/>

E. TYDEMAN,
Hon Auditor.
17-1-18.

I. T. WATKINS,
Hony. Treasurer.

Panjab Historical Society.

PATRON:

H.H. Sir M. F. O'Dwyer, K.C.S.I., Lieutenant-Governor of the Panjab.

HONORARY MEMBERS:

H.H. Raja Sir Bhuri Singh, K.C.S.I., C.I.E., Chamba State, Chamba.
 Sir Louis W. Dane, G.C.I.E., C.S.I., Millbrook, Southampton, England.
 Sir John Marshall, C.I.E., Litt.D., F.S.A. Director-General of Archaeology in India, Simla.
 Vincent A. Smith, Esq., M.A., 116, Banbury Road, Oxford.
 Sir M. Aurel Stein, K.C.I.E., Ph.D., D.Litt., D.Sc., 23, Merton Road, Oxford.
 Dr. J. Ph. Vogel, Ph.D., Professor of Sanskrit, University of Leiden, Leiden, Holland.

MEMBERS:

E. R. Abbott, Esq., C.S. ..	..	.. (On leave.)
Khan Abdul Ghafur Khan, K.B. ..	..	.. District and Sessions Judge, Attock.
Abdul Hamid, Esq., M.A. ..	..	.. Professor of History, Government College, Lahore.
Sardar Abdul Qadir Khan Effendi ..	..	.. Golf Road, Lahore.
Shaikh Abdul Qadir, B.A. ..	..	.. Bar-at-Law, Public Prosecutor, Lyallpur.
Sardar Ajit Singh, B.A. ..	..	.. Pleader, Rabbani Road, Lahore.
W. O. Alcock, Esq., C.S... ..	..	.. Kolaba, Bombay Presidency.
J. W. Armstrong, Esq., O.B.E. ..	..	.. Dhariwal.
Dr. Azimuddin Ahmad ..	..	.. Patna.
M. M. Pandit Banke Rai..	..	.. Delhi.
C. A. Barron, Esq., C.I.E., C.S. ..	..	.. Chief Commissioner, Delhi.
Lieut.-Col. E. C. Bayley, C.I.E. ..	..	.. Private Secretary to H.H. the Lieutenant-Governor, Panjab.
The Hon'ble Raizada Bhagat Ram ..	..	.. Barrister-at-law, Jullundur.
H.H. Sir Bhawani Singh, K.C.S.I. ..	..	.. Raj Rana of Jhalawar, Jhalrapatan, Rajputana.
T. H. S. Biddulph, Esq., C.I.E. ..	..	.. 7, Nicholas Lane, Lombard Street, London, E.C.
Mrs. Bingley ..	..	..
C. J. Brown, Esq. ..	..	.. Canning College, Lucknow.
G. Gardner Brown, Esq. ..	..	.. Principal, Holkar College, Indore, C.I.
The Hon'ble Mr. R. Burn, C.S. ..	..	.. Chief Secretary to Govt., Allahabad, U.P.
Miss Caleb ..	..	.. Race Course Road, Lahore.
Sardar Charanjit Singh, Ahluwalia ..	..	.. Jullundur City.
Lala Chuni Lal, B.A., LL.B. ..	..	.. Official Receiver, Amritsar.
W. Coldstream, Esq., C.S., Retired ..	..	.. 69, West Cromwell Road, London, S.W.
The Rev. A. G. G. Cowie..	..	.. S. P. G., Rawalpindi.
G. E. S. Cubitt, Esq., I.F.S. ..	..	.. Insp.-Gen. of Forests, Siam, Bangkok.
M. M. L. Currie, Esq., B.A., C.S. ..	..	.. Assistant Commissioner, Delhi.
Sardar Daljit Singh, C.S.I. ..	..	.. Chief Minister to Jammu and Kashmir State.
W. L. Dallas, Esq. ..	..	.. Civil and Military Gazette, Lahore.
D. N. P. Datta, Esq., M.D., C.M. ..	..	.. Civil Surgeon, Gurgaon.

S. K. Datta, Esq., B.A., M.B., Ch.B...	..	..
Pandit Daya Ram Sahni, M.A.	..	.. Superintendent of Archaeology, Lahore.
Lala Durga Das, B.A., LL.B.	..	.. Pleader, Lahore.
G. F. de Montmorency, Esq., C.I.E., C.S.	..	.. D.C. Lyallpur.
T. P. Ellis, Esq., C.S.	..	.. Davis Rd., Lahore.
H. W. Emerson, Esq., C.S.	..	.. Superintendent, Mandi State, Maudi.
The Rev. J. C. R. Ewing, D.D., C.I.E.	..	.. Lahore.
The Hon'ble Mr. P. J. Fagan, C.S.	..	.. Financial Commissioner, Panjab, Lahore.
A. G. C. Fane, Esq., I.A.R.O.	..	.. Malakand Field Force.
Raja Fateh Singh of Shaikhupura	..	.. Lahore.
Qazi Fazl-i-Haqq	..	.. Professor of Persian, Government College, Lahore.
The Revd. Father Felix, O.C.	..	.. Bettiah, Dist. Champaran.
Chas. W. Foster, Esq.	..	.. Indian Police, c/o Panjab Banking Co., Ltd., Lahore.
M. Ganga Ram Wadhawa, M.A.	..	.. Extra Judicial Assistant Commissioner. Amritsar.
C. C. Garbett, Esq., C.S.	..	.. Assistant Censor, Karachi.
H. L. O. Garrett, Esq., M.A.	..	.. I.E.S. on leave.
B. T. Gibson, Esq., C.S.	..	.. Deputy Commissioner, Shahpur.
J. C. Gilbertson, Esq., M.A.	..	..
Major C. A. Gill, I.M.S.	..	.. Indian Expeditionary Force, Persian Gulf.
Mr. Ghulam Yazdani, M.A.	..	.. Superintendent of Archaeology, H.H. the Nizam's Dominions, Hyderabad, Deccan.
J. C. Godley, Esq., M.A., C.S.I.	..	..
Dr. Gokal Chand Narang.	..	.. Bar.-at-law, Lahore.
Rev. H. D. Griswold, M.A., Ph.D.	..	.. Forman Christian College, Lahore.
Lala Gulbahar Singh, M.A., LL.B.	..	.. Professor, Government College, Lahore.
Lala Gulshan Rai, B.A., LL.B.	..	.. Professor, Sanatan Dharam College, Lahore.
Lala Guru Datt Sondhi, M.A., I.E.S.	..	.. Professor of Economics Government College, Lahore.
R. P. Hadow, Esq.	..	.. Under-Secretary to Government, P.W.D. (Irriga- tion), Lahore.
H. Hargreaves, Esq.	..	.. Archaeological Department.
Pandit Hari Kishen Kaul, M.A., R.B., C.I.E.	..	.. D.C. for Criminal Tribes, Lahore.
Raja Sir Harnam Singh, Ahluwalia, K.C.I.E.	..	.. Jullundur City.
Miss Hart	..	.. Victoria Girls' School, Lahore.
The Hon'ble Mr. P. Hawkins	..	.. P.W.D. Govt of India, U.S. Club, Simla.
Lionel Heath, Esq.	..	.. The Pipals, Lower Mall, Lahore.
Major-General H. Hendley, I.M.S.	..	.. D.M.S., Quetta.
Pandit Hirananda Shastri, M.A.	..	.. Curator, Government Museum, Lucknow.
G. C. L. Howell, Esq., C.S.	..	.. c/o Panjab Civil Secretariat, Lahore.
Dr. J. Hutchison	..	.. Chamba.
Nawab Ibrahim Ali Khan of Kunjpura	..	.. Kunjpura, Karnal District.
Miles Irving, Esq., B.A., C.S.	..	.. D.C. Amritsar.
Bhagat Ishwar Das, M.A.	..	.. Advocate, Lahore.
Lala Ishwar Das, M.A.	..	.. Professor, Forman Christian College, Lahore.
Sardar Jasjit Singh	..	.. Kapurthala.
Mrs. Jenkins, B.A.	..	.. Kinnaird College, Lahore.
H. H. Jenkyns, Esq., C.S.	..	.. c/o Panjab Civil Secretariat, Lahore.
Sardar Jogendra Singh	..	.. Taluqdar, Aira Estate, Kheri, Oudh.
E. A. A. Joseph, Esq., B.A., C.S.	..	.. Revenue Secretary, Panjab, Lahore.
Misra Jwala Sahai, B.A.	..	.. Extra Judicial Asst. Commr., Multan.
Thakur Kahn Singh	..	.. Balauria, Police Department, Jammu.

Lala Kanwar Sain Mathur, M.A., Bar.-at-law, ..	Principal, Law College, Lahore.
Diwan Kishen Kishore	Honorary Magistrate, Lahore.
A. J. W. Kitchin, Esq., C.S.	Commissioner, Lahore.
H. T. Knowlton, Esq., I.E.S.	Ambala.
H. Y. Langhorne, Esq., M.A., I.E.S. ..	Government College, Lahore.
Dr. Lankester .. ..	..
The Hon'ble Sir E. D. MacLagan, K.C.I.E., C.S.I.	..
Colonel R. S. MacLagan, R.E., C.B., C.S.I. ..	Secretary, P.W.D., Baluchistan, Quetta.
Kanwar Maharaj Singh, M.A., C.I.E. ..	Magistrate and Collector, Hamirpur, U.P.
M. Mahbub Alam.. ..	Editor, "Paisa Akhbar," Lahore.
Khwaja Mahmud Husain, B.A. ..	Munsif, Rajanpore, D.G. Khan.
T. L. Manghirmalani, Esq., M.A. ..	Professor of History, Prince of Wales' College, Jammu.
Lala Man Mohan, M.A.	c/o Postmaster, Patiala.
E. Marsden, Esq., I.E.S. (Retired) ..	"Waltroyd," 12, Ellerdale Road, Hampstead, N.W.
Miss Maya Das, B.A., B.T. ..	Professor of History, Kinnaird College, Lahore.
The Hon'ble Mr. H. J. Maynard, M.A., C.S.I. ..	Financial Commissioner, Panjab, Lahore.
R. McIntosh, Esq., M.A.	Indian Forest Service, Simla.
Captain J. C. More, I.A.	General Headquarters, c/o Presidency Postmaster Bombay.
Hazik-ul-Mulk Hakim Muhammad Ajmal Khan ..	Delhi.
M. Muhammad Din, B.A.	Judge, Chief Court, Bahawalpur.
The Hon'ble Mian Muhammad Shafi, K B., C.I.E.	Barrister-at-Law, Lahore.
Miss E. Must. . . .	Inspectress of Schools, Rawalpindi.
Mr. Nand Lal, B.A., LL.B.	Barrister-at-Law, Lahore.
Lala Narayan Das, Rai Bahadur ..	Judicial Minister, Alwar.
Khan Bahadur Mir Nasir Ali Khan ..	Honorary Magistrate, Delhi.
F. Noyce, Esq., I.C.S.	Simla.
Maulvi Nur Bakhsh, M.A.	Central Model High School, Lahore.
H. J. Philby, Esq., C.S.	Foreign Department, Govt. of India, Delhi.
The Hon'ble Mr. A. W. Pim, C.S. ..	Financial Secretary to Government, United Provinces, Allahabad.
Miss Platt, M.B.	Lady Hardinge Medical College for Women, Delhi.
Colonel S. H. Powell, R.E. .. ..	..
The Hon'ble Mr. F. I. Pratt, C.S. ..	Commissioner, Ahmadabad.
Pandit Radha Krishna, Rai Bahadur ..	Museum, Muttra (U.P.).
Thakur Rajendra Singh	Tikra Estate, Biswan, District Sitapur.
Principal Raghubar Dayal	Sanatan Dharam College, Lahore.
Miss E. S. Rammell	Cathedral Girls' High School, Lahore.
Lala Ram Prasad Khosla, M.A. ..	G.B.B. College, Muzaffarpur, Bihar.
The Hon'ble Mr. J. A. Richey, M.A. ..	Director of Public Instruction, Panjab, Lahore.
Miss A. E. Rooke	Flashman's Hotel, Rawalpindi.
S. K. Rudra, Esq., M.A.	Principal, St. Stephen's College, Delhi.
The Hon'ble Mr. Sachidananda Sinha ..	Bankipur, Bihar.
C. V. Salusbury, Esq., C.S.	Government House, Lahore.
Major G. B. Sanford, I.A.	Simla.
Bawa Sewa Ram Singh	Pleader, Chief Court of the Panjab, Lahore.
The Hon. Mr. Justice Shadi Lal, M.A., R.B., B.C.L.	Judge, Chief Court of the Panjab, Lahore.
The Hon'ble Pandit Sheo Narain, R.B. ..	Advocate, Lahore.
Lala Shibbu Mal, M.A., E.A.C. ..	Sub-Judge, Lahore.

Lala Shiv Dayal, M.A. ..	..	..	Government College, Lahore.
Dr. Shuja-ud-Din, M.A., LL.D. ..	..	..	Barrister-at-Law, Lahore.
H. L. H. Shuttleworth, Esq., C.S. ..	..	..	A.C., Kulu.
C. A. Silberrad, Esq., C.S. ..	..	..	Gorakhpur.
Lala Sita Ram Kohli, M.A. ..	..	..	Persian Office, Panjab Civil Secretariat, Lahore.
F. W. Skemp, Esq., M.A., C.S. ..	..	..	Rawalpindi.
H. A. Smith, Esq., M.A., C.S. ..	..	..
Lieut.-Colonel MacIver Smith, I.M.S. ..	..	..
S. B. Smith, Esq., M.A. ..	..	..	Canning College, Lucknow.
Dr. D. B. Spooner, B.A., Ph.D. ..	..	..	Archæological Survey, Simla.
A. M. Stow, Esq., B.A., C.S. ..	..	..	Jammu.
Miss L. M. Stratford, B.A. ..	..	..	Chief Inspectress of Schools, Lahore.
R.S. Chaudhri Sultan Ahmad, B.A., E.A.C. ..	..	..	Kasur.
Sardar Sundar Singh Ramgarhia, ..	..	..	Rais, Amritsar.
Princess Bamba Sutherland ..	..	..	Lahore.
Pandit Tara Chand Vazir, M.A. ..	..	..	Habba Kadal, Srinagar, Kashmir.
J. N. Taylor, Esq., C.I.E. ..	..	..	c/o P.W.D. Secretariat, Lahore.
Bakshi Tek Chand, M.A., LL.B. ..	..	..	Pleader, Lahore.
Diwan Tek Chand, B.A., C.S. ..	..	..	Postal Censor, Karachi.
Sir Richard Temple ..	..	..	The Nash, Worcester, England.
The Hon'ble Mr. J. P. Thompson, M.A., C.S. ..	..	..	Chief Secretary to Panjab Govt., Lahore.
Pandit Todar Mall Bhandari ..	..	..	Barrister-at-Law, Lahore.
E. Tydeman, Esq., B.A. ..	..	..	Nedou's Hotel, Lahore.
The Hon. Malik Sir Umar Hayat Khan, Tiwana, K.C.I.E. ..	..	..	Member, Imperial Legislative Council, Simla.
C. F. Osborne, Esq., B.A., C.S. ..	..	..	D.C., Sialkot.
Lala Vidya Dhar Suri, M.A. ..	..	..	c/o the Hon'ble R. B. Lala Ram Saran Das, Lahore.
Sardar Vikram Singh ..	..	..	Honorary Magistrate, Amritsar.
T. R. J. Ward, Esq., M.V.O., C.I.E. ..	..	..	P.W.D. Secretariat, Delhi.
L. T. Watkins, Esq., I.E.S. ..	..	..	Government College, Lahore.
Major C. Watson, R.E. ..	..	..	Traffic Manager, U.M. Railway, Kavirondo, Uganda.
H. D. Watson, Esq., B.A., C.S., C.I.E. ..	..	..	Deputy Commissioner, Jullundur.
Miss M. P. Western ..	..	..	Queen Mary's College, Lahore.
The Rev. E. M. Wherry, D.D. ..	..	..	Ludhiana.
R. B. Whitehead, Esq., B.A., C.S. ..	..	..	Ambala.
H. S. Williamson, Esq., M.A., C.S. ..	..	..	D.C., Gujrat.
G. B. Wilson, Esq., I.C.S. ..	..	..	Gurdaspur.
Ross I. Wilson, Esq., B.A. ..	..	..	Professor of History, Forman Christian College, Lahore.
Miss A. M. Wilson ..	..	..	Auckland House, Simla.
R. E. I. Wingate, Esq., C.S. ..	..	..
G. C. Wolfe, Esq. ..	..	..	Grand Hotel, Calcutta.
A. C. Woolner, Esq., M.A. ..	..	..	Registrar, University of the Panjab, Lahore.
H. Nelson Wright, Esq., C.S. ..	..	..	c/o Civil Secretariat, U.P., Allahabad.
H. G. Wyatt, Esq., I.E.S. ..	..	..	Principal, Central Training College, Lahore.
G. M. Young, Esq., C.S. ..	..	..	Simla.
Maulvi Zafar Hassan, B.A. ..	..	..	Asst. Supdt., Archæological Survey, Museum, Fort Delhi.

M. A. Zahedie, Esq.	..	..	..	Professor of History and English, Sadiq-Egerton College, Bahawalpur.
Malik Zaman Mahdi Khan, B.A., E.A.C.	..	..	..	Chattar, Mianwali.
The Hon'ble Khan Zulfiqar Ali Khan, C.S.I.	..	..	..	Zurafshan, Ferozepore Road, Lahore.

OFFICERS AND MEMBERS OF COUNCIL.

President.

Sir Edward Maclagan, K.C.I.E., C.S.I.

Vice-Presidents.

The Hon. Mr. J. P. Thompson, C.S.

The Hon. R. B. Pandit Sheo Narain.

Honorary Secretary.

A. C. Woolner, Esq., M.A.

Honorary Treasurer.

H. Y. Langhorne, Esq., M.A.

Auditors.

Lala Chuni Lal, B.A., I.L.B.

R.B. Pandit Hari Kishan Kaul, C.I.E.

Members of Council.

The Hon. Mr. H. J. Maynard, C.S.

R. B. Whitehead, Esq., C.S.

Miles Irving, Esq., C.S.

Rai Bahadur Pandit Hari Kishan Kaul, C.I.E.

The Hon. Khan Zulfiqar Ali Khan, C.S.I.

E. Tydeman, Esq., B.A.

Capt. H. Hargreaves, I.A.R.O.

Shaikh Abdul Qadir, B.A. (Lyallpur).

Ross L. Wilson, Esq., B.A.

JOURNAL

of the

PANJAB HISTORICAL SOCIETY

Vol. VIII, No. 1, pp. 1-102.

	PAGE
The Ballad of Ram Singh's two Rebellions.	I
The Ballad of Larn Barn of the Kulu Naggar Tract. <i>Recorded by Mr. C. H. Donald: edited by Rev. T. Grahame Bailey</i>	10
History of Kangra State. <i>J. Hutchison and J. Ph. Vogel</i>	12
Addenda to History of Nurpur State.	85
Daniel Moginie, a forgotten Swiss adventurer in Hindustan (1738-1749). <i>Translated from the German by the Revs. J. W. Dühr, S.J., and H. Hosten, S.J.</i> ..	90
The Cradle of Graeco-Buddhist Art. <i>A. Foucher</i>	96

Calcutta :

PRINTED AT THE BAPTIST MISSION PRESS AND PUBLISHED BY
THE PANJAB HISTORICAL SOCIETY, LAHORE.

1920.

NOTICE.

Correspondence relating to membership, meetings, papers and publications should be addressed to—

A. C. WOOLNER, ESQ., M.A.,

Hon. Sec., Panjab Historical Society, University, Lahore.

Subscriptions and letters containing enquiries concerning subscriptions should be sent to—

MISS FORSTER,

Hon. Treasurer, Panjab Historical Society,

University, Lahore.

The Ballad of Ram Singh's two Rebellions.

This ballad has been recorded with historical and geographical notes by Mr. J. F. Mitchell, Assistant Commissioner, Kulu, and the text and translation edited by the Rev. T. Grahame Bailey of Wazirabad. Mr. C. H. Donald has supplied the following note on the origin of another version of the ballad :—

“The Ram Singh Ballad was sung to me by three old ‘ Abdals ’ of Nurpur, in the Kangra District. One of them, a very old man, informed me that he was then a child, but well remembers the British forces coming into the valley, and his father and two of his uncles were ordered to compose and sing a ballad of the whole proceedings. The names of the three composers are :—

1. Jattu, 2. Dhamán, 3. Billu,—Abdals of Nurpur.

The ballad, so far as they know, or I can discover, was never written down, so no manuscript copy of it appears to be in existence now.

There appear to be several versions of it, as at present sung, to suit the audience, and it is possible that there is more of it (the original), but this is all I have been able to procure.

The ‘ Abdals ’ were very loath to give this version, chiefly I think on account of the last line but one of the first verse :—‘ Thar thar kambeā Baran Sahib, Raja.’

It is said to have been composed very shortly after Ram Singh fell into the hands of the British and at the instance of the British officers, but I think it is much more likely to have been composed at the instance of the Raja of Nurpur, or some of the leading Rajputs of the time.”

THE JACHH AND DALLA ACTIONS.

Rām Singh was born in the house of Shāmā, born in the likeness of God and named “ The Bold.”¹

He it was who saved the Rajputs’ honour. Well did the son of the Wazir fight. The Company wrote and sent an order “ Do not interfere with the pale-faced soldiers.”

General.—I have been unable to discover more detail of the two actions against Ram Singh than are contained in the attached extracts from Barnes’ Settlement Report and Burton’s Sikh Wars. The ballad consists of four parts: the first, describing the first rebellion and the fight at Jachh; the second, describing the preliminary negotiations, but irrelevantly referring to the Dalla mountain, the scene of the second rebellion. The third reverts to the fighting at Jachh, the subsequent scattering and re-assembling at Shahpur (between the Ravi and the Chakki, now in the Gurdaspur District, but formerly part of the Nurpur tract when the Jullundur Doab was ceded). The fourth, a description of the last fight on the Dalla heights above Shahpur.

¹ Ram Singh was the son of Shama, Wazir to the Raja of Nurpur.

- 5 The Feringhi is a great scourge, he will put you in a cage.
Well did the son of the Wazir fight.
Rām Singh wrote and sent this order "I will fight with the pale-faced soldiers."
All alone well did the Paṭhāṇēā fight.
The armies came up from far Calcutta.
- 10 The Wazir came up by way of Bāsa, the Sahib as far as Suriali.¹
In Jachh was the battle joined, all alone well did the Paṭhāṇēā fight.
Bathed and washed the Raja sits at his prayers, the Brahmans betrayed him
and caused his capture whilst at prayer.²
- 15 Well did the son of the Wazir fight.

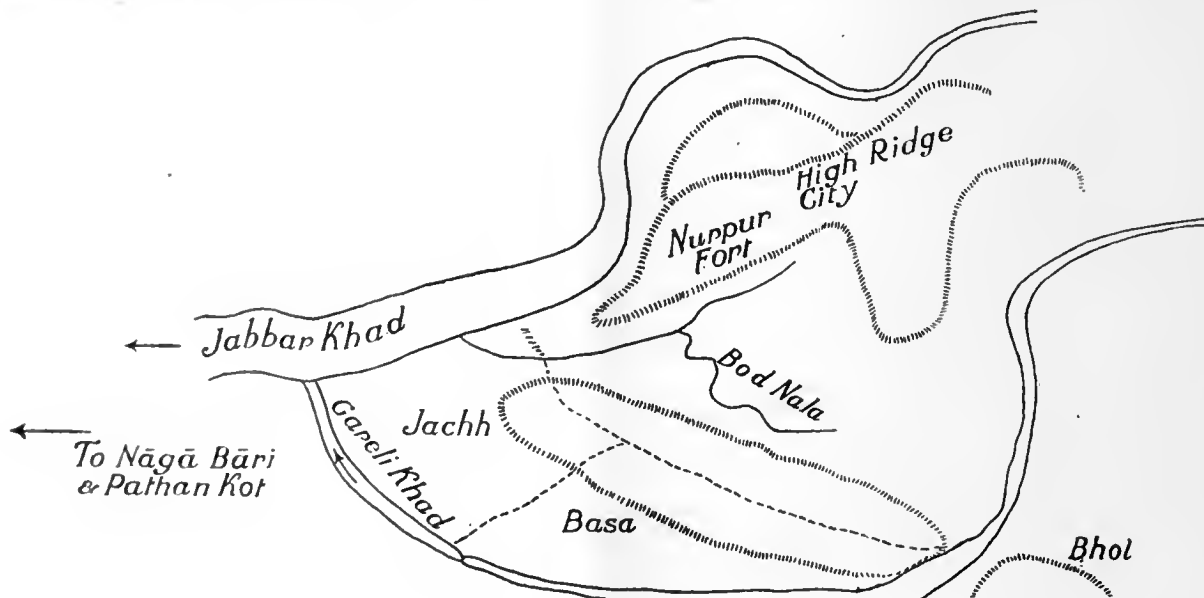
* * * * *

The drums rolled on the heights of Dalla, the regimental tambourines rattled,
O people.³

All alone well did the Paṭhāṇēā fight.

The Company wrote and sent an order, 20 "Do not interfere with the pale-faced soldiers", Raja,

¹ Inset is a sketch of the scene of the Jachh fight. Suriali or Saliali however lies about eight miles to the north; it is difficult to understand the reference to that place. Ram Singh and that part of the British force which was under Major Fisher had come from Shahpur and an easy road for the forces would have been viâ Danera and thence along the Danera-Nurpur road which passes through Saliali.



The actual fight took place on the ridge between the Bod Nala and the Gareli Khad. Both the end of this ridge and the level land near the Bod, the Gareli and the Jabbar, lie in the village of Jachh. The village of Basa lies S.E. of Jachh running from the top of the ridge down to the Gareli; it is known in the revenue records as Basa Hadialan but is known locally as Basa Waziran; it is now owned by a family of Pathanias all of whom claim descent from Ram Singh.

² I cannot trace this reference which is repeated several times to the perfidy of Ram Singh's Brahmans, nor do I know if Ram Singh was captured at the Dalla battle; he was transported in the following February but this was after conclusion of hostilities in the Second Sikh War. Probably the ballad is correct in saying he was captured at Dalla.

³ Dalle di Dhar. A ridge above Shahpur.

The Feringhi is a great scourge, he will put you in a cage, he will put your house to auction.

Well did the son of the Wazir fight.

Rām Singh wrote and sent an order, 25 "I *will* fight with the Feringhi, I have a claim against the English, my life is a thing of but four days."

Well did the son of the Wazir fight.

He wrote an order to his mother's brothers. 30 He called Jawāhar Singh and Bahādar Singh his mother's brothers.

He called the Kotwāl¹ named Dās, he called Dhiān the Jaryāl.

Called he also Amar Singh, Maṇhās, who bared his sword (and said)

I will try against the armies how my sword works.

35 Then did Rām Singh backing out go up, in his hand seized his sword which says "kill, kill."

"I will try my strength against armies."

All alone well did the Paṭhāṇeā fight.

40 Bathed and washed the Raja sits at his prayers, then did the Brahmans betray him and in secret caused his capture.

* * * * *

Rām Singh was born in the house of Shāmā, born in the likeness of God.

45 At birth he seized a sword, he made firm (in his heart) a claim against the English. He wrote an order and sent it to Bhol. (*Note.*—Das was the kotwal of the Bhol taluqa) He called Das the Kotwal.

Called he also Jaṅgī, Padhwāl,² 50 and Tārā Singh Sāhab.

Called Nahaṅgī, the Dhaṇṭiā, the Dhaṇṭiā refused (to come).

He called Amar Singh, the Maṇhās, whose horses wear chaplets on their necks.

55 Amar Singh bared his sword. Come, let us meet the English. The honour of the brotherhood of the faith must be saved, he destroyed four regiments, the streams flow with blood.

60 Now he moved his camp, and pitched it in Nāgā Bārī.³

There he appointed a Brahman for his food. He ate his food and girded his clothes around his waist, the young man.

He said "Wazir, now get you gone anywhere,

65 Take away some small reward from me."

He bared his sword from his waist.

He girded it on his waist.

70 He gave orders to his soldiers, and brought his camp to Shahpur.

There he gave orders to his soldiers, loot this city of Shahpur.

¹ Kotwals corresponded to Zaildars. Das is well remembered as the Kotwal of the Dhar Dhol taluqa lying just S.W. of the scene of the Jachh fight. Bhol is a village in it. The ridge on which the fight took place is the last of the long Dhar Bhol ridge which runs far to the S.W. into Dera tahsil.

² Bhadwāl or Padhwāl, Dhaṇṭiā, Maṇhās are all tribes of Rajputs.

³ Nāgā Bārī lies four miles due west of Jachh. It is on the Nurpur-Pathankot road; it is part of a village still belonging to the Raja of Nurpur.

- The drums roll on the height of Dallā, the side-drums beat at Kumhan.¹
 The news of you has reached the presence.
- 75 Malmal Sahib has come up, raising the outcry as he comes.²
 He shot an arrow into the hand of Malmal Sahib, and the hand he destroyed.
 Malmal's brother Candi Sahib has also come up, so as he came he gave a blow ;
 he ward off the blow with his shield and struck his own blow in on the
 Sahib's head.
- They had his body taken to Delhi.
 Having stopped (the blow) with his shield he stood it against a corn-bin.
- 85 The Feringhees are great kings, they wrote an order, and asked,
 The English are great kings, they sell our homes by auction.
 They will not let people go alive.
- 90 Amar Singh said I have but four days to live.
 The Generals and Colonels have come,
 In their coming they published by beat of drum,
 Cause Rām Singh to be captured, a reward of two thousand rupees to whoever
 causes Rām Singh to be captured.
- 95 Your Brahmans have been deceitful, they enabled the capture when he was
 seated at prayers.
 They put him in a palanquin, and came to Nurpur city.
 The Wazir sat down at the tank of Bālā.³
- 100 A messenger came running,
 " Oh Shāmā, your city is put in danger.
 You tried your strength against kings,
 The English are great kings,
 Who place in cages."
- 105 As my fate was written so I have received.
 My Missar (Brahman adviser) deceived me,
 My brother Gopāl Singh came to meet me,
 My own true brother deceived me,
 The brotherhood give me their assistance.
- 110 Who takes my name while I live ?
 The word of men remains with men (till death),
 Mothers' sons fight.
- 113 Rām Singh, the Paṭhāṇēā, fought with strength.

* * * * *

¹ I have not traced Kumhan. It is evidently a place name and probably refers to a hill on the Dalla heights.

² Malmal Sahib and Candi Sahib are interesting. The ballad says that the latter was killed and the former wounded. Barnes says that both Peel and Christie were killed. Burton says that Christie was killed and Peel wounded. Could Malmal be Peel and Candi be Christie ?

³ It is not clear if the British brought him to Bāle dā Talā as a captive, or whether his friends conveyed him there secretly. For *talā*, tank, we might read *aṭṭālā*, masonry platform round foot of peepul tree. There is one in Nūrpur.

* * * * *

- Ghar Siāme de Rām Singh jammeā
 Jammeā barā autārī, jis dā nām rakkheā arjaṅg.
 Jin rakkhī Rājputā dī lāj, baiṭā wazīr dā khūb laṛeā,
 Likh parwāneā kaumpanī bhējdī, Gōreā nāl nā chēr,
 5 Farāṅgī hai barī balā, taikī rakhgī pinjrai pāi,
 Baiṭā wazīr dā khūb laṛeā.
 Likh parwāneā Rām Singh bhējdā maī laṛnā Goreā nāl
 Akailā Paṭhāṇeā khūb laṛeā.
 Dūr Kalkatte diā fōjā caṛhiā.
 10 Bāse dā caṛheā wazīr Sureālī tāī caṛheā Sāhab,
 Jachh wich pai gai laṛāi
 Akailā Paṭhāṇeā khūb laṛeā.
 Nahāi dhoī Rājā pūjā par behndā, Brāhmaṇe cuglī lāi,
 Pūjā par dittā pakṛāi,
 15 Baiṭā wazīr dā khūb laṛeā.

* * * * *

- Dalle diā dhārā ḍafle bajjde,
 Palṭṇī kharke tambūr loko,
 Akailā paṭhāṇeā khūb laṛeā,
 Likh parwāneā kaumpa ṇī bhējdī
 20 Gōreā nāl nā chēr Rājā,
 Farāṅgī hai burī balā, taikī rakhgā pinjre pāi,
 Terā ghar bār kargā nilām,
 Baiṭā wazīr dā khūb laṛeā.
 Likh parwāneā Rām Singh bhējdā,
 25 Maī laṛnā Farāṅgī nāl,
 Mairā daiyā Aṅgrezā de nāl,
 Maī jiṇā diḥāṛeā cār,
 Baiṭā wazīr dā khūb laṛeā
 Likh parwāneā māmneā jo bhējdā,
 30 Saddeā Jawāhar Singh mām mā, saddeā Bahādar Singh mām mā,
 Saddeā Dās Kotwāl, saddeā Dhiān Jaryāl,
 Saddeā Amar Singh Maṇhās, jinne sūtri laī talwār,
 Maī parkhṇī fōjā de nāl,
 Mairī kaisī caldī talwār,
 35 Khāi¹ moraṛā phir Rām Singh caṛheā,
 Hath pakṛī talwār.
 Jehṛī kardī hai mār-o-mār,
 Maī parkhṇī hai fōjā de nāl.
 Akailā Paṭhāṇeā khūb laṛeā.

¹ Moraṛā khāṇā, to go back on a thing, to back out. This gives doubtful sense.

- 40 Nahāi dhoi Rājā pujā par behndā,
Phir bāhmaṇe cugli lāi,
Phir coreā dittā pakṛāi.

* * * * *

- Ghar Siāme de Rām Siṅgh jammueā,
Jammueā baṛā autārī Rājā,
45 Jammde ne pakṛī talwār Rājā,
Daiyā baddhā Angrezā de nāl Rājā,
Likhi parwānā Bhulī ki bhējeā,
Saddeā Dās Kotwāl Rājā,
Saddeā Jaṅgi Padhwāl Rājā,
50 Saddeā Tārā Siṅgh Sāhabe nū Rājā,
Saddeā Nahaṅgi Dhaṇōṭiā Rājā,
Dhaṇōṭie ne likkheā jawāb Rājā,
Saddeā Amar Siṅgh Maṇhās Rājā,
Jis de ghoṛeā de gaḷ hār Rājā,
55 Amar Siṅgh sūtri lai hai talwār Rājā,
Calo miḷie Angrezā de nāl Rājā,
Rakkhi Dharmaṇe di ān Rājā.
Palṭnā māriā cār Rājā,
Lahūā de bagde nāl Rājā,
60 Huṇ ḍerā kūc karāyā Rājā,
Derā Nāgā Bārī pāeā Rājā,
Otthe Bāhmaṇ rasoī ki lāyā Rājā,
Khāi li rasō kas kapṛe ḍhākā par juān Rājā,
Wazir, tū huṇ kutayō jā Rājā,
65 Metō thoṛā deā lai jāo inā m Rājā,
Lakkō sūtri lai talwār Rājā,
Us bannhi lai ḍhākā te juān Rājā,
Otthe sapāhiā ki hukam karāyā Rājā,
Derā Shāhpure de andar āyā Rājā,
70 Otthe sapāhiā ki hukam karāyā Rājā,
Luṭṭi lo Shāhpure dā shehr Rājā.
Dallai diā dhārā ḍafle bajjde,
Kumhaṇi kharke tumbūr Rājā,
Teri khabar gai hazūr Rājā,
75 Malmal Sāhab caṛhi āyā,
Aundeā hallā karāyā Rājā,
Malmal Sāhab de hatthe ki tīr lāyā,
Hatthe dā kitā nāsh Rājā,
Malmal dā bhāi Candī Sāhab caṛhi āyā,
80 Us aundeā ne phaṭ calāyā Rājā,

- Phaṭ ḍhālā par bacāyā Rājā,
 Phaṭ Sāhab de sir par bāheā Rājā,
 Ohdā deh Dehlī cukāyā Rājā,
 Daikarī ḍhālā dā aṛikkā hāre de nāl aṛkāyā Rājā,
 85 Faraṅgī hai baṛā bādshāh, Rājā,
 Likhī parwānā puccheā Rājā,
 Aṅgrēz hai baṛā bādshāh Rājā,
 Ghar bār karandā nilām Rājā,
 Jindeā nehī dindā jān Rājā,
 90 Amar Singh ākhdā maī jinā dihaṛeā cār Rājā,
 Jarnail karnail caṛhī āyā Rājā,
 Aundeā ḍhandhorā paṭāyā Rājā,
 Rām Singh deō pakṛāi Rājā,
 Dō hazār rupeā inām jō Rām Singh de pakṛāi Rājā.
 95 Tere bāhmaṇe dagā kamāyā Rājā,
 Pūjā baiṭhdā pakṛāyā Rājā,
 Bich sukhpāle de pāyā Rājā,
 Nūrpur shehr kī āyā Rājā,
 Bāle de talā par baṭheā wazir, Rājā,
 100 Ik doṛdā harkārā calā āyā Rājā,
 Siāmeā terā shehr aṛāhī bich pāyā Rājā,
 Bādshāhā kanne tū zorā lāyā,
 Aṅgrēz hai baṛā bādshāh Rājā,
 Jehṛā rakhdā pinjre pāi Rājā,
 105 Karm likheā so maī pāyā Rājā,
 Mere missrai ne dagā kamāyā Rājā,
 Bhāi Gopāl Singh miḷne kī āyā Rājā,
 Sakke bhāi ne dagā kamāyā Rājā,
 Bhāicārā dindā maddat Rājā,
 110 Jindā laindā kōṇ merā nā Rājā,
 Mardā de bōl rehnde mardā nāl Rājā,
 Laṛde māiā de puttār Rājā,
 113 Rām Singh Paṭhāṇeā zōr laṛeā.

* * * * *

Barnes's Settlement Report, Para. 89.

At the end of August 1848, Ram Singh, a Pathania Rajput, and son of the Wazir of the ex-Raja of Nurpur, collecting a band of adventurers from the neighbouring hills of Jummo, suddenly crossed the Ravi and threw himself into the unoccupied fort of Shahpur. (*Note.*—This is the Shahpur now in Gurdaspur District). That night he received a congratulatory deputation from the neighbourhood, and proclaimed by beat of drum, that the English rule had ceased. Dalip Singh was the Paramount

Power, Jaswan Singh (the son of Raj Bir Singh) the Raja of Nurpur, and Ram Singh his Wazir.

* * * * *

Barnes's Settlement Report, Para. 98.

In January 1849, Ram Singh persuaded Raja Sher Singh to give him two Sikh regiments, each 500 strong, to make a second irruption in the hills. He took up a final position upon the Dula heights. This ridge overhangs the Ravi, and presents towards the plains, the quarter from which an assailing force must proceed, a series of perpendicular blocks of sandstone, varying from 50 to 150 feet high, and each forming in itself a strong and almost impregnable position. The strength of the ground and the disciplined valour of the insurgents made the assault a service of peculiar danger, and Brigadier Wheeler came up in person accompanied by a strong force of all arms. By his skilful dispositions the rebels were driven from their fastnesses with considerable slaughter, and we on our side had to mourn the loss of two gallant officers, Cornet Christie, of the 7th Cavalry, and Lieutenant J. Peel, of the Hoshiarpur Local Corps.

* * * * *

Burton's First and Second Sikh Wars, Chapter XII.

Ram Singh, son of Shama, one of the hereditary wazirs of Nurpur, crossed the frontier and attacked several posts on the customs line in the vicinity of Pathankot and Nurpur. A force of the 15th Irregular Cavalry and 29th Native Infantry under Major Fisher was accordingly sent against him and crossed the Beas at Katgarh (in extreme S.W. of Nurpur tahsil, L.M.) on the 9th September (1848). Early, on the 10th, Major Fisher marched to Pathankot, where arrangements were made for attacking the rebels who were reported to be in possession of the neighbouring fort of Shahpur. As the force approached that place a body of men was seen on the hill overlooking the fort; these were charged and dispersed by the cavalry. When the party neared the fort, a heavy fire of musketry was opened from the walls, by which a few sowars were wounded. Fire continued until dusk, and during the night the rebels evacuated the fort, escaping by a precipitous path leading to the Ravi, which flowed several hundred feet below.

On the 10th September, Mr. J. Lawrence, Commissioner of the Jullundur Doab, reached Kangra, and on the 13th arrived at Nurpur, when he heard that Ram Singh occupied a long narrow hill in the immediate vicinity of the town. He had perpetrated several dacoities and had written circular letters to the headmen of villages, inviting them to join him. On the morning of the 14th, Mr. Lawrence and Major Fisher reconnoitred the enemy's position and the surrounding country which was difficult. It was found that cavalry could act with difficulty on the south, a wide ravine, interspersed with rice fields, running along that side; on the North the country was much more difficult, being broken in every direction into hundreds of little spurs running out from the main chain on which the insurgents were posted. Reinforcements were brought up, and on the morning of the 19th, Ram Singh and

his followers were dispersed. The force with Mr. Lawrence consisted of 360 men of the 1st Sikh Regiment, under Major Hodgson, of whom 300 attacked on one side ; two companies 29th Native Infantry under Lieutenant Johnston, who went up on another side ; four companies 71st Native Infantry under Captain Rind, and 150 men of the Kangra Regiment under Lieutenant Wallace made a long detour and, mounting the Eastern extremity of the hill, gained possession of the heights. Major Fisher commanded the whole force, and with the 15th Irregular Cavalry guarded the Southern and Western sides of the hill. The casualties amounted to one sepoy killed and 9 wounded ; the enemy sustained considerable loss.

On the 8th January (1849) Brigadier General Wheeler marched from Pathankot against a body of insurgents under Ram Singh, who had taken up a position on the Dalla mountain north of Shahpur. He sent the 4th Native Infantry and a risala of Irregular Cavalry under command of Lieutenant Colonel D. Downing, up the bed of the Chaki river, to take post at the opposite end of the mountain where the ascent was easier than on the Shahpur side. At Shahpur he found that a range of hills had to be crossed to reach the Dalla mountain. He had hoped to avoid this range by marching up the bed of the river Ravi, but it was found that the fords were too deep and the stream too rapid, so a road was made across a gorge which crossed the intervening hills, the work occupying three days. At the foot of the Dalla mountain three days were employed in reconnoitring, and on the 15th and 16th January three columns marched to different points from which a simultaneous attack was made on the latter date. The enemy were driven from their stronghold with considerable loss, 35 bodies being counted. On the British side Cornet Christie, 7th Light Cavalry, and Jemadar Ram Kishan Singh, 1st Sikh Local Infantry, were killed, and Lieutenant Peel, 2nd in command of the latter corps, was wounded.

* * * * *

The Ballad of Larn Barn of the Kuḷū Naggar Tract.¹

(Recorded by MR. C. H. DONALD: edited by REV. T. GRAHAME BAILEY.)

Listen to the tale of Bārṇ.² Larn and Barn consulted³ together on the heights of Sikandar.⁴

They distributed topas of gunpowder together with handfuls⁵ of firewood. Listen to the tale of fighting.

Oh, upon the heights of Dallā, people⁶,

Listen to the tale of Barn.

With shiverings and shakings Bhāgsū (Dharmasālā) trembled, all Nūrpur trembled.

Listen to the tale of Bārṇ.

When he came from Naggar to Kāṅgrā district all orders were merciful (narm),

He gave jagirs to the Rajas.

He maintained the muāfis of the god.

Praise to Larn Barn Sāhib.

He took the records from Lehṇā Singh. He assessed the whole of Kuḷū.

To those who had possession he distributed places.⁷

Listen to the tale of Barn.

Pritam Singh gave leases of land, Barn Sāhib maintained them.

Larn was made organiser, Barn the supervisor.⁸

Listen to the tale of Barn.

The people of Kulu thundered forth "Praise, praise to you sahibs."

He gave rest in all the country of Kuḷū.

Listen to the tale of Barn.

The drums rolled on the heights of Dalla, the side-drums rattled in the centre.⁹

The few Gurkhas cleared out, the English came in.¹⁰

Listen to the tale of Larn Barn.

¹ The context makes it clear that Barn refers to G. C. Barnes, Settlement Officer, of Kangra. It is doubtful whether Larn refers to John Lawrence. Where the two names occur together it may be introduced for the sake of the jingle. If so, in the second line an equally good translation would be Barnes held a consultation (with the local people). In fact it is most unlikely that Barnes and Lawrence ever met on the Sikundur range.

² See the performance or joke of B.

³ The diglot expression *kaunsal karnā* is used by the most illiterate in the remotest parts, and hence its use casts no doubt on the authenticity of the ballad.

⁴ Sikandar di Dhār is a range in Maṇḍi State, just south of the narrow strip of British territory which connects Kangra Proper with Kulu.

⁵ *Lapp* for *lapp*, handful. *Bondī* should be *baṇḍī*. The copy is obviously very carelessly recorded.

⁶ This refers to the defeat of Ram Singh on the heights of Dalla between the Ravi and Chakki rivers. Mr. Barnes had been posted to the District in February 1847 and was present at Dalla in January 1849.

⁷ *Shashan* refers to land granted free by a Raja.

⁸ The words *Intizaman* and *Mohtamim* were probably both new to the local people and could not be replaced by local words.

⁹ This part is imported wholesale from the ballad of Ram Singh's rebellion.

¹⁰ No Gurkhas were engaged in the Dalla action; the MS. is doubtful: *aunē paunē few*; *rote pote*, weeping.

Transliteration of Persian letters : corrections inserted in brackets : Roman printed as pronounced in Kangra.¹

Gīt Lārñ Bārñ Sāhb Bahādar alākā Kuḷū Naggar.

Dekho tamāshā Bārñ kā, Lārñe Bārñe kaunsal kiyā, kiyā Sikandar dī dhār,
Tope tope dārū baṇḍeā, lamp (lapp) bhar baṇḍī (baṇḍī) sakhērīā (sakriā)² : dekho
tamāshā lārñe dā.

Aṛe (areā) diā (omit) Dalle diā dhārā, loko, dekho tamāshā Bārñ kā : tharar tharar
(thar thar) Bhāgsū kammeā (kamheā),

Nūrpur kammeā (kamheā) sārā, loko ; dekho etc : jab āeā Tikkar (perhaps Naggar)
se zilā Kāngṛā hukam narm sārē.

Rāje ko jagriā (jagiriā) dī, deote kī muāfi bahāl sārī, dhan dhan sāhb Lārñ Bārñ kī.
Laihnā Singh se kāgaz liye, māmlā kiyā Kuḷū sārē kā : jiske raihe hasal (hāsal)
shāshan (shāsan) jhiūle³ baṇḍī diye sārē, dekho etc. Pritam Singhe paṭṭe
diye,

Bahāl rakkhe sāhb Bārñ ne : Lārñ rahāeā⁴ intazāman, Bārñ mohtamam, dekho
etc. Kuḷū kī raiat garj rehī dhan dhan terī Sāhbo, sukkh diyā dunyā sārī
Kuḷū, dekho etc.

Dalle dī dhār par ḍaphṛe bājde (wajjde), wicc wicc (wajje) tambūr loko
Rote pote (aune paune) Gōrkhiē cal diye, wicc calle Angṛēz, loko, dekho etc.

¹ All through both ballads plural and singular confused, nasal vowels used for non-nasal.

² Sakriā—Panjabi sakk or sakre, small chips of wood, or little bits for burning.

³ Jhiūlā, place.

⁴ Rahāeā, causal of raihnā, remain.

History of Kangra State.

J. HUTCHISON AND J. PH. VOGEL.

The kingdom of Jālandhara or Trigarta, at the time of its greatest expansion, previous to the Muhaminadan invasions in the beginning of the eleventh century, probably comprised almost all the country between the Satluj and the Rāvi in the outer hills, except Kulū, and also the Jālandhar Doāb on the plains.¹ At that early period the State seems to have included two great provinces, under the above names, of which the capital was at Jālandhara, with a subordinate capital at Nagarkot or Kāngrā. In somewhat later times its limits were restricted by the foundation of new principalities, either as offshoots from the parent stem, or independent States; like Suket and Bangāhal in the East, and Paṭhānkot or Nurpur on the West. At all times, however, the hold of the State on the outlying portions of the territory must have been of a very loose character, and was probably nothing more than a nominal suzerainty over numerous petty chiefs, called Rānās and Thākurs. That this must have been the case in the eastern part of the State, seems clear from the condition of the country as portrayed in the early records of Kulū, Suket and Mandi, where these petty chiefs held practically independent rule down to a comparatively recent period. As regards the central portion of the State, around Kāngrā, there is not the same clear evidence of such a political condition, in our records; but the existence of many Rānā families in Kāngrā proper, even to the present time, seems to indicate that there too in ancient times numerous petty chiefs wielded power, though probably reduced to submission at an early period. We read of a Rānā of Kiragrāma or Baijnāth in the 12th century, who was counted worthy to intermarry with the royal house of Trigarta or Kāngrā.

After the Muhammadan invasions began, the territory on the plains was lost, and Nagarkot or Kāngrā then became the chief capital²; and with the rise of new principalities on its borders at a still later period, the State was probably reduced to the dimensions still obtaining at the time of its extinction in A.D. 1827.

³Sir A. Cunningham was the first to draw attention to the history of the royal family of Jālandhar and Trigarta in detail, and the results of his researches are contained in the Reports of the Archaeological Survey, and in the *Ancient Geography of India*. Mr. William Moorcroft had previously noted the existence of the *Vansāvalī* or genealogical roll, which he examined at the court of Rājā Sansār Chand in A.D. 1820. (*Vide* Moorcroft, *Travels*, Vol. I, p. 145).

¹ Cf. *Anc. Geog. of India*, Vol. I, p. 137, from which it appears that the kingdoms of Satadru (Sirhind ?) and Chamba may also have formed a part of Jālandhara.

² These were—Jaswān, Guler, Siba and Datārpur, all offshoots from Kangra.

³ *Arch. Survey Reports*, Vol. V, pp. 145 et seq. *Anc. Geog. of India*, pp. 136-141.

As already stated, the original capital was at Jālandhara. According to Cunningham the name of the place is said to have been derived from the famous Dānava, Jālandhara, the son of the Ganges by the Ocean, who is considered the "Father of Rivers."¹ The extract from the *Padma Purāna* on the subject is as follows:—² "At his (Jālandhara's) birth the earth trembled and wept, and the three worlds resounded, and Brahma having broken the seal of meditation and having perceived the universe to be lost in terror, mounted his *hansa* (goose) and, reflecting on this prodigy, proceeded to the sea. Then Brahma said, "Why, O Sea, dost thou uselessly produce such loud and fearful sounds." Then Ocean replied, "It is not I, O chief of the gods, but my mighty son who thus roars." When Brahma beheld the wonderful son of Ocean he was filled with astonishment and the child having taken hold of his beard he was unable to liberate it from his grasp; but Ocean approached smiling and loosed it from the hand of his son. Brahma admiring the strength of the infant then said, "From his holding so firmly let him be named Jālandhara," and he further with fondness bestowed on him this boon: "Jālandhara shall be unconquered by the gods, and shall through my favour enjoy the three worlds."

"When the boy was grown up Sukra, the preceptor of the Daityas, appeared before his father, Ocean, and said to him, "This son shall, through his might, thoroughly enjoy the three worlds; do thou, therefore, recede from Jambudwīpa—the sacred abode of holy men—and leave unwashed by thy waves an extent of country sufficient for the residence of Jālandhara. There, O Sea, give a kingdom to this youth, who shall be invincible." Sukra having thus spoken, the Ocean sportively withdrew his waves and exposed, devoid of water, a country extending 300 *yojanas* in length, which became celebrated under the name of "the Holy Jālandhara."

³ Sir A. Cunningham was of opinion that the passage quoted had reference to the physical features of the Indo-Gangetic river plain, of which the plains of Jālandhara form the junction point; and which were once covered by the Ocean: and that the legend of Jālandhara is rather a traditionary remembrance of the curious physical fact than the invention of the Purānic author.

* The account of the Titan's death is contained in the *Jālandhara Purāna*, and is supported by local tradition. Cunningham's version is as follows:—"The invincibility of Jālandhara was derived from the spotless purity of his wife, *Vṛinda*, which was overcome by the fraud of Vishnu in personating her husband. The Titan was then conquered by Shiva who cut off his head, but the head quickly rejoined the trunk, and repeatedly regained its wonted place after having been dissevered by Shiva. To prevent this continuous resuscitation, Shiva buried the giant under ground, and so vast was his size that his body covered a circuit of 48 *kos*—or about 64 miles, which is said to be the exact extent of the present pilgrims' route, called

¹ In Hindu mythology the Ocean is usually called the husband, not the father of rivers, which are always personified as female deities.

² From the *Uttara Kanda* of the *Padma Purāna*. *Researches in Mythology*, Appendix, p. 457, Col. Vans Kennedy, and A.S.R. Vol. V, p. 145.

³ *Arch. Survey Reports*, Vol V, Punjab, pp. 145-6, 7, 8.

♦ *Ibid.*, pp. 146-7.

Jālandhara Tīrath. But as all the places of note in this line of pilgrimage lie to the north of the Biās river, with the single exception of Kālesar, on its south bank, the city of Jālandhara, which derives its name from the Titan, is most inexplicably excluded from the holy circuit. That this was not the case in former times is quite certain, as the Hindu name of the district, in which the town of Jālandhara is situated, is *Jālandhara-pītha* or Jālandhar's back. The story which I heard in 1846, when I first visited the Kāngrā Valley, placed the head only of the Titan to the north of the Biās, with his mouth at Jwālamukhi, while his body covered the whole extent of country lying between the Biās and the Satluj; his back being immediately beneath the district of Jālandhar and his feet at Multan."

"A glance at the map will show that this version of the legend must have originated in the shape of the country, as defined by its two limiting rivers; not unlike that of the constellation of Orion. From Nadaun to the south of Jwālamukhi, that is, just below the Titan's mouth, the Satluj and Biās approach each other, within 24 miles, to form his neck. Both rivers then recede from each other, until they are 96 miles apart, at Rupar and Ādinanagar, which form the two shoulders. The two rivers now join at Firozpur, but only a few centuries ago they did not approach each other, nearer than 16 miles, between Kasūr and Firozpur, where they formed the giant's waist, and then ran parallel courses, like a pair of legs down to Multan."

¹ Another version of the legend is as follows: "Jālandhara was a *rākash* or demon who would not allow the Doāb now called by his name, to be inhabited. Bhagwān or Vishnu took the form of a dwarf (*bān-rup*) and killed the demon, who fell upon his face, and the city of Jālandhar was then built on his back. The demon was 48 *kos* in extent, or 12 *kos* in every direction from the middle of his back, that is, from the city of Jālandhar. This was the first place occupied and all others are of later date."

² A third version locally current confines the demon's body to the Kāngrā valley. According to it the top of the Titan's head lies under the temple of Nandikeswara Mahādeva at Jindrāngol on the Nigwal river. Between this place and Pālampur the pine tree forest is called *Vṛindāvana* or the forest of *Vṛinda*—after the wife of Jālandhara: the head is said to be under the Mukteswar temple, in the village of Siensol, 5 miles to the north-east of Baijnāth: one hand is placed at Nandikeswara—that is on the top of the head: and the other at Baijnāth—near the head: while the feet are at Kālesar on the left bank of the Biās river to the south of Jwālamukhi.

In the *Āin-i-Akbari* the Jālandhar district is called Bist-Jālandhar, an appellation which, Cunningham thought, may have been suggested to Akbar by the name of Jālandhar-pith. This is improbable.

The alternative name for the kingdom of Jālandhara in the ancient documents is *Trigarṭa* meaning, "the land of the three rivers", but the common interpretation of the name, as referring to the Rāvi, Biās and Satluj, is open to question. In those documents the name *Trigarṭa* is always applied to the Lower Biās valley—that is,

Kāngrā Proper: ¹ and on the whole it seems much more probable that the reference is to the three main tributaries of the Biās, which water the Kāngrā District. These are, the Bānganga, Kurali and Nayagul, which unite at Haripur, under the name of Trigadh, which is the same as Trigar, and fall into the Biās at Siba Fort. ² The name *Trigadh* was also in use for the Kāngrā State, down to the early part of the 19th century. We may, therefore, assume that *Jālandhara* was the name of the portion of the kingdom on the plains, and *Trigarta* of that in the hills; and these names may have been used interchangeably for the whole kingdom. An almost exact parallel is found in the case of the two provinces of Jammu and Kāshmir in that State at the present time.

³ Cunningham remarks on this subject as follows:—"The name of Trigarta is found in the *Mahābhārat* and in the Purāns, as well as in the *Rājā-taranginī* or History of Kashmir. It is also given as synonymous with Jālandhara by Hema Chandra, who says:—

Jālandharas Trigartah Syuh
"Jālandhara, that is, Trigarta."

The *Trikanda Śesha* has:—

Bāhlikāscha Trigartaka

which Lassen renders by,

*Bahlici iidem sunt ac Trigartici.*⁴

"But here the name should be Bahika, as we know from the *Mahābhārat* that Bahi and Hika were the names of two demons of the Biās river, after whom the country was called Bahika."

It is certainly surprising that in the *Trikāndasēsha* the Trigartas appear to be identified with the Bahlikas or Valhikas, a name by which the Bactrians (Balkh) are indicated. They are mentioned in the Iron Pillar inscription of Delhi. It is however far from certain that Cunningham's emendation is correct. *Bahika* or *Vahika*, is the name found in the Epics to indicate the people of the Punjab. (Sanskrit, *Panchanada*). The word really means "the outsiders," "the aliens," and was evidently a term of contempt used by the inhabitants of the Gangetic Plains to indicate the Panjabis. This is clear from an interesting passage in the *Mahābhārat* (Canto VIII, Chapters 44-45), in which the Bahikas are spoken of with scorn. That the name *Bahika* is derived from the names of two demons, Bahi and Hika, is out of the question. On the contrary these demons have clearly been invented to account for the geographical name; and probably the same is true of the name Jālandhara which more probably was in the first instance the name of a tract of country.

¹ Moorcroft, *Travels*, Vol. I, pp. 140-141.

² The name *Trigarta* may be translated "the three valleys," the word "*garta*" meaning a "hole" or "pit" or "deep hollow place" with or without water, and therefore a very appropriate term to apply to the deeply cut valleys of the tributaries of the Bias. Thus probably the State came to be called *Trigarta*.

³ *Arch. Survey Reports*, Vol. V, Punjab, p. 148.

⁴ *Pentapotamia Indica*, p. 52. At the time the *Mahābhārat* was composed the capital of the Bahikas was at Sakala (Siālkot).

The chronology of Kāngrā State is largely a matter of conjecture. The *Vansāvalī* contains nearly 500 names from that of Bhumi Chand the founder, but of the early Rājās for many centuries we know nothing. The first name which may be regarded as possibly historical is that of Susarman Chandra, the 234th from the founder—called Susarman in the *Mahābhārat*—who is believed to have reigned at the time of the Great War and figures as an ally of the Kauravas. All the names previous to that time we may regard as mythical. Mr. Moorcroft was the first to draw attention to the *vansāvalī* which he saw at the Court of Sansār Chand at Nadaun in 1820. He says:—¹ “Sansār Chand deduces his descent from Mahādev, and has a pedigree in which his ancestors are traced to their celestial progenitor, through many thousand years. I requested to have a copy of the document and some Kāshmīrī Pundits were ordered to transcribe it against my return. The pedigree is written in verse and contains in general little more than the birth and death of each male individual of the family.” As we know, Mr. Moorcroft never returned to claim the document which had been promised him.

The great antiquity of the Kāngrā family is undoubted, and we may therefore conclude that in the *vansāvalī* from the time of Susarman Chandra we possibly have to do with an historical record. Sir A. Cunningham says:—“The royal family of Jālandhara and Kāngrā is one of the oldest in India and their genealogy from the time of the founder, Susarman Chandra, appears to me to have a much stronger claim to our belief, than any of the long strings of names now shown by the more powerful families of Rajputana.” Sir Leper Griffin too refers to the Rajput dynasties of the Kāngrā hills, of whom the Katoch is the oldest, as having “genealogies more ancient and unbroken than can be shown by any other royal families in the world.”²

The first historical notice of Jālandhara, Cunningham says, is to be found in the works of Ptolemy, the Greek geographer, “where it is called Kalindrine or Ktalin-drine, which should probably be corrected to Salindrine, as K. and z are often interchanged in Greek manuscripts.” Alexander’s expedition terminated on the banks of the Biās, but he received the submission of *Phegelas* or *Phegeus*, the king of the district beyond the Biās river, that is of the Jālandhar Doāb. These identifications, however, are very uncertain, and cannot be accepted without clearer proof.

The mountain kings to the north of the Punjab are also referred to by Alexander’s historians (B.C. 326). Cf. *Early History of India* by V. Smith, p. 81.

Jālandhara is not mentioned in Sanskrit literature except in the *Hemakosa* (a Sanskrit dictionary); the *Rājā-taranginī* and the *Uttara khanda* of the *Padma Purāna*. *Trigarta* is repeatedly referred to in Sanskrit literature, as in the *Mahābhārat*, where we read of “Susarman, the king of Trigarta,” who was the ally of the Kauravas,³ and attacked Virāta, the king of the Matsyas, with whom the Pāndavas had sought refuge. Apparently the Trigartas and Matsyas were neighbours. Rhys Davids (Buddhist India, p. 27) says:—The Macchas or Matsyas, were to the south of the

¹ Moorcroft, *Travels*, Vol. I, p. 145.

² *Anc. Geog. of India*, pp. 137-8; and *Punjab Ethnography*.

³ Vide Wilson’s *Vishnu Purāna*, p. 193, for mention of *Trigartas* in *Mahābhārat*, and Note 122 which says that they were in the Great War.

Kurus and west of the Jumna, which separated them from the Southern Pañcālas.” According to the account in the *Mahābhārata*, Susarman, when about to attack Virāta, marched in a south-eastern direction.¹ The original seat of the family is said to have been at Multan. After the Great War they lost their lands in Multan and retired under Susarman to the district of Jālandhara, where they settled, and built the fort of Kangra.

The history of Trigarta is practically a blank down to the capture of the Fort by Mahmūd, but the references found in the *Rājā-taranginī* and the narrative of Hiuen Tsiang establish the fact that it had existed for six hundred years previous to this, as an independent State.

² *Jālandhara* and *Trigarta* are several times referred to in the *Rājā-taranginī*, the earliest mention being towards the end of the 5th century A.D. In the early part of the 7th century Hiuen Tsiang passed through Jālandhara, which he describes as 1,000 *li* or 167 miles in length from east to west, and 800 *li* or 133 miles in breadth from north to south. ³ “If these dimensions,” says Cunningham, “are even approximately correct, Jālandhar must then have included the State of Chamba on the north, with Mandi and Suket on the east and Satadru (Sirhind ?) on the south-east. As the last is the only district to the east of the Satluj, which is included in N. India, I infer that it must have belonged to the kingdom of *Jālandhar*. With the addition of these districts, the size of the province will agree very well with the dimensions assigned to it by the Chinese Pilgrim.” At the time of Hiuen Tsiang’s visit, Jālandhar itself was the capital, which he describes as from 12 to 13 *li*, or upwards of 2 miles in circuit. The capital of *Trigarta* was probably at Nagarkot (Kāngrā) from ancient times, but the place is not mentioned in history till the time of Mahmūd of Ghazni, by whom it was captured in A.H. 400=A.D. 1009.

⁴ In the *Tārīkh-i-Yamīnī*, by ‘Utbi, the Secretary of Mahmūd, it is called Bhīm-nagar, but Ferishta refers to it as Bhīmkot, or the fort of Bhīm. These names are said to have been derived from the name of a previous Rājā, who founded the fort, and probably the one referred to the fort and the other to the town.

The name *Nagarkot*, however, must also have been in use, probably from early times, and it is mentioned by ⁵ Abu Rihān (Alberūnī—A.D. 1030), who, Cunningham affirms, was present at the siege and capture of the place by Mahmūd. This name also was probably meant to include both the town and the fort. A reference to the place under this name, and evidently drawn from older documents now lost, occurs in Ferishta, in connection with events which are said to have taken place about the first century of the Christian era or even earlier.

⁶ An interesting reference to Trigarta is found in two Chamba copper-plate title-deeds granted about A.D. 1050-60, but relating to events which must have occurred in

¹ *Anc. Geog. of India*, p. 138.

² *Rājā-taranginī*, Stein, Vol. III, v-100-285. and Vol. IV, v-177.

³ *Anc. Geog. of India*, p. 137.

⁴ Elliot’s History, Vol. II, p. 34; and *Ferishta*, Briggs, 1908, Vol. I, p. 48.

⁵ Alberuni’s *India*, 1910, p. 260. Cf. *Arch. Geog. of India*, p. 140.

⁶ *Antiquities of Chamba State*, p. 186, 194. Cf. *Chamba Gaz.*, p. 76.

the beginning of the 10th century. At that time Chamba was invaded by a tribe called *Kīra*, assisted by Durgara (Jammu) and the Saumataka (Balōr or Basohli). In the contest which ensued the allies of Chamba were Trigarta (Kāngrā) and Kulūta (Kulū). This reference is specially important as showing that *Trigarta* was then the name of the tract now called Kāngrā, and under the abridged form of Trigadh or Trigart it continued in use till about a hundred years ago or even less, after which it seems to have fallen into abeyance.

¹ Alberuni also refers to Jālandhar, in the itinerary from Kanauj to Kashmīr, which then ran through the outer hills from Pinjor *viâ* Dahmāla (Nurpur), which is called "the capital of Jālandhar, at the foot of the mountains." From this reference Cunningham conjectured that Dahmāla had been annexed by its more powerful neighbour, Trigarta. It thus seems probable that the whole hill tract as far west as the Rāvī had from ancient times formed a part of the kingdom of *Jālandhara* or *Trigarta*.

In more recent times Trigarta seems also to have been known as *Katōch*, though this name also may be ancient, and from it the clan name of the ruling family is derived. The origin of the name is uncertain. Mr. Moorcroft, who visited Nadaun in 1820, states that the kingdom of Kāngrā then contained three provinces, *viz.* Katōch, Changa, and Pālam. *Katōch* seems to have included the country around and to the west of Kāngrā, and we may perhaps surmise that this was the original nucleus of the state; *Changa*, or more correctly *Changar*, is the name of the broken hilly country to the south of Pālam, and between it and Jwālamukhi; and *Pālam* is the eastern portion of flat land lying between Kāngrā and Baijnāth. As the designation of a separate province or district the name *Katōch* is now disused, but the fact that a hundred years ago it denoted a portion of the State as well as the State itself, seems clearly to prove its geographical origin.² Many other derivations of the name have been assigned which may be dismissed as fanciful. The names *Changar* and *Pālam* are still in use for the tracts indicated.

The name *Kāngrā*, meaning "a fortification" or "fortress," is probably of ancient origin, and may have been applied originally only to the fort. Fanciful derivations have been attached to the word, for example, *Kāngarh* meaning "the fort of the ear," pointing to the legend that it stands over the ear of the buried demon, *Jālandhara*; or possibly to the fact that the configuration of the ground bears a strong resemblance to the shape of a human ear. The fort was famed all over India in former times and was regarded as impregnable.

There is yet another name for the capital of the State in some of the old records. In the Baijnāth eulogies, as already mentioned, the name *Susarmapura* is found, and Dr. Bühler has rightly pointed out that it must be identical with Nagarkot or Kot-Kāngrā. The name points to the tradition that the Rājās of Kāngrā are descended from Susarman, the king of Trigarta mentioned in the *Mahābhārat*. In the first Baijnāth Eulogy (I, 31-32) we read of an astrologer named Balhana of Susarmapura and also of an architect from the same place (I, 35-37). Again in the second *Rājā-*

¹ Alberuni's *India*, Vol. I, p. 205.

² *Vide* Moorcroft, *Travels*, Vol. I, pp. 139-140.

taranginī of Jonarāja (Trans., 1898, Vol. III, p. 39) it is related that one Malla Chandra, "belonging to the house of Susarman of Trigarta," having been exiled by his enemies, took refuge with Jaya Simha of Kashmir (A.D. 1128-1140), and distinguished himself against the Turushkas. Another passage from the same source relates that during an expedition of Shahāb-ud-dīn of Kashmir, A.D. 1363-86 (*vide* Ferishta, Vol. IV, p. 459), "the Rājā of Susarnapura out of fear forsook the pride of his fort, and found a refuge with the goddess." Evidently Kot Kāngrā is referred to and the goddess must be the famous *devī* of Bhawan near Kāngrā.

In the second Baijnāth Eulogy, *Jālandhara* and *Trigarta* are used as names of the same country. Jaya Chandra, the overlord of the Rājānaka of Kiragrāma (Baijnāth), is called "the supreme king of Jālandhara" (II. 6), whereas farther on the suzerains of Kiragrāma are designated "kings of Trigarta" (II. 20-21) and Kiragrāma itself is said to be situated in Trigarta (II. 10). Hridaya Chandra is also called "king of Trigarta" (II. 18). The names thus indicated a well-recognized territorial area at the time when the Eulogies were inscribed (A.D. 1204).

¹ The earliest reference to Kangra by a European traveller is that of William Finch, A.D. 1611, but he does not seem to have actually visited the place. It is contained in *Purchas his Pilgrimes*, and is as follows: "Bordering to him is another great Rajaw, called Tulluck Chand, whose chiefe city is Negarcoat, 80 c. from Lahore, and as much from Syrinan, in which City is a famous Pagod, called Je or Durga, unto which worlds of people resort out of all parts of India. It is a small short idoll of stone, cut in forme of a man; much is consumed in offerings to him, in which some also are reported to cut off a piece of their tongue, and throwing it at the Idol's feet have found it whole the next day (able to lye I am afraid, to serve the father of lyes and lyers, however); yea some out of impious piety here sacrifice themselves, cutting their throats and presently recovering; the holier the man, the sooner forsooth he is healed, some (more grievous sinners) remaining halfe a day in pains before the Divell will attend their cure. Hither they resort to crave children, to enquire of money hidden by their parents or lost by themselves, which, having made their offerings, by dreams in the night receive answers, not departing discontented. They report this Pagan Diety to have been a woman (if a holy Virgin may have that name), yea that she still lives (the Divell shee doth); but will not shew her selfe. Divers Moores also resort to this Peer. This Rajaw is powerfull, by his Mountaines situation secure, not once vouchsafing to visit She Selim."

The earliest European visitor to Kangra was probably Thomas Coryat, and on his authority Terry, the Chaplain of Sir Thomas Roe, A.D. 1615, refers to the place as "Nagarcot, the chief city so called, in which there is a Chapel most richly set forth being ceiled and paved with plates of pure silver, most curiously imbossed overhead in several figures, which they keep exceeding bright, by often rubbing and burnishing it, and all this cost these poor seduced Indians are at, to do honour to an idol they keep in that chapel. The idol thus kept in

that richly adorned Chapel, they called Matta, and it is continually visited by those poor blinded Infidels, who out of the officiousness of their devotion, cut off some part of their tongues to offer unto it as sacrifice, which (they say) grow out again as before".....

"In this province likewise there is another famous pilgrimage to a place called Jallarmakee (Jwālamukhi) where out of cold springs that issue out from amongst hard rocks are daily to be seen continued eruptions of fire, before which the idolatrous people fall down and worship. Both these places were seen and strictly observed by Mr. Coryate."¹

² A somewhat similar description is given by the French traveller Thevenot in A.D. 1666. He says, "They are pagodas of great reputation in Ayoud, the one at Nagarcot and the other at Calamac (Jawālamukhi), but that of Nagarcot is far more famous than the other, because of the idol, *Matta*, to which it is dedicated, and they say that there are some Gentiles that come not out of that pagod without sacrificing part of their body. The devotion which the Gentiles make show of at the pagod of Calamac proceeds from this, that they look upon it as a great miracle that the water of the town, which is very cold, springs out of rock of Calamac, is of the mountain of Balagrate (Bālaghāt), and the Brahmans who govern the pagod make great profit of it."

The story about the sacrifice of some part of the body by the pilgrim is also related by Abul Fazal. He says, "Nagarkot is a city situated upon a mountain with a fort called Kangra. In the vicinity of this city upon a lofty mountain is a place, *Maha Maiy*, which they consider as one of the works of the divinity, and come in pilgrimage to it from great distances, thereby obtaining the accomplishment of their wishes. It is most wonderful that in order to effect this they cut out their tongues, which grow again in the course of two or three days and sometimes in a few hours."

"According to the Hindu mythology *Maha Maiy* was the *wife*, but the learned of this religion understand by this word, the *power* of Mahādeva, and say that she, upon beholding vice, killed herself, and that different parts of her body fell on four places. That the head with some of the limbs alighted on the northern mountains of Kashmir near Kāmraj, and which place is called Sardha. That some other members fell near Bijapur in the Dakhan, at a place called Talja-Bhawani. That others dropped in the east near Kāmrup, and which place is called Kāmcha, and that the rest remained at Jālandhar on the spot above described."³

Nagarkot or Kāngrā is frequently referred to in the works of the Muhammadan historians from 'Utbi (A.D. 1009) and Alberuni (A.D. 1030) downwards, and more especially during the Mughal period, in the reigns of Akbar, Jahāngir and Shāhjahān.

Among European travellers, as already stated, Thomas Coryat was probably the first to visit Kāngrā, in A.D. 1615; followed, perhaps, by Thevenot⁴ in 1666 and Vigne

¹ Journal, Punjab Hist. Soc., Vol. I, No. 2, p. 115; and Terry, *Voyage to East India*, p. 82.

² *Travels*, Part iii, Chap. 37, fol. 62. Cf. A.S.R., Vol. V, p. 167.

³ Gladwin's *Ain-Akbari*, ii. 109.

⁴ It is uncertain if Thevenot actually visited Kangra.

in 1835. Forster in 1783 and Moorcroft in 1820 both passed through the Outer Hills but do not seem to have visited Kangrā.

The origin of the Katoch royal line is lost in the mists of the past. Its claim to great antiquity is fully corroborated by the many offshoots which have sprung from the parent stem, and the great extent of country which formerly owned their sway.¹ "Throughout the lower hills," says Mr. Barnes, "there is scarcely a class of any mark that does not trace its pedigree to the Katoch stock. Four independent principalities—Jaswān, Guler, Siba, and Datārpur—were founded by cadets of the parent line. The fraternity of Sadu Rajputs with their seven Raos or Chiefs, who occupy the Jaswān Valley between Una and Ruper, claim to be descended from the same source. The powerful colony of Indauria Rajputs at the other extremity of the Kāngra district, to the west, boast that their ancestor was an emigrant Katoch. But of the founder of this ancient line we know and can know nothing, for all records of every description have disappeared. Even the infancy of the State and its gradual development are beyond the range of conjecture, and the earliest traditions refer to the Katoch monarchy as a power which had already attained to the vigour of maturity."

As Chandarbansis they bear the surname of *Chandra*, which they profess to have borne from the time of Susarma Chandra, down to the present day. This we know to be correct from the coins, and inscriptions, as well as from the casual mention of some of the princes by Muhammadan historians, and the names can be checked from the 14th century downwards.

The first Rāja according to local legend was not of human origin, but sprang from the perspiration off the brow of the goddess at Kāngrā. His name was Bhum Chand, and he stands as the mythical progenitor of the Katoch line. The two hundred and thirty-fourth chief in lineal descent was Susarma Chand, at the time of the *Mahābhārat*, who ruled in Multan and fought on the side of the Kauravas. On their defeat he is said to have retired to Jālandhar, which he made his capital, and also built the fort of Nagarkot or Kāngrā.

²The earliest historical reference, if it can be so regarded, to Nagarkot, is found in Ferishta's History, and it relates to events which are said to have occurred in the first century of the Christian era or even sooner. Where Ferishta got his information we do not know, but it may have been derived from older documents now lost. In his introductory chapter on the history of ancient India he speaks of a king of Kanauj, then probably the paramount power in northern India, who invaded Kumaon and overran the hills as far west as Kāshmir. In the course of this expedition, which lasted for five months, he subdued 500 petty chiefs, among whom is mentioned the Rāja of Nagarkot. The extract is as follows:—"Rām Deo having subsequently compelled his enemy (the Rāja of Kumaon) to give him his daughter in marriage left him in possession of his country, and marching towards Nagarkot plundered it, and at length arrived at ³Sheokot Pindi where on account of his veneration for the idol Durga, which is situated at a small distance on the top of

¹ Kangra Gaz., p. 25.

² Ferishta. *History*, Briggs, 1908, Vol. I, p. lxxviii.

³ Probably the temple of Bhawan in Kangra.

a neighbouring hill at Nagarkot, he halted and summoned the Rāja to appear before him. The Rāja would by no means consent, but agreed to meet Rām Deo at the temple, wherein the idol was placed. Thus the two princes met at the temple, when the Rājā having given his daughter in marriage to the son of Rām Deo, the latter proceeded from there to the fort of Janmu."

The next mention of the country, under the name of *Trigaṛta*, is in the *Rājātaranginī* (III. V. 100) where it is stated that Sreshta Sena of Kāshmir bestowed the land of *Trigaṛta* upon the Pravaresa Temple in Kāshmir. This is referred to the 5th century (A.D. 470); and again about A.D. 520, Pravarasena II is said to have conquered *Trigaṛta*. (*Rājātarang*. Stein. iii. 285).

¹ The visit of the Chinese Pilgrim, Hiuen Tsiang, to Jālandhara in March A.D. 635 is the most important of all the early references to the State. He describes the kingdom of *Che-lan-p'o-lo*, i.e. Jālandhara, as situated north-east of *China-po-ti* (Chinabhukti) and south-west of K'iu-lu-to (Kulūta) or modern Kulū. The position thus described seems to correspond with the Kangra Valley. He remained there as the guest of Rāja Utito for four months before proceeding to Kanauj, and again halted at Jālandhara on his return journey in A.D. 643. Cunningham identifies the Utito of Hiuen Tsiang, with the Adina or Adita of the *Vansāvalī*. Jālandhara was then subject to Harsha Vardana of Kanauj and on his way back from Kanauj the Pilgrim was entrusted to the care and protection of the Rāja of Jālandhara.

A long interval elapses after the visit of Hiuen Tsiang before another historical reference to *Trigaṛta* or Jālandhara occurs. It is found in the *Rājātaranginī*. In the reign of Śankara Varman (A.D. 883-903) an expedition led by the king in person left Kashmir for the conquest of Gurjara (Gujrāt), and it was opposed by the Chief of *Trigaṛta*, who perhaps was an ally of Gurjara. The reference is as follows:—" ² When he (Śankara Varman) who had as the advance guard of his army nine lakhs of foot soldiers, three hundred elephants, and a lakh of horsemen, was wholly bent on the conquest of Gurjara, he caused Prithvī Chandra (the lord) of *Trigaṛta*, who was afraid of his own overthrow, to be laughed at in his gloomy delusion. He (Prithvī Chandra) had previously given his son, called Bhubana Chandra, as a hostage, and was come into his (Śankara Varman's) neighbourhood to do homage. Then on seeing the army of the king, with which moved many feudatory princes, as it marched towards him, large as the ocean, and fearing to be captured by it, on its approach he returned and fled far away, failing in resolve."

Though Prithvī Chandra's name is not found in the *Vansāvalī* yet we may accept the above as the record of an historical occurrence, from which it appears that *Trigaṛta* was then subject to Kashmir, which had extended its sovereign power as far as the Satluj.

³ That Kashmir held a widespread dominion in the western hills at that period is proved by two Chambā copper-plate deeds of the middle of the eleventh century

¹ Cf. *Anc. Geog. of India*, pp. 130, 564-6-7.

² *Rājātaranginī*, Stein, Vol. V, 143-150.

³ *Chamba Gaz.*, p. 76. Cf. *Anc. Geog. of India*, p. 90.

already noted, in which a reference occurs to events which must have happened about the beginning of the tenth century,—that is the very time above referred to. Chambā was then invaded by a foreign army, called “Kira” in the Chronicle, most probably Tibetans and Kashmiris, assisted by Durgara (Jammu) and the Saumatikas or people of Vallapura (Balor) to the west of the Rāvi. The Chambā Chief, we are told, had as his allies the lords of Trigarta (Kāngrā) and Kulūta (Kulū), with whose help he defeated the invaders. These references prove that Trigarta existed as an independent kingdom for at least six centuries previous to its conquest by Mahmūd of Ghazni.

¹ In the same plates there is a reference to the Turushkas or Muhammadans, who were then engaged in the conquest of Afghanistan, preparatory to an invasion of the Punjab. Kabul fell into their hands in A.D. 870. About twenty years before this (c. A.D. 850), the Turki-Shāhi dynasty which had ruled for many centuries over Kabul and the Punjab (descendants of Kanishka) was subverted by the Brahman Wazir of the last Rāja of the line, named Lalliya or Kalar, who founded the Hindu-Shāhi dynasty, whose later capital was at Waihind or Ohind on the Indus. In the conflicts with the Turushkas, the kings of Kabul and Waihind seem to have had the help of contingents from the Punjab States, probably including Kāngrā and Chambā, for the latter chief is said to have distinguished himself in these wars.

At length about A.D. 980 Peshawar was captured and soon afterwards the last bulwark against the Muhammadans was broken down. Mahmūd of Ghazni succeeded his father in A.D. 997, and in A.D. 1001 invaded India. In his fourth expedition (A.D. 1009) Mahmud, after defeating a large Hindu army on the Indus under the command of Anand Pāl of Waihind and Lahore, advanced into the Punjab, and crossing the large rivers near the foot of the hills, laid siege to Nagarkot.² In Ferishta's history we have an account of the expedition, probably taken from the *Tārīkh-i-Yamīnī* of 'Utbi, who was Secretary to Mahmūd. He however was not present at the siege, though Abu Rihān (Alberuni) is said to have been. According to 'Utbi the fort was then called Bhīm-nagar from a mythical ancestor of the Katoch family, possibly a former Rāja by whom it was founded, or perhaps from Bhīm Sen the hero of the *Mahābhārat*. Ferishta calls it the Fort of Bhīm and by these two names we are probably to understand the fort and the town. Traditionally the fort is said to have been founded by Susarma Chandra, soon after the time of the *Mahābhārat*, but there are no remains older than the 9th or 10th century. As the fort was famed for its strength all over Northern India and frequent references to it are found in the Muhammadan histories, a full description, from the pen of Sir A. Cunningham, fittingly finds a place at this stage of our narrative:—

³ “The fort of Kangra occupies a long narrow strip of land in the fork between the Mānjhi and the Bānganga rivers. Its walls are upwards of two miles in circuit,

¹ Elliot's History, Vol. II, Appendix, p. 403 *et seq.* Cf. J.P.H.S. Vol. VII, No. 2, p. 115 *et seq.* The author gives A.D. 970 for the extinctions of the Turki Shahi dynasty and A.D. 1002 for the final conquest of the Peshawar Valley by Mahmud.

² *Tārīkh-i-Yamīnī* in Elliot's History, Vol. II, pp. 34-35.

³ A.S.R., Vol. V, pp. 162-3.

but its strength does not lie in its works, but in the precipitous cliffs overhanging the two rivers, which on the side of the Bānganga rise to a height of about 300 feet. The only accessible point is on the land side towards the town, but here the ridge of rock which separates the two rivers is narrowed to a mere neck of a few hundred feet, across which a deep ditch has been hewn at the foot of the walls. The only works of any consequence are at this end of the fort, where the high ground appears to be an offshoot from the western end of the Malekra hill, which divides the town of Kangra from the suburb of Bhawan. The highest point is occupied by the palace below which is a courtyard containing the small stone temples of Lakshmi Narayan and Ambika Devi and a Jain Temple with a large figure of Adinath. The courtyard of the temples is closed by a gate called the *Darsani-Darwāza*, or "Gate of Worshipping" and the gate leading from it to the Palace is called the *Mahalon ka Darwāza* or "Palace Gate." Below the temple gate is the upper gate of the fort, called the *Andhēri* or *Handēli Darwāza*. This is now a mere lofty arch, but formerly it was a long vaulted passage, which on account of its darkness received the name *Andhēri* or "Dark Gate," which is sometimes corrupted to *Handēli*. The next gate, which is at the head of the ascent, is called the *Jahāngīrī Darwāza*. This is said to have been the outer gate of the fortress in the Hindu times, but its original name is unknown. Below this are the *Amiri Darwāza* or "Nobles' Gate," and the *Ahini Darwāza* or "Iron Gate," which received its name from being covered with plates of iron. Both of these gates are attributed to Nawāb Alif Khān, the first Mughal Governor under Jahāngīr. At the foot of the ascent and the edge of the scarped ditch there is a small courtyard with two gates called simply *Phātak* or "the Gates," which is occupied by the guards."

The short description in the *Ma'āsir-ul-Umarā* (ii. 184-190) of the time of Shāh-jahān is also interesting. It runs thus: "That fort (Kāngra) is situated on the summit of a high mountain; it is extremely strong and possesses 23 bastions and seven gateways. The interior circumference is one *kos* and 15 chains, the length, one-fourth of a *kos* plus two chains, the width, between 15 and 25 chains, its height, 114 cubits. Within the fort are two large tanks."

The following reference to the fort is from the *Shash Fa'h-i-Kangra* probably written in the reign of Shāhjahān: "The fort of Kangra is very lofty, and stands on a very high hill. Its buildings are very beautiful. It is so old that no one can tell at what period it was built. This fort is very strong: in so much that no king was ever able to take it; and it is unanimously declared by all persons acquainted with the history of the ancient Rājās, that from the beginning up to this time, it has always remained in possession of one and the same family. The fact is also confirmed by the histories of the Muhammadan kings who have reigned in this country. From A.H. 720 (A.D. 1320), or the commencement of Sultān Ghiyasuddin's power, to the year 963 (1556 A.D.), when the Emperor Akbar became master of the whole country of Hindustan, the fort has been besieged no less than fifty-two times by the most powerful kings and rulers but no one has been able to take it. Firoz, who was one of the greatest kings of Delhi, once laid siege to this fort, but it baffled

all his efforts ; for at last he was contented with having an interview with the Rāja, and was obliged to return unsuccessful. In the reign of the Emperor Akbar, one of his greatest nobles, Hasan Kuli Khan Turkoman entitled Khan-i-Jahan, Governor of the Province of Bengal, attacked this fort, at the head of a numerous army, after he was appointed to the government of the Punjab ; but notwithstanding a long siege, he also failed in taking it. To be successful in such a great and difficult task was beyond all expectation ; but Providence has destined a time for all works, at which they must be accomplished ; and hence it was that the Emperor, notwithstanding all his efforts could not obtain possession. It was destined to fall into the hands of the mighty army of the Emperor Jahangir, under the influence of whose prosperous star all difficulties were overcome, and all obstacles removed.”—Elliot’s History, Vol. VI, p. 526.

¹ The fort continued to be held by a garrison from the most remote times but had been evacuated some time before the great earthquake of the 4th April, 1905, in which extensive damage was sustained, and it is now only a picturesque and interesting ruin. The people of Kāngrā have a very exaggerated idea of the strength of their fort in former times, which they firmly believe to have baffled the power of the greatest kings. This idea found expression in the following popular saying :—“ He who holds the Fort holds the Hills.”

Mahmūd was probably attracted by the prestige of the fortress, which was famous all over India, and still more by the fabulous wealth which was believed to be stored within its walls. There are two accounts of the capture, one by ‘Utbi in the *Tārīkh-i-Yamīnī*, and the other by Ferishta. ‘Utbi must have got his information at first hand from those who were present at the siege, on their return to Ghazni. It is as follows :—² “ On the last day of Rabi-ul-Ākhir of the same year (A.D. 1009) the Sultān prayed God for the accomplishment of his wishes. When he had reached as far as the river of Waihind (Und) he was met by Brahman-pāl, the son of Anand-pāl, at the head of a valiant army, with white swords, blue spears, yellow coats of mail, and ash-coloured elephants. Fight opened its crooked teeth, attacks were frequent like flaming meteors, arrows fell from bows like rain, and the grindstone of slaughter revolved, crushing the bold and the powerful. The battle lasted from morning till evening and the infidels were near gaining the victory, had not God aided by sending the slaves of the household to attack the enemy in rear, and put them to flight. The victors obtained thirty large elephants, and slew the vanquished wherever they were found in jungles, passes, plains and hills.”

“ The Sultān himself (after the battle on the Indus) joined in the pursuit, and went after them (the Hindus) as far as the fort called Bhimnagar, which is very strong, situated on the promontory of a lofty hill, in the midst of impassable waters. The kings of Hind, the chiefs of that country, and rich devotees, used to amass

¹ The garrison was finally withdrawn on 1st June, 1897.

² *Tārīkh-Yamīnī*, Elliot’s History, Vol. II, pp. 33, 34, 35 ; also Appendix pp. 444-5-6-7-8. Ferishta, Briggs translation, Vol. I, pp. 46-7. The invasion probably took place in the winter of A.D. 1008-9, and the capture of Nagarkot in March A.D. 1009.

their treasures and precious jewels, and send them time after time to be presented to the large idol, that they might receive a reward for their good deeds and draw near to their God. So the Sultān advanced near to this crow's fruit, and this accumulation of years, which had attained such an amount that the backs of camels would not carry it, nor vessels contain it, nor writers' hands record it, nor the imagination of an arithmetician conceive it."

"The Sultān brought his forces under the fort and surrounded it and prepared to attack the garrison vigorously, boldly and wisely. When the defenders saw the hills covered with the armies of plunderers, and the arrows ascending towards them like flaming sparks of fire, great fear came upon them, and calling out for mercy, they opened the gates and fell on the earth like sparrows before a hawk, or rain before lightning. Thus did God grant an easy conquest of this fort to the Sultān, and bestowed on him as plunder the products of mines and seas, the ornaments of heads and breasts to his heart's content. The Sultān entered the fort with Abu Nasr Ahmad bin Muhammad Farīghūnī, the ruler of Juzjān, and all his own private attendants, and appointed his two chief chamberlains, Altuntāsh and Asightigīn, to take charge of the treasures of gold and silver and all the valuable property, while he himself took charge of the jewels. The treasures were laden on the backs of as many camels as they could procure, and the officers carried away the rest. The stamped coin amounted to seventy thousand thousand royal dirhams, and the gold and silver ingots amounted to seven hundred thousand four hundred *mans* in weight, besides wearing apparel and fine cloths of Sus, respecting which old men said they never remembered to have seen any so fine, soft and embroidered. Among the booty was a house of white silver, like to the houses of rich men, the length of which was thirty yards and the breadth fifteen. It could be taken to pieces and put together again and there was a canopy made of the fine linen of Rum, forty yards long and twenty broad, supported on two golden and two silver poles, which had been cast in moulds."

The fort was then consigned to the care of an officer of rank, with a garrison, and the Sultān took his departure for Ghaznī. On his arrival there he caused a carpet to be spread in the courtyard of his palace, on which were displayed all the jewels, pearls and priceless treasures which he had brought from India.

¹ Ferishta's account supplies some additional details; it is as follows:—"The king in his zeal to propagate the faith, now marched against the Hindoos of Nagarkot breaking down their idols and razing their temples. The fort, at that time denominated the fort of Bhīm, was closely invested by the Muhammadans who had first laid waste the country around it with fire and sword. Bhīm was built by a prince of the same name on the top of a steep mountain where the Hindoos, on account of its strength, had deposited the wealth consecrated to their idols by all the neighbouring kingdoms, so that in this fort there is supposed to have been a greater quantity of gold, silver, precious stones and pearls than was ever collected in the royal trea-

¹ Ferishta, Brigg's trans., Vol. I, pp. 48-49 of 1908.

sure of any prince on earth. Mahmood invested the place with such expedition that the Hindoos had no time to throw in troops for its defence. The greater part of the garrison was away in the field and those within consisted for the most part of priests who having little inclination to the bloody business of War, made overtures to capitulate, and on the third day Mahmood became master of this strong citadel without opposition or bloodshed."

"In Bhīm were found 700,000 golden *dinārs*, 700 *mans* of gold and silver plates, 200 *mans* of pure gold in ingots, 2,000 *mans* of silver bullion and 20 *mans* of various jewels, including pearls, corals, diamonds and rubies, which had been collected since the time of Bhīm, the details of which would be tedious. With this vast booty Mahmood returned to Ghaznī."

To account for this vast accumulation of wealth, Cunningham supposed that it was the hoard of the Hindu-Shāhi kings of Kābul and Ohind, who also ruled the Punjab. He says:—"There is no means of estimating the value of the ingots as the gold and silver are lumped together, but the value of the stamped coin alone amounted to upwards of £1,750,000. In connection with this great accumulation of treasure I may quote the statement of Abu Rihān (Alberuni) that the genealogical roll of the Indo-Scythian princes of Kābul for 60 generations was found in the fortress of Nagarkot by Mahmud's soldiers. From this statement I infer that the fort of Kāngrā must have belonged to the Rājas of Kābul for several generations, and that it was their chief stronghold, in which they deposited their treasures, after they had been driven from the banks of the Indus. It is almost impossible that such a vast amount of treasure could have been accumulated by the petty rājas of the Kāngrā valley, but it is quite conceivable that it may have been the hoard of the Hindu princes of Kābul. Ferishta calls the amount 700,000 golden *dinārs*, which would be less than half a million sterling; but the account of the contemporary writer 'Utbi, is given in royal *dirhams*, which were silver coins of fifty grains each. We know also that the circulating medium of the Punjab in the time of Māhmūd consisted of the silver pieces of the Hindu rājas of Kābul weighing about 50 grains each. As many thousands of these coins have been found throughout the Punjab, while not a single gold piece of these kings has yet been discovered, I am satisfied that the treasure obtained by Māhmūd in Nagarkot must have consisted chiefly of the silver pieces or *drammas* of the Hindu rājas of Kābul."

² It seems not improbable that Kāngrā Fort may have been in the possession of the Turki-Shāhi and Hindu-Shāhi kings as suggested by Cunningham just as at a later period it was garrisoned for centuries by imperial troops under the Mughals. This would account for the weakness of the defence when assaulted by Māhmūd, as most of the garrison had probably been sent to the frontier. The Rāja of the

¹ Arch. Survey Report, Vol. V, pp. 155-6.

² Al Biruni stated that the names of the Turki-Shāhi princes were recorded on a piece of silk found in the fort of Nagarkot at its capture. They had reigned for sixty generations. Allowing sixteen years to a generation the Turki-Shāhi kingdom may have been founded about B.C. 125, possibly on the overthrow of the Graeco-Bactrian kingdom. Kanishka was the most famous king of this dynasty, which came to an end about A.D. 850. *Vide* Elliot's History, Vol. II, App. pp. 409-410. Cf. J.P.H.S. Vol. VII, No. 2, pp. 115 to 129.

time is said to have been Jagdes Chand, who was 436th in descent from Bhum Chand, the mythical founder, and 202nd from Susarma Chand, the traditionary founder of the State.

¹ Māhmūd as we have seen left a garrison in the fort on his departure, which probably held possession till A.D. 1043. In that year the Rāja of Delhi, of the Tomara line of Rājputs, in order to arouse the spirit of his countrymen, pretended to have seen a vision. He affirmed that the great idol of Nagarkot, which had been carried off by Māhmūd, had appeared to him and told him that, having revenged himself upon Ghaznī, he (the idol) would meet the Rāja at Nagarkot in his former temple. This story being everywhere accepted, great numbers flocked to his standard and he soon found himself at the head of a large army.

He then marched against Hānsi, Thanesar and other places held by Muhammadan garrisons under Modud, grandson of Māhmūd, and drove them out. Having done so he entered the hills and laid siege to Nagarkot, which after four months was compelled to capitulate, owing to the exhaustion of the food supplies and no relief having come from Lahore.

An idol exactly resembling that which had been carried away was then introduced secretly by night into a garden near the temple, which seems to have been left uninjured or had been rebuilt, and its discovery in the morning caused great rejoicing among the people, who exclaimed that the god had returned from Ghaznī. It was then carried with great pomp into the temple, where it was installed amid the adoration of the people.

This story spread far and near and increased the fame of the shrine to such a degree that devotees came to worship in thousands from all parts of India, and the offerings of gold, silver and jewels presented by them, and the princes of India, are supposed to have nearly equalled the wealth carried off by Māhmūd.

The conquest of the Punjab by Māhmūd was only partial, and we read of no permanent garrisons having been established till A.D. 1023, except that of Nagarkot. Till then the Pāl kings—the last of the Hindu-Shāhi princes of Kabul and Und or Ohind—continued to exercise a nominal rule at Lahore in subjection to Ghaznī, but on the death of Bhim Pāl, the last of his line, the Hindu Kingdom was finally overthrown about A.D. 1026.²

How long the Katoch Rājas continued to hold the province of Jālandhara after the conquest of Lahore by Mahmud it is difficult to say.³ From the *Rājatarangīnī* we learn that, somewhere about A.D. 1030-40, Ananta Deva, the Rāja of Kashmir, was married to two princesses of the Katoch family, the daughters of "Indu Chandra, lord of Jālandhara," and this is the last reference to the State in the History of Kashmir. The Indu Chandra above mentioned is identified by Cunningham with the Inder Chandra of the genealogical roll, but this is improbable, as Cunningham misread

¹ Perishta, Briggs trans. 1908, Vol. I, pp. 118-119. Elliot's History, App. pp. 444, 5, 6. Other authorities—*Tabaqat-i-Akbari* and *Habibu-s-Siyar*.

² Elliot's History, Vol. II, App. p. 427.

³ *Rājatarang.*, Stein. trans., VII, 150, 152; and J.P.H.S. Vol. VII, No. 2, pp. 127-8.

the date of the Baijnāth Eulogies on which his chronological calculation is based. That date he took to be A.D. 804, whereas in reality it is A.D. 1204. It is clear, however, from the Rājatarangīnī that a Rāja named Indu or Inder Chandra was a contemporary of Ananta Deva of Kashmir in the first half of the eleventh century, though his name is not found in the *vansāvalī* of that time.

In the Odes of Sād bin Salmān called *Diwān-i-Salmān* (Elliot's History, Vol. IV, App. pp. 520-3) there is a reference to the conquest of Jālandhar, an event which may have taken place in the reign of Ibrāhīm of Ghaznī (A.D. 1058-89), who was a descendant of Subaktagīn—the father of Māhmūd. It is as follows:—"The narratives of thy battles eclipse the stories of Rustam and Isfandiyār. Thou didst bring an army in one night from Dhangān to Jālandhar. The hills were alarmed, and the clouds astonished. The horses and camels stood ready. They galloped over the narrow road and floundered in the river through the darkness of the night. The clouds around formed thrones of ice, and rivulets of blood flowed in all the ravines. The standards were flying and the spears had their heads as sharp as thorns; and the army of the Magog of mercy made firm his tents upon the hills in a line like the wall of Alexander. Thou remainedst but a short time on the top of the hills, thou wert but a moment involved in the narrow defiles. Thou didst direct but one assault and by that alone brought destruction on the country. By the morning meal not one soldier, not one Brahman remained unkilld or uncaptured. Their heads were severed by the carriers of swords. Their houses were levelled with the ground by the flaming fire. A fleet messenger came from Dhangān, announcing that ten thousand turbulent people, horse and foot, had collected. Thou didst take the road by night, and wast surrounded by gallant warriors. The enemy's heart quailed because of thy coming. Thou didst pass on without stopping with thy foot soldiers, like the wind. Thou didst proceed till the noise of the clarions of Sair Sambra arose, which might have been said to proclaim his despair, and was responded to by those of Bu Nasr Parsi which announced thy victory to all quarters. He fled unto the river Rawa at dread of thy approach; and there he was drowned and descended into the infernal regions, and well do I know that this end must have been less appalling than the daily fear which he entertained of the destruction which awaited him. Henceforth thou shouldst consider that the Rawa had done thee service and it should be reckoned as one devoted to thy will. If such a place be conquered during this winter, I will guarantee the conquest of every village near Jālandhar. I am the meanest of slaves and hold but an exceedingly small office, but make thou over to me the accomplishment of this business. The *rais* and soldiers will not dare to revolt, and *rajās* from fear of thee will proffer their allegiance. By the help of God, and by the force of thy prosperity, will I extirpate the practices of idolatry from this country. I will make the slain kiss the earth to the very gate of the fort. I will make a string of slaves kiss the earth to the banks of the Rawa.... Thou hast secured victory to thy country and thy religion, for amongst the Hindus this achievement will be remembered till the day of resurrection." There is a wildness and want of connexion in this Ode, which renders its precise meaning doubtful, but it is interesting as

noticing the capture of Dhangān and Jālandhar. The latter place is well known but has not before been noticed in Muhammadan annals. The position of the former is doubtful, but the description shows that it must have been far within the hills. These conquests appear to have been effected in the time of Ibrahim, and it seems not improbable that the reference given points to the fall of Jālandhar before the Muhammadan arms and the loss by the Rājas of Trigarta of their possessions on the plains, which may have taken place about A.D. 1070.

¹As has been stated, Mahmūd left a garrison in the fort which was expelled in A.D. 1043. In A.D. 1051-2, Abul Rashīd, a son of Mahmūd, who had come into power, appointed Hashtagīn Hajīb Governor of the Punjab, and on the latter learning of the capture of the fort by the Hindus, he advanced and laid siege to the place which was taken by escalade on the sixth day. That the stronghold remained long in Muhammadan hands is improbable. Though cowed for a time, the spirit of the Rājput princes soon revived, and they made a determined struggle to regain the territories which had been wrested from them.

That the Kāngra Rājas were successful in recovering the fort is therefore highly probable, and we may conclude that from about A.D. 1060-70 onwards for nearly 300 years it remained in their possession. Till about A.D. 1070 the State continued undivided under one head. The Rāja of the time is said to have been Padam Chand, and his younger brother Parab Chand, then broke away from the parent stem and founded the State of Jaswān—in the Jaswān Dun, now in Hoshyārpur district.

It is probable however that the separation took place at a still earlier period, of which no record has come down to us, and that the State—originally only a fief of Kangra—became independent in the disturbed times following on the Muhammadan invasions of the Punjab. "Many centuries ago," says Mr. Barnes, "so long ago that all consanguinity has ceased, and intermarriages take place among a people to whom marriage with blood relations is a heinous crime—a member of the Katoch family severed himself from Kāngra and set up an independent state in Jaswān."²

For nearly 200 years after Mahmūd the Muhammadans were unable to advance their frontier much beyond the Satluj. To the south they were opposed by the Rājas of Dehli of the Tomara line of Rājputs—under whose banner all the feudatory and confederate chiefs of northern India marched to battle. In the *Prithi Rāj Charitra* by the Bard Chand, which deals with the last times of the Hindu Kingdom of Delhi, we find "Kāngra and its mountain chiefs" included among those who were summoned by Anang Pāl III—the last of the line—to follow his standard to the field.³ Dying childless he was succeeded by Prithi Rāj Chauhān of Ajmer—his younger daughter's son—about A.D. 1171.

The elder daughter had been married to the Rāja of Kanauj, and her son, Jai Chand Rāthor, who bore the same relationship to Anang Pāl as Prithi Rāj—not only refused to acknowledge the supremacy of Dehli, but put forward his own claim

¹ Perishta, trans. 1908, Vol. I, p. 132.

² Kangra Settlement Report, p. 7.

³ Tod's *Rajasthan* reprint, 1899, Vol. I, p. 268. Many of the Rajput chiefs at that time employed Muhammadan mercenaries against one another.

to the dignity of paramount ruler. Strife ensued between them, embittered by the daring exploit of Prithi Rāj, in carrying off by force his willing bride—the beautiful daughter of his rival—from amidst the assembled princes at Kanauj. Jai Chand in revenge then invited, through his Muhammadan mercenaries, the king of Ghazni to invade Delhi, and thus in the end brought destruction on both Kingdoms. For years the war went on, and though no details have come down to us of the part played by Kāngra in the long and relentless struggle, yet we may well believe that in the final conflicts, in A.D. 1191–3, with Muhammad Ghori on the banks of the Gaggar, the Katoch chief bore an honourable part.

The next reference to the Rājas of Trigarta occurs on two slabs in the Śiva temple at Baijnāth¹ in the Kāngra valley, and is of great interest. Baijnāth (Vaidynāth) was originally the name of the temple only, the village in which it stands being called Kiragrāma, but the latter name has been long disused. In the twelfth century Kiragrāma was the seat of a *rājanakā* or Rāna, whose fort is said to have stood on or near the site of the present Dak Bungalow. The name of the Rāna at the time the slabs were engraved was Lakshmana Chandra, and his ancestors had held Kiragrāma for eight generations, as vassals of the Rājas of Jālandhara and Trigarta, with whose family they had been counted worthy to intermarry. In the inscription the name of the contemporary Rāja is given as Jaya Chandra, and he is called “the supreme king of Jālandhara.” The overlords of the Rānas of Kiragrāma, that is, the Rājas of Kāngra, are called “kings of Trigarta,” and Kāngra is called *Susarmapura*.

Cunningham identified Jaya Chandra with Jaya Mala Chandra of the *Vansāvalī*, who may have reigned about the beginning of the ninth century, but this identification was based on an erroneous reading of the date of the Baijnāth Eulogies, and therefore cannot be accepted. There was, however, another Jaya Chandra, whose full name was Jaya Sinha Chandra, and who according to the *vansāvalī* immediately preceded Prithi Chand, in the early part of the fourteenth century. If we suppose that Jaya Sinha Chandra's name was displaced in copying the *vansāvalī*—an error of frequent occurrence—his reign may have come at an earlier period, and several reigns may have intervened between him and Prithi Chand. We therefore feel inclined to identify Jaya Sinha Chandra with the Jaya Chandra of the Eulogies and assign his reign to the beginning of the thirteenth century—say c. A.D. 1200–20. We assume, therefore, that four or five reigns came between that of Jai Singh Chand and of Prithi Chand, whose name stands next in the *vansāvalī*, and who may have succeeded to the *gaddi* about A.D. 1330.

Probably long before that time the province of Jālandhara on the plains had been lost, but the old title was still retained.

Prithi Chand c. A.D. 1330—The next reference to Kāngra is found in the works of the early Muhammadan historians, in the year A.D. 1337, and it probably refers to the reign of Rāja Prithi Chand. In that year Kāngra fort was captured by Muhammad Tughlak (A.D. 1325–51). Ferishta does not mention this event but in the Odes of Badr-i-Chāch, a poet at the Muhammadan Court, we find the following:—²“When

¹ Arch. Survey Reports, Vol. V, pp. 178–184.

² Elliot's History, Vol. III, p. 570.

the Sun was in Cancer the king of the time (Muhammad Tughlak) took the stone fort of Nagarkot, in the year A.H. 738 (A.D. 1337). It is placed between rivers like the pupil of an eye, and the fortress has so preserved its honour and is so impregnable that neither Sikandar nor Dāra was able to take it. Within are the masters of the *mangonels*, within also are beauties resplendent as the sun. Its chiefs are all strong as buffaloes, with necks like a rhinoceros. Its inhabitants are all travelling on the high road to hell and perdition and are *ghuls*, resembling dragons. The exalted king of the kings of the earth arrived at night at this fortress with 100,000 companions. His army contained 1,000 stars and under each star 1,000 banners were displayed."

¹ Cunningham states that on this occasion the temple of Bhawan was again desecrated, and restored just before the capture by Firoz Tughlak, but does not give his authority. We do not know where the capital was transferred to on the fall of the fort; but as we shall see the latter was not allowed to remain long in alien hands. Beginning with Prithi Chand there are many coins extant of the Rājas of Kangra.

Parab Chand, c. A.D. 1345.—Parva or Parab Chand may have succeeded about A.D. 1345, and in A.D. 1351 Muhammad Tughlak died and his army fell into great disorder. The garrison being thus weakened the fort was captured and the Muhammadans were driven out of the country.²

Rup Chand, c. A.D. 1360.—With the accession of Rup Chand the chronology becomes more concise, and we are able to fix approximately the date for each reign down to the extinction of the State. Rup Chand must have succeeded about A.D. 1360, for he was reigning when the fort was captured by Firoz Tughlak about A.D. 1365, and from him to Anirudh Chand (A.D. 1827) there were twenty-seven reigns, giving an average duration of about seventeen years, which is well under the average in most of the other states. Probably several Rājas fell in battle.

Rup Chand's name is found in the *Dharm Chand Nātak* of the bard, Mānik Chand, written about A.D. 1562 in the reign of Rāja Dharm Chand; in which reference is made to the capture of Kāngra Fort by Firoz Shāh Tughlak, c. A.D. 1365.³

⁴ There is also a reference in Ferishta to an incident which casts an interesting sidelight on the condition of affairs on the plains about that time. The Rājput princes seem to have been very restless under the new yoke imposed upon them, and took advantage of every opportunity to harass the Muhammadans by a species of guerilla warfare. This we may safely assume was carried on almost continuously for several centuries after the time of Mahmud of Ghazni. In keeping with this policy Rup Chand of Kāngra, in the early part of his reign, set out with his following for a raiding expedition on the plains, and plundered the country almost to the gates of Delhi. On his return journey laden with booty he encountered Shāhāb-ud-dīn of Kāshmir (A.D. 1363-86), who was out on a similar expedition, and laying his spoils at the feet of the Kashmir Chief, swore fealty to him. The *Rājataranginī* of Jonārāja

¹ Cf. A.S.R. Vol. V, p. 165.

² Cf. A.S.R. Vol. V, p. 157.

³ Cf. Arch. Survey Reports, Vol. V, p. 157.

⁴ Ferishta, trans. and reprint, 1908, Vol. IV, pp. 458-9. *Rājatarang.*, Jonaraja, trans., Vol. III, p. 39.

has a different version of this incident. There it is stated that during the Kashmir King's progress "the Rāja of Susarmapura (Kāngra) out of fear forsook the pride of his fort and sought refuge with the goddess." From this we may perhaps infer that there was a conflict between the two forces, as seems most likely, in which Rup Chand was worsted and fled back to Kāngra, and had afterwards to surrender his booty and swear allegiance to Shāhāb-ud-dīn. The "goddess" referred to was probably Mata Devi of Bhawan at Kāngra.

¹ Fīroz Shāh Tughlak (A.D. 1351-88), who was then on the throne of Delhi, about A.D. 1365, undertook an expedition against Trigarta, probably, as Cunningham suggests, in revenge for Rup Chand's incursion, and the siege and capture of Nagarkot is referred to both in Ferishta and in the *Tārīkh-i-Fīroz Shāhi*. The latter account is as follows:—"Afterwards he (Fīroz Shāh) marched with his army from Delhi towards Nagarkot and passing by the valleys of Nākhach nuh garhi he arrived with his army at Nagarkot, which he found to be very strong and secure. The Rai shut himself up in his fort and the Sultān's forces plundered all his country."....

"The Rāi of Nagarkot withdrew into the keep of his stronghold, which was invested by the royal forces in double, nay, in ten-fold lines. *Manjaniks* and *arradas* were erected on both sides and so many stones were discharged that they clashed in the air and were dashed to pieces. For six months the siege went on, and both sides exhibited great courage and endurance. At length fortune inclined to the Sultān. He was one day examining the fortress, when he perceived the Rāi standing on the top of his citadel. There he stood in an attitude of humility, and stretching out his hands in sign of distress, he clasped his hands and bowed in subjection. When the Sultān observed this he drew a handkerchief from his bosom and waving it kindly towards the Rāi, he signed for him to come down. The *Mehtas* of the Rāi assembled (and counselled surrender) so the Rāi, throwing off his pride, came down from his fort, and making apologies cast himself at the feet of the Sultān; who with much dignity placed his hand on the back of the Rāi and having bestowed on him robes of honour and an umbrella sent him back to his fort. So the Rāi returned laden with presents which he had received from the royal treasury, and accompanied by several fine horses which had been given to him. Thus by the favour of God the Sultān became master of Nagarkot. When he left the fort to return to the capital, the Rāi sent many offerings and horses of priceless worth."

Fīroz Shāh visited Jwāla-Mukhi on his way to Nagarkot and some of the Hindus affirmed that he held a golden umbrella over the head of the idol, but this is indignantly repudiated by Shams-i-Sirāj, the author of the *Tārīkh-i-Fīroz Shāhi*, as untrue.

² The reference in Ferishta is not so detailed but has some features of special interest. It is as follows: "From thence (Sirhind) the king marched towards the mountains of Nagarkot, where he was overtaken by a storm of hail and snow. The Rāja of Nagarkot after sustaining some loss submitted and was restored to his

¹ *Tārīkh-i-Fīroz Shāhi*. Elliot's History, Vol. III, pp. 317-8-9.

² Ferishta. Brigg's trans., Vol. I, pp. 453-4. The soldiers had probably never before seen snow falling.

dominions. The name of Nagarkot was on this occasion changed to that of Mahomedabad in honour of the late king. The people of Nagarkot told Firoz that the idol which the Hindoos worshipped in the temple of Nagarkot was the image of Nowshaba, the wife of Alexander the Great, and that that conqueror had left the idol with them. The name by which it was then known was *Jwālamukhi*. In this temple was a fine library of Hindoo books, consisting of 1,300 volumes. Firoz ordered one of those books which treated of philosophy, astrology and divination to be translated into prose in the Persian language by Eiz-ud-din *Khalid Khāni* and called it *Dalāyil Fīroz Shāhi*. Some historians state that Firoz on this occasion broke the idols of Nagarkot and mixing the fragments with pieces of cow's flesh filled bags with them, and caused them to be tied round the necks of Brahmans, who were then paraded through the camp. It is said also that he sent the image of Nowshaba to Mecca to be thrown on the road, that it might be trodden under foot by the pilgrims, and that he also remitted the sum of 100,000 *tankas* to be distributed among the devotees and servants of the temple." In the *Tārīkh-i-Fīroz Shāhi* no mention is made of these occurrences and they are probably untrue, for it would appear that Firoz Shāh respected the places of worship and left the temple of Bhawan uninjured.¹

In his account Ferishta has confounded two different goddesses, the great *Mata Devi* of Nagarkot and the *Jwālamukhi*, or fierymouthed goddess of *Jwālamukhi*, two places which are upwards of twenty miles apart. Shams-i-Sirāj, who derived his information from his father who accompanied Firoz, more correctly states that the idol, *Jwālamukhi*, much worshipped by the Hindus, was situated *in the road to Nagarkot*.

² We also have the following interesting note in the *Ma'āsir-ul-Umarā*, referring to the siege of Kāngra Fort by Firoz Shāh: "This fort's fame has ascended to the heavens owing to its great strength and impregnability. It lies to the north of Lahore in the midst of hills. The zamindars in the Punjab have the belief that except God the Creator of the world no one else knows the date of this fort's foundation. In this great length of time this fort has never passed from hand to hand to different tribes, nor has any stranger extended over it the hand of authority. One of the kings of Islām, Sultān Firoz Shāh, with all his greatness and resources, attempted to reduce it and the siege was of long duration. Coming to the conclusion that to capture that fort was an impossibility, he contented himself with an interview with the Rāja and gave up his project."

"They say the Rāja then invited the Sultān and some of his people into the fort. The Sultān said to the Rāja that to invite him within the fort was a piece of imprudence; if the retinue in his train resolved upon an attempt on him (the Rāja) and should seize the fort, what remedy was there. The Rāja made a sign to his men and at once crowd after crowd of armed men came out of their hiding places. The Sultan was in consternation. The Rāja said respectfully that beyond precautions, he had no other ideas in his head. Still to put into practice measures of prudence was a necessity on

¹ Cf. Ferishta, 1908, Vol. I, pp. 453-4; and *Tārīkh-i-Fīroz Shāhi*, Elliot's History, Vol. III, p. 318.

² *Ma'āsir-ul-Umarā*, ii. 185, 186.

such an occasion. On all subsequent occasions when the Sultans of Delhi sent troops to take Kāngra nothing was ever effected."

As already stated a reference to the siege occurs in the Rhymes of the Hindu bard, Mānik Chānd, written in S. 1619 = A.D. 1562. The fact of the Rāja's submission is admitted and the bard also refers to the meeting of the Rāja and the Sultān and gives the former's name as Rup Chand. He also mentions the incident of the Sultān placing his hand on the Rāja's back. The quotation runs as follows:—

*Rup Chandar barkar charho Dileswar Surtan
Bahut hetkār pag paro pith hath lei Sān.*¹

"Rup Chandar went forth to meet the Sultān, lord of Delhi, and bowing very low down to his feet, the king put his hand on his back."

This timely submission of the Kāngra chief must have been very welcome after a six months' siege, as Fīroz Shāh was then able to return to Delhi. Cunningham assumes that the fort was retained and a Muhammadan garrison left in it. He says:—"Rup Chand saved his dominions at the cost of his ancestral home which was now garrisoned by Muhammadan troops."² This, however, is by no means clear from the narratives; indeed Ferishta distinctly states that Rup Chand was restored to his dominions, while the *Tārīkh-i-Fīroz Shāhi*, written during the reign of Fīroz Shah Tughlak, and thus contemporaneous, says nothing about a garrison having been left in the fort. The *Ma'āsir-ul-Umarā* also confirms the conclusion that the fort was not occupied. Rup Chand died about A.D. 1375 and was succeeded by his son Sangāra Chand.

Sangāra Chand, c. A.D. 1375.—Of this Rāja's reign there are unfortunately no records, but toward its close an incident occurred, in connection with which mention is made of Kāngra Fort in the Muhammadan histories. Fīroz Shāh Tughlak in A.D. 1387 had recognized his eldest son, Nazīr-ud-dīn, as his successor, but the prince showed so little ability that in little more than a year he was driven from power by his two cousins, and fled for safety to the mountains of Sirmour, and being pursued he retreated to Nagarkot. Ferishta says: "On the approach of the royal army that prince fled to the mountains and securing the wives and children of his adherents, waited to give the royalists battle. He was, however, driven from one position to another till he arrived at Nagarkot and shut himself up in that place. That fortress being very strong his enemies did not think proper to besiege it, but left him in quiet possession and returned to Delhi."³ It does not seem necessary to assume that Kāngra Fort was then in Muhammadan hands. Prince Nazīr-ud-dīn simply fled to the hill chiefs for an asylum, first in Sirmour and then in Kāngra, and he seems to have received a friendly welcome and safe protection in both places. A similar incident occurred in the reign of Jahāngīr when Prince Khurram, afterwards Shāhjahān, was in rebellion and fled to the Rāna of Udaipur for safety. There he remained for a year and was treated in the most hospitable and generous manner.

¹ A.S.R. for 1872-3, Vol. V, p. 158.

² Arch. Survey Reports, Vol. V, p. 158.

³ Ferishta, Vol. I, p. 466; and *Tārīkh-i-Mubārīk-Shahi*, Elliot's History, Vol. IV, pp. 19-20-21.

The turban, which he exchanged for that of the Rāna as a symbol of fraternal adoption, is still shown in Udaipur. Prince Nazir-ud-din remained at Nagarkot till the end of A.D. 1389 when he was recalled to Delhi, and in August A.D. 1390 ascended the throne under the name of Muhammad Tughlak.

Sangāra Chand probably died about A.D. 1390 and was followed by his son Megh Chand.

Megh Chand, c. A.D. 1390.—This Rāja was probably on the *gaddi* at the time of Timur's invasion of India in A.D. 1398-9 and in Timur's Memoirs, called *Malfuzāt-i-Timūri*, there is a reference to Nagarkot.

On his return journey from Delhi in A.D. 1399 Timur reached the foot of the Sawālaks somewhere near Hardwār and advanced along the outskirts of the hills from there to Jammu. He had heard of Nagarkot and wished to capture it but does not seem to have penetrated so far into the interior of the hills. The Hindus opposed his march and he fought many battles and took eight forts, but does not actually state that Nagarkot was one of them. The rivers were crossed where they leave the hills and numerous incursions were made into the valleys and ravines of the outer hills, in which many of his opponents were killed and much booty of every kind fell into his hands. Pathānkot and Nurpur, then called Dahmeri, lay right in his way and must have suffered, and the passage of the Rāvi was probably made at Shāhpur Kandi. Thence he advanced through Lakhanpur, Jasrota and Sāmba to Jammu which was captured and sacked.

The reference in the Memoirs of Timur is too long to be given in full, but the first paragraph referring to Nagarkot is as follows: "When I entered the valley on that side of the Sawaliks information was brought me about the town of Nagarkot which is a large and important town of Hindustan, and situated in these mountains. The distance was thirty *kos*, but the road thither lay through jungles and over lofty and rugged hills. Every *rāi* and *rāja* who dwelt in these hills had a large number of retainers. As soon as I learnt these facts about Nagarkot and the country round, my whole heart was intent upon carrying the war against the infidel Hindus of that place and upon subduing the territory, so I set spurs to my horse and wended my way thither."¹

Timur then goes on to relate in detail the incidents of the campaign and to tell of the battles he fought and the spoils he secured, but Nagarkot is not again referred to. His camp was probably at Dasuhah near Hoshyārpur at the time he formed the resolve to subdue Nagarkot, and the difficult character of the country prevented him from fully carrying out his design. The whole passage in the *Malfuzāt-i-Timūri* is interesting as showing by a typical example how his invasion of India was carried out, and what fightful scenes of plunder and rapine these quiet mountain valleys have witnessed in their time. The narrative continues as follows: "The left wing of my army commanded by Amir Jahān Shāh, had obtained no booty on the previous

¹ *Malfuzāt-i-Timūri*, Elliot's History, Vol. III, pp. 465-6-7-8; also cf. *Zafarnama*, Elliot's History, Vol. III, pp. 504-15-16-17.

day, so I ordered his division to the front to battle with the infidels, and to capture spoil to compensate them for the deficiency of the previous day. I sent Sain Timur with a party of soldiers forward as an advance guard and then I followed. At breakfast time Sain Timur, the Commander of the vanguard, sent to inform me that there was a very large force of infidels in front drawn up in order of battle. I instantly ordered Amīr Jahān Shāh, whom I had sent to the front with the forces of the left wing and the army of Khorāsān, to attack the enemy. The Amīr in obedience to my order, advanced and charged the enemy. At the very first charge the infidels were defeated and put to flight. The holy warriors, sword in hand, dashed among the fugitives and made heaps of corpses. Great numbers were slain and a vast booty in goods and valuables, and prisoners and cattle in countless numbers, fell into the hands of the victors who returned triumphant and loaded with spoil."

"A horseman belonging to the *Kushun* (regiment) of Amīr Shaikh Nurud-dīn and Ali Sultān Tawachi, now came galloping in to inform me that upon my left there was a valley in which an immense number of Hindus and *gabrs* had collected, and were crying out for battle. Vast herds of cattle and buffaloes were grazing around them, in numbers beyond the reach of the imagination. As soon as I heard this, I proceeded to the place, and having said my midday prayers with the congregation on the way, I joined Amīr Shaikh Nurud-dīn and I ordered him, with Ali Sultān Tawachi, to march with their forces against the enemy. In compliance with this order they went boldly forward and by a rapid march came in sight of the infidels. Like a pack of hungry sharpclawed wolves, they fell upon the flock of fox-like infidels, and dyed their swords and weapons in the blood of those wretches, till streams of blood ran down the valley. I went to the front from the rear, and found the enemy flying on all sides, and my braves splashing their blood upon the ground. A party of the Hindus fled towards the mountain, and I taking a body of soldiers pursued them up that lofty mountain and put them to the sword. After mounting to the summit I halted. Finding the spot verdant and the air pleasant I sat myself down and watched the fighting and the valiant deeds my men were performing. I observed their conduct with my own eyes, and how they put the infidel Hindus to the sword. The soldiers engaged in collecting the booty and cattle, and prisoners. This exceeded all calculation and they returned victorious and triumphant. The princes and Amīrs and other officers came up the mountain to meet me and to congratulate me on the victory. I had seen splendid deeds of valour and I now promoted the performers and rewarded them with princely gifts."

"The enormous numbers of cows and buffaloes that had been taken were now brought forward and I directed that those who had captured many should give a few to those soldiers who had got no share. Through this order every man, small and great, strong and feeble, obtained a share of the spoil. I remained till evening on the mountain, and after saying the evening prayer I came down. I encamped in the valley where there were running streams."

"Since the 14th Jumāda-l-Awwal (A.H. 801=A.D. 1399) when I entered the Siwalik hills, I had fought the enemy several times, I had gained victories and cap-

tured forts. From that time to the 17th Jumāda-1-Ākhir, one month and two days, I had been engaged in fighting, slaying and plundering the miscreant Hindus of those hills, until I arrived at the fort of Jammu. I reckoned that during these thirty-two days, I had twenty conflicts with the enemy and gained as many victories. I captured seven strong celebrated forts belonging to the infidels, which were situated two or three *kos* distance apart, and were the jewels and beauties of that region."

Hari Chand I, c. A.D. 1405.—A few years after Timur's invasion Hari Chand succeeded to the throne of Kāngra and during his reign an incident occurred which resulted in the founding of a new principality.

The country to the south of Kāngra was then dense jungle with probably few inhabitants, and it seems to have been the hunting ground of the Kāngra Rājas. One day the Rāja set out with his retinue on a hunting expedition in the direction of Harsar, now in Guler State, and in the course of the hunt he somehow got separated from the party and fell into a well or deep pit. On his disappearance being discovered, diligent search was made for several days but in vain. Believing that he had fallen a victim to some wild beast, the officials returned to the capital, where the Rāja's funeral obsequies were duly performed according to custom, even his *rānīs* becoming *sati*.

His younger brother, Karm Chand, was then installed in his room in the absence of a direct heir, and Hari Chand was regarded as dead. He, however, was still alive and after twenty-two days, it is said, was discovered by a passing merchant and rescued. On hearing what had taken place in Kāngra he decided not to return to the capital, and selecting a site near the junction of the Bānganga, Kurali and Nayagul rivers, he founded the fort and town of Haripur, and established an independent State. This was probably done with his brother's knowledge and consent. As a reward to the merchant for his timely help, Hari Chand remitted all duties on his goods in perpetuity, an exemption which was respected by all the succeeding Rājas and by the Sikhs, and only became obsolete on the general remission of duties under British rule.¹

The story may be true or not, but it illustrates a fixed principle of succession to Hindu Chiefships, viz. that an heir-apparent once designated, or a Raja once enthroned, cannot be deprived of his dignity. The nomination or consecration is irrevocable. Thus the elder brother ruled at Haripur and the younger held the hereditary kingdom of the Katoch family at Kāngra. But down to the present time Guler takes precedence of Kāngra on all ceremonial occasions and the Rāja of Guler is the first Viceregal Darbāri in the Kāngra District.

Karm Chand, c. A.D. 1415.—Of this Rāja's reign we know nothing beyond what has been related, but we assume that it was uneventful.

After the death of Firoz Shāh Tughlak in A.D. 1388, the affairs of the Delhi Empire fell into great confusion, which lasted off and on for more than a hundred years. Internecine strife on the plains must have largely diverted attention from the hills, and Kāngra, like the other hill states in the interior of the mountains, was

¹ Kangra Settlement Report, p. 7.

probably independent. There is indeed an inscription in the temple of Mata Devi at Bhawan of a date somewhat later than the reign of Karm Chand, which states that the Katoch chieftain, Sansār Chand I, was a tributary of Muhammad Shāh, most probably of the Saiyid dynasty; but in view of the condition of disorder then prevailing, the tributary relationship cannot have been more than nominal. Indeed, Kāngra finds no further mention in any of the Muhammadan records till the reign of Sher Shāh Sur, A.D. 1540. A careful study of the whole question leads to the conclusion that, except for a short time in the reign of Muhammad Tughlak, the fort remained in the possession of its ancestral chiefs from A.D. 1043 till its capture by Khawās Khān, soon after A.D. 1540. It does not even seem to be certain that Muhammad Tughlak actually left a garrison in the fort after its capture.

Sansār Chand I, c. A.D. 1430.—He was a son of Karm Chand and succeeded about A.D. 1430.¹ As already stated, an inscription of his reign exists in the temple of Vijresvari Devi in Bhawan, which records that he was tributary to Muhammad Shāh; and the only prince of that name whose reign corresponds to that of Sansār Chand is Muhammad Shāh Saiyid of Delhi, A.D. 1435-44.

The next Rajas in succession were *Devangga Chand, c. A.D. 1450* and *Narēndar Chand, c. A.D. 1465*, but of their reigns there are no records extant, and from what has already been said about the condition of things on the plains at that period we may conclude that the hills enjoyed comparative peace.

Suvīra Chand, c. A.D. 1480.—Narēndar Chand died childless but one of his rānīs was *enceinte*. Other claimants to the *gaddi* then came forward, and the rānī fearing for the safety of her child, in the event of its being a son, escaped to her parents' home which, according to the vernacular history, was in Poona. On the way her son, Suvīra Chand, was born in a Kumhār's hut, which seems to have been within the State. On growing up, Suvīra Chand returned to Kāngra with a force provided by his maternal grandfather, and after capturing the fort by stratagem was acknowledged by the people as the rightful heir and installed as Rāja. A *jāgīr* was then granted to the Kūmhār in whose house he was born, but further than this we are told nothing of his reign.

Prayag Chand, c. A.D. 1490, followed, and after him *Rām Chand* about A.D. 1510, but of the events of these reigns we know nothing. Rām Chand's name is mentioned in the Muhammadan histories of Akbar's reign in connection with the expedition sent against Nagarkot in A.D. 1572, as will be related.

Dharm Chand, c. A.D. 1528.—With Dharm Chand's accession we touch firm ground, for his name and some of the events of his reign are referred to in the histories of his time. He must have been in middle life when he came to the throne, for a copper-plate deed exists, issued by him in S. 1535 = A.D. 1478, on the occasion of his receiving the sacred thread. He was then a child of about eleven years and does not seem to have succeeded to the throne till A.D. 1528 on the death of his father.

¹ It appears from the inscription that the year of his accession was A.D. 1429-30. The record also mentions the names of his father, Karam Chand. (Sanskrit: Karma-chandra) and of his grandfather, Megh Chand (Sanskrit: Megha-Chandra). Cf. A.S.R., Vol. V, pp. 167-8

As we have seen, the Kāngra Fort had enjoyed immunity from attack for a long period, but on the expulsion of Humayun from India and the accession of Sher Shāh Sur in A.D. 1540, his able general Khawās Khān was sent to Nagarkot to bring the hill country under subjection. The reference in the *Wāqīāt-i-Mushtākī* is as follows: "Khawās Khān, who was the predecessor of Miān Bhua, having been ordered by the Sultān to march towards Nagarkot in order to bring the hill country under subjection, succeeded in conquering it and having sacked the infidels' temple of Debi Shankar, brought away the stone which they worshipped, together with a copper umbrella which was placed over it, and on which a date was engraved in Hindi characters, representing it to be two thousand years old. When the stone was sent to the king, it was given over to the butchers to make weights out of it for the purpose of weighing their meat. From the copper of the umbrella several pots were made in which water might be warmed, and which were placed in the masjids, and the king's own palace, so that every one might wash his hands, feet and face in them, and perform his purification before prayer."

After the conquest the hill tracts seem to have been placed in charge of one Hamid Khān Kakar, who "lived in the fort of Milwat (Malot) and held such firm control of the Nagarkot, Jwāla, Didhwāl and Jammu hills, in fact the whole hill country, that no man dared to breathe in opposition to him, and he collected the revenue by measurements of land from the hill people."²

It may be noted that it is not specifically stated that a garrison was left in the fort after its capture by Khawās Khān, and in any case it cannot have remained long in the hands of the Muhammadans, and was probably recovered on the decline of the Sur dynasty, previous to the return of Humayun in A.D. 1555.

The Punjab was then under the rule of Sikandar Shāh Sur, a nephew of Sher Shāh, who was defeated by the Mughals at Sirhind, and then retreated into the Sawālakhs around Dhameri (Nurpur) and Kāngra. Akbar, then a boy of nearly fourteen years, was sent in pursuit in nominal command of the army. At Kalanour, now in Gurdāspur District, news reached him of his father's death at Delhi, and he was installed as Emperor (Feb. A.D. 1556). He then advanced into the hills, and at Nurpur, Dharm Chand of Kāngra came in and made his submission and was received with favour.³

Akbar is said to have subdued the country of Nagarkot and captured the fort, but this is contradicted by later writers. It seems certain that he did not penetrate so far into the hills, and his camp was probably at Nurpur while his army was engaged in scouring the country in pursuit of Sikandar Shāh, with whom Rāja Bakht Mal of Nurpur was in alliance.⁴ In the *Tabakāt-i-Akbarī* we find the following: "The imperial forces encountered the Afghans near the Siwalik Mountains and gained a victory which elicited gracious marks of approval from the Emperor. Sikandar took refuge in the mountains and jungles and the imperial forces were engaged for six months in hunting him about and endeavouring to capture him. Rāja Rām Chand,

¹ *Wāqīāt-i-Mushtākī*, Elliot, Vol. IV, p. 544.

² *Wāqīāt-i-Mushtākī*, Elliot's History, Vol. IV, p. 415.

³ Ferishta, reprint 1909, Vol. VI, p. 183.

⁴ *Tabakāt-i-Akbarī*, Elliot's History, Vol. V, p. 248.

Rāja of Nagarkot was the most renowned of all the Rājas of the hills, and he came and made his submission. In consequence of the heavy rains His Majesty left these parts and went to Jālandhar, where he stayed for five months."

It will be noted that the Rāja's name is incorrectly given as Rām Chand, and this mistake is found also in Badauni; but Abul Fazl and Ferishta call him Dharm Chand. Rām Chand was Dharm Chand's father.

In the following year (A.D. 1557) Sikandar Shāh left his retreat in the hills and invaded the Punjab. Akbar then advanced against him and he sought refuge in the strong fortress of Maukot, on the Mau hills, nearly half way between Pathānkot and Nurpur,¹ which was besieged by the Mughals for eight months. When grain had become scarce and the garrison was hard pressed, Sikandar Shāh requested that a noble might be sent to arrange terms. On his entry into the fort Sikandar addressed him in submissive terms, confessing his presumption, and that he knew he had no chance of resistance. He begged to be allowed to retire to Bengal, and promised to remain faithful in his allegiance and leave his son as a hostage. These terms were accepted by Akbar, and on 27th Ramzān, A.H. 964 = July A.D. 1557, the fort was surrendered, and Sikandar Shāh was assigned the districts of Bihār and Kharīd in *jāgīr* but died two years later.²

We may safely assume that a contingent from Kāngra was present at the siege, though Dharm Chand was too old to take command. He must have been born about A.D. 1467, and was still alive in A.D. 1562, the year in which the *Dharm Chand Natak* was written, but died in the following year at an advanced age.

With the firm establishment of Mughal authority the course of events in Kāngra becomes much more precise and detailed, and many references of great interest are to be found in the works of contemporary Muhammadan historians. The Kāngra chief was probably the first in the Punjab hills to tender his allegiance, but early in Akbar's reign all of them came more or less under Mughal control. To ensure their fidelity Akbar initiated the practice of sending hostages to the Mughal Court, the hostage usually being a son or other near relative of the ruling chief, and in the beginning of Jahangir's reign there are said to have been twenty-two young princes from the hill states in attendance on the Emperor.

Manikya Chand, A.D. 1563.—Dharm Chand was succeeded by his son Manikya Chand, who was probably in middle life, and had only a short reign, which seems to have been uneventful. He died in A.D. 1570 and was followed by Jai Chand.

Jai Chand, A.D. 1570.—Soon after his accession Jai Chand, for some reason unknown, incurred Akbar's suspicion, and an order was issued for his arrest, and he was put in confinement, probably in Delhi. His son Bidhi Chand, although a minor, regarding his father as dead assumed the rule of the State and broke out into revolt.

¹ This fort was built by Salim Shah Sur, son of Sher Shah. Cf. J.P.H.S. Vol. VI, No. 2, p. 108.

² Cf. *Tabakāt-i-Akbari*, Elliot's History, Vol. V, pp. 254-5.

It is worth noting that at Maukot during the siege occurred the historical incident which accentuated the estrangement between Akbar and his famous general, Behram Khan. Two elephants while fighting for the Emperor's amusement got entangled among Behram Khan's tents, and threw some of them down, and this was taken as an intentional affront. Vide Elphinstone, *History*, 1857, p. 432.

In A.D. 1572 an army under Khān Jahān Husain Qulī Khān, Viceroy of the Punjab, was sent to subdue the country, which had been bestowed by the Emperor in *jāgīr* upon Rāja Birbal; and *farmāns* were sent to him and the *Amīrs* of the Punjab commanding them to take Nagarkot from Bidli Chand and place it in the possession of Rāja Birbal.

Rāja Birbal seems to have accompanied the Mughal army, and on his arrival at Lahore, Husain Qulī Khān and the other nobles set out for Nagarkot by way of Paithān (Pathānkot) and Damhari (Nurpur). On reaching Damhari the holder of the place, named Chotó,¹ who is said to have been a relative of Jai Chand, relying on the security of his fort, which he had strengthened, declined to come out and sent two Vakils with his offerings.

The reference to Damhari or Nurpur is interesting, as showing that a fort had existed there from former times, previous to the one erected by Rāja Bāsu, son of Takht Mal, who transferred the capital of the State from Pathānkot to Nurpur.

Bakht Mal, the Rāja of Nurpur, in A.D. 1556, had allied himself with Sikandar Shāh and after the surrender of Maukot he was taken to Lahore and executed by Behrām Khān, Akbar's general. His brother, Takht Mal was then installed in his place and must have been ruling when the Mughal army passed through Nurpur. He perhaps thought it safer to keep out of the way, remembering his brother's fate.

The Commander of Nurpur Fort excused himself from attending in person on the ground of his fears and anxiety, but he undertook to keep the roads open. The Mughal army then passed on, a small force being left at Nurpur, seemingly to keep up communications.

Twelve miles beyond Nurpur is the fort of Kotila on a high hill, then held by a Kāngra force which refused to surrender. It had originally belonged to Rāja Rām Chand of Gwālīār (Guler), but Rāja Dharm Chand and Rāja Jai Chand of Kāngra had occupied it by force.

On arriving at Kotila the garrison discharged muskets, arrows and stones against the troops and inflicted some loss. Thereupon Husain Qulī Khān and other *Amīrs* ascended the hill opposite the fort and commanding it, and some guns were brought up with great labour and fire was opened on the fort. The masonry was shattered and a number of men of the garrison who stood under the walls were killed. This frightened the besieged, and during the night they abandoned the fort and made their escape. In the morning the Mughal commander, with beating of drums, marched into the fortress, which he delivered over to the Rāja of Gwālīār (Guler), to whose ancestor it had formerly belonged. But he left a garrison of his own in the fort and then advanced to Nagarkot.

The siege of Kāngra Fort was progressing favourably and the garrison were in extremities when it was reported that Ibrāhīm Husain Mirza and Masud Mirza, relatives of Akbar, had invaded the Punjab. Khān Jahān, therefore, with the approval of the other *Amīrs*, opened negotiations with the commander of the garrison,

¹ This name is probably a clerical error, and may be meant for *Taktu*, i.e. Takht Mal, who was then Rāja of Nurpur.

and on his agreeing to the payment of five *mans* of gold and some valuables, the siege was raised and the Mughal army departed to oppose the Mirzas.

The narrative in the *Tabakāt-i-Akbarī* is as follows :—

“When the Emperor's favour was alienated from Rāja Jai Chandar, Rāja of Nagarkot, he issued orders for putting him in confinement. The Raja's son, Bidi Chand, although a minor, assumed the place of his father, and deeming him as dead broke out in revolt. The Emperor having given to Kab Rāi the title of Rāja Birbal, bestowed upon him the country of Nagarkot.”

“Thereupon *farmāns* were sent to Husain Quli Khān, and the Amirs of the Punjāb, commanding them to take Nagarkot from Bidi Chand, and place it in the possession of Rāja Birbal.²

“When the Rāja arrived at Lahore, Husain Quli Khān, and other nobles of the Punjāb, set out for Nagarkot. On reaching Damharī (Nurpur), the holder of that place, whose name was Choto, and who was a relative of Jai Chand, relying on the security of his fort which he had strengthened, kept himself in private, and sent two *vakīls* with his offerings. He also sent a message excusing himself from attending in person, on the ground of his fears and anxiety, but he undertook the duty of keeping the roads clear. Husain Quli Khān presented the *vakīls* with robes and sent them back. Leaving a party of men at the village situated near the opening of the road, he went onwards.”

“On arriving at the fort of Kutila he pitched his camp. This fort is a very high one. It formerly belonged to Rām Chandar of Gwālīār (Guler), but Rāja Dharm Chand and Rāja Jai Chand had obtained possession of it by force.”

“The officers left in charge of the fort by Rāja Jai Chand discharged muskets and arrows and stones against the troops who had dispersed in search of plunder, and inflicted some damage. Upon hearing of this, Husain Quli Khān mounted his horse with the other *Amīrs* to reconnoitre the place. He ascended a hill which is opposite to the fort, and commands it. With great labour some guns were brought up the hill, and fire was opened upon the fort. Its cracked masonry was shattered by the balls. A large number of men stood under the walls, and great loss was suffered. As evening approached, he returned to the camp, leaving a force in charge of that position. During the night the Rajputs who were in the fortress, and were terrified by the cannonade, made their escape. In the morning Husain Quli Khān, beating his drums, marched into the fort of Kutila, which he delivered over to the Rāja of Gwālīār, to whose ancestors it had formerly belonged, but he left a garrison of his own there.”

“Continuing his march (beyond Kotila) he (Khān Jahān) came to a thickly wooded country through which it was difficult for an ant or a snake to creep, so a party of men was sent to cut a road through the jungle. On the 1st Rajab A.H. 980=8th November A.D. 1572, he encamped by a field of maize near Nagarkot.

¹ Cf. *Tabakāt-i-Akbarī*, Elliot's History, Vol. V, p. 356 *et seq.*; also cf. *Ma'asir-ul-Umarā*. Blochmann, Vol. I, pp. 647-8.

² “Birbal,” in Hindi, signifies “courageous” and “great,” so his title means, “Brave and mighty Raja.”

The fortress of Bhun (Bhawan), which is an idol temple of Mahāmāī, and in which none but her servants dwelt, was taken by the valour and resolution of the assailants at the first assault. A party of Rajputs who had resolved to die, fought most desperately till they were all cut down. A number of Brahmans who for many years had served the temple never gave one thought to flight and were killed.

During the struggle nearly 200 black cows, belonging to the Hindus, had crowded together for shelter in the temple. Some savage Turks, while the arrows and bullets were falling like rain, killed these cows one by one. They then took off their boots and filled them with the blood, and cast it upon the roof and walls of the temple.

The outer fortifications having fallen, the buildings were destroyed and levelled to make a camping ground. After this the fort was invested. ¹ *Sābāts* (approaches) were formed and a mound commanding the fort was raised. Some large guns were also placed upon a neighbouring hill, and were fired several times a day upon the fort and the residence of the Rāja. One day the Commander of the artillery fired a large gun upon a place which the Rāja had thought to be safe, and in which he was sitting at meat. The ball struck the walls, and killed nearly eighty people who were within the building, among them was Bhuj Dev, son of Rāja Takht Mal (of Nurpur)."

"In the beginning of Shawwāl letters came from Lahore with the intelligence that Ibrahim Husain Mirza had crossed the Satlada (Satluj), and was marching upon Dipālpur. Husain Quli Khān held a secret council with the *Amīrs* about the course necessary to be pursued. The army was suffering great hardships, and the dogs in the fortress were anxious for peace, so Husain Quli Khān felt constrained to accede. The infidels undertook to pay a large tribute, five *mans* of gold, Akbarshāhi weight, and various kinds of stuffs for His Majesty. A mosque was founded in front of the palace of Rāja Jai Chandar, and after the completion of the first arch a pulpit was raised, and Hāfiz Muhammad Bakir read the *Khutba* in the name of the Emperor on Friday, in the middle of Shawwāl A.H. 980, 19th Feby., A.D. 1573. As he repeated the titles of the Emperor gold was showered upon his head. When peace was concluded, the *Khutba* read, and the coins stamped with the Emperor's name, Husain Quli Khān marched away."

The account of the siege in the *Ma'āsir-ul-Umarā* (Vol. I, pp. 647-8) is similar to that already given, but in the *Akbarnāmah* we find several additional details of considerable interest, and therefore give it in full: "The rebel Mirzas thought that as Khān Jahān and the other nobles in the Punjab were occupied in the siege of Nagarkot, there was a chance of success for them in that province. If they failed they would return through Sindh to Gujrat. Husain Quli Khān, in obedience to the Emperor's instructions, sent a letter of advice into Nagarkot fort. The advice was not taken. The loyal nobles proceeded there and invested it.²

"When Raja Jai Chand left to come to Akbar's Court he prudently left his own

¹ A *sābāt* is a broad (covered) way under the shelter of which the assailants approach a fortress, secure from the fire of guns and muskets, *sarkob*, meaning "Catapults" in the *Ma'āsir-ul-Umarā*.

² *Akbarnāmah*, Cawnpore Ed., Vol. 3, p. 6.

son, Bidhi Chand, a minor, in charge of Rāja Gobind Chand, Jaiswāl. At this period the said Rāja came and entered the fort and set to work to prepare it for a siege. The taking of the fort was close at hand when news came of the rising of the Mirza Ibrahim Husain and his occupation of the Punjab.”¹

“On hearing of this trouble the nobles began to consult. Muhib Ali Khān and Mirza Yusuf Khān and Kurram Khān and Fatu and others resolved that the matter (siege) ought to be arranged, and leaving the hill country they should return to the plains of the Punjab, and before the arrival of the rebel get ready an army against him. Khān Jahān and others, as they had undergone great labour and had nearly taken the fort, were desirous of a full success, would not take a wide view and could not bring their minds to making peace. The nobles replied, “It is easy to see the extent of profit or loss from the capture or non-capture of the fort, but the disturbing report of this deceiver is a big business.” Khān Jahān said, “If I make terms the result of the council held must be recorded in writing and each man must append his seal. Thus if raising the siege fails in securing the Emperor’s approval, you nobles will be obliged to supply the answer. The nobles then signed and negotiations were decided on.”

“The Rāja (Gobind Chand) looked on the offer of terms as a stroke of good fortune and was delighted. The conditions of peace were four in number: 1st, That the Rāja shall send a daughter into the harem of the Emperor. 2nd, That he will furnish a satisfactory tribute. 3rd, That he will send with us for our satisfaction a man of trust and character, some relative, so that in case the Emperor disapproves of the terms, the man may remain until the fort is evacuated. 4th, Since this country has been allotted as the *jāgīr* of Rāja Birbar, a large sum shall be paid him to induce him to renounce it.”

“The Rāja considered all these four conditions as beneficial to himself.”

“Khān Jahān suggested a fifth condition, viz. that Rāja Gopi Chand (Gobind Chand) should come in and present himself. To reassure him several of the brethren of Mirza Yusuf Khān would enter and remain in the fort until the Rāja came, or else Mirza Yusuf Khān and Khurram Khān should remain in the fort. In the end the brethren of Mirza Yusuf Khān were sent, and the Rāja, taking these envoys with him, came into the camp. Having had an interview with Khān Jahān he took his leave. The glorious army then made resolve to expel the (rebel) Mirza (from the Punjab).”

“A short time only had elapsed when the Rāja returned, and by way of submissiveness made the proposal that at a time when they were marching against the enemy, he could not stay idle at home. Thus with excess of zeal he joined himself with the fortunate army. The Mirza, plundering as he went, had reached the border of Diyālpur (Dipālpur), and there he heard of the march of the loyal nobles. He was in consternation and reduced to helplessness. He gave up the idea of reaching Lahore and started in the direction of Multān.”

¹ The Mirzas belonged to a branch of the Mughal royal family descended from Timur, and they aspired to the throne. After many contests they were all defeated and captured or killed. Cf. Elphinstone, *History*, 1857, pp. 438 and 441-2-3.

From the above account it would seem that Rāja Jai Chand had voluntarily obeyed the imperial order to repair to court, where he was placed in confinement. But before leaving Kāngra he placed his son, a minor, in charge of his kinsman—Gobind Chand—the Rāja of Jaswān, who discharged his duty faithfully. In the latter account, it will be noted, there is no mention of the building of a mosque in front of Jai Singh's palace, nor of the reading of the *Khutba*, and Khān Jahān does not seem to have even entered the fort, which was left in possession of the Katoch garrison. The siege had lasted about three months when it was raised.

It was probably after this expedition that Akbar deputed his great finance minister, Todar Mal, to Kāngra, in order to create an imperial demesne by confiscations of territory from the hill states. On presenting himself before his royal master after the completion of his mission, he is reported to have made use of the metaphor, that he 'had taken the meat and left the bones,' meaning thereby that he had annexed all the fertile tracts, leaving nothing but the bare hills to the hill chiefs. The portion of the demesne taken from Kāngra seems to have included sixty-six villages in the valley; and the whole of Rihlu was annexed from Chamba, with similar confiscations according to their means from the territories of other hill states.¹

Cunningham indeed affirms that in Akbar's reign the Kāngra fort was permanently occupied by imperial troops, but this is incorrect. We now know that the fort was not captured and permanently garrisoned by the Mughals till A.D. 1620 in the reign of Jahāngir. It is also distinctly stated by one of the historians that Akbar failed in his attempt to capture the fort, and this seems to have been the only expedition sent against it during his reign.

After the siege there is no further mention of Nagarkot in the Muhammadan histories till A.D. 1582. Akbar was then on his way to the Indus and had reached Dasuhah (near Hoshiyarpur) when on hearing of the cutting out of tongues, practised in the Devi temple at Kāngra, he wished to see the place and verify the story. He was, however, prevented from carrying out his purpose by a dream or spiritual apparition during the night.² The incident is thus related in the Akbarnāmah: "His Majesty heard of the cutting out of tongues and their restoration and desired to verify the story. He was then not far from the spot and the story was again told him. On the 15th Safar, 990 A.H. (21st March, A.D. 1582), he started with a small retinue. At the first stage, Rāja Jai Chand arrived to pay his respects, and as it was one watch after nightfall the town of Daisohah (Dasuhah) was selected for passing the night. Rāja Birbar who held it in *Fazul* (rent-free land) provided all necessities and presented offerings. The attendants were worn out with the hardships of the road, but from the respect imposed by the Emperor's Majesty they dared not say anything. In the night a spiritual form, with which opposition to an act is associated, appeared as a face in the sleeping apartment, and pleading the imperial dignity turned him (Akbar) from that enterprise. He communicated the fact of this

¹ Kāngra Settlement Report, 1889, p. 8.

² *Akbarnāmah*, Cawnpore Ed., Vol. III, p. 204; also cf. *Ma'āsir-ul-Umarā*, ii. 186.

apparition as soon as morning dawned. He turned back. All were greatly relieved. Between Khondwāl and Gaim Adhan a bridge was thrown over the Biāh, and on the 17th (23rd March, A.D. 1582) they reached Kalanaur."

From the above it is clear that Akbar did not visit Nagarkot on the occasion referred to, and also that he had not done so previous to this.¹ The following extract from the *Ma'āsir-ul-Umarā* seems to prove that he did not do so at any subsequent date: "Akbar had strong desires for conquest, reigned for a long period and was not averse from taking it (Kāngra), this region being in the border of the imperial territories. On one occasion the Rāja of that place for some reason or another incurred Akbar's displeasure. He granted the territory to Rāja Bīrbar and detached a force under the command of Husain Qulī Khān, Khān Jahān, Governor of the Punjab. While he was making the investment stricter and stricter the revolt of Ibrāhīm Husain Mirza took place. Forced by circumstances he (Khān Jahān) made friends with the Rāja² and started in pursuit (of the Mirzas). Subsequently Rāja Jai Chand, the lord of that country, sent in without a break his tribute, and came to kiss the felicity-conferring threshold of the Emperor." It would thus appear that Rāja Jai Chand was set at liberty soon after the siege and resumed his position as ruler of the State. The cutting out of tongues, referred to by Akbar's historians, seems to have been practised from very ancient times in the temple of Bhawan at Kāngra; and occasionally cases occur even now. The belief among the people is that the tongue, thus cut out as an offering to the goddess, is restored within a few hours or days. We find the following notice of the practice in the *Ma'āsir-ul-Umarā*.³ "Near the town is the idol temple of Mahāmāi, known as Durga Bhawāni. They believe it to be an incarnation of God, and pilgrims from afar come to visit it and carry away the desire of their hearts. A wonder is that with the hope of fulfilment they cut out their tongues. To some it grows again in an hour or two, with others it takes one or two days. Although the learned in science consider that the tongue is always growing, yet for it to do it so speedily is a marvel, and they account for it as a miracle due to sleeping with Mahādev. The wise men of their sect ascribe it to the potency of his name."

The following on the same subject is from the *Hadiqāt-ul-Aqālīm* of Shekh Mur-tazā Khān, Bilgrāmi, written about A.D. 1781: "In the same Duāba, within the boundary of Lahore, is a hill country of which the name is Nagarkot. It has an exceedingly lofty fortress. At the foot of these hills, below Nagarkot, a domed edifice has been built. The Hindus connect this with Bhawāni. Inside it is a block of stone, quite unadorned, a mere lump of rock. This stone is worshipped by the Hindus with profound reverence. Twice a year crowds, young and old, rich and poor, come bare-footed to adore it. The supplicants cut out their tongues with their own hands, and by aid of their faith they find in a few hours, and some in a few days, that a new and perfect tongue has regrown."

¹ *Ma'āsir-ul-Umarā*, ii. 186.

² Badauni says, Husain Quli Khan patched up a peace with the Hindus.

³ *Ma'āsir-ul-Umarā*, ii. 184.

¹ According to local tradition, Akbar was told that Kāngra was famous for four things:—

1. The manufacture of new noses.
2. The treatment of eye diseases.
3. *Bāsmati* rice.
4. The strong fort.

The operation for the restoration of the nose which was for centuries performed at Kāngra is said to have originated in the time of Akbar. The cutting off of the nose was a common form of punishment under the former rulers of India, and on one occasion when the Emperor had ordered a criminal's nose to be cut off, he appeared soon afterwards with a new nose. On asking how it had been acquired, Akbar was told that one Budya, a surgeon of his own, had performed the operation. He was rewarded by receiving a *jāgīr* in Kāngra, under a title-deed which is said to be still in the possession of his descendants. The *jāgīr*, however, was resumed a long time ago under Sikh rule. Mr. Vigne, who gives this information, asked to see the title-deed but it was not shown, though he met two practitioners of the art, who however were unwilling to make any communication on the subject. The operation continued to be practised till long after the beginning of British rule in the Punjab.

² Sir A. Cunningham who visited Kāngra soon after the annexation of the hills has the following note on the subject: "I could learn nothing about the eyes, but the repair of noses still goes on, although greatly fallen off since the close of Sikh rule, when amputation of the nose was a common punishment. But people still come from Kabul and Nepāl to be treated. Noses lost by disease are said to defy restoration, but if so the disease cannot have been cured."

Cunningham also remarks that it is strange that there is no mention of the practice by Abul Fazl, although perhaps it may not have come into use until late in Akbar's reign, after the *Āin-i-Akbari* had been completed.

³ With regard to the method of performing the operation, Vigne says: "I learned that they first give the patient a sufficient quantity of opium, bhang or wine to render him senseless, they then tap the skin of the forehead above the nose, until a sort of blister arises, from which a piece of skin of the proper shape is then cut and immediately applied as a nose, sewed on and supported with pieces of cotton. The wound is then dressed with an ointment in which blue vitriol is an ingredient. The surgeons practise on the credulity of the Hindus by telling them that all that is done is by favour of the Devi or spirit who is featureless, and the operation would succeed nowhere else but at Kot Kāngra. On my way to and from the place I saw several persons who had been operated on and were returning homewards, looking quite proud of their new acquisition, which was, however, but a sorry substitute for the old feature."

Bidhi Chand, A.D. 1585.—Rāja Jai Chand died in A.D. 1585 and was succeeded

¹ A.S.R. Vol. V, pp. 168-9; cf. Vigne, *Travels*, Vol. I, pp. 140-1. Traditionally Akbar is said to have besieged Kot Kangra for ten years, during which time he made the garden of Ram Bagh and remained to eat the first fruit of the mango trees which he had planted. Forster makes the time only one year; a similar tradition is related in connection with the siege of Tāragāh in the reign of Shāhjahān.

² Arch. Survey Reports, Vol. V, pp. 168-9.

³ Vigne, *Travels*, Vol. I, p. 141.

by Bidhi Chand. The hill chiefs had not yet become reconciled to Mughal supremacy and soon after Bidhi Chand's accession a secret confederation seems to have been formed led by Bidhi Chand, embracing most of the States in the outer hills between Jammu and Kāngra. In the 35th year of Akbar A.D. 1588-9 they all broke out into rebellion and Zain Khān Koka, Akbar's foster-brother, was sent with a large force to bring them into subjection. He marched through the hills from Pathankot to the Satluj, and on their submission, thirteen of the hill chiefs accompanied him to Court, and tendered their allegiance, at the same time presenting valuable presents to the Emperor. The *Ain-i-Akbari* says:—"Most of them, as Rāja Budi (Bidhi) Chand of Nagarkot, Rāi Partāp of Mankot, Rāja Parasrām of Mount Jammu, Raja Bāsu of Mau, Rāi Balbhadar of Lukhinpur, etc., submitted and accompanied Zain Khān Koka to Court, though they had an army of 10,000 horse and a lakh of foot soldiers."¹

The following is a translation of the note in the *Ma'āsir-ul-Umarā*:—"In the thirty-fifth year of Akbar Zain Khān received an order to punish the northern zamindars (petty chiefs). From near Pathān (Pathānkot) he advanced and did not turn his face till he reached the Satluj. All the dwellers in the territories became submissive, Raja Bidhi Chand of Nagarkot, Raja Parasram of Mount Jammu, Raja Bāsu of Mau, Raja Anrudh of Jaswan, Raja Kamluri (Kahluri-Bilāspur). Raja Jogdes Chand, Dahwāl (Dadwāl), Rai Sansār Chand of Panna, Rai Partāp of Mankot, Rai Bhaso (Bhabu) Buzurg of Jasrota, Rai Balbhadar of Lakhanpur, Daulat of Kot Bharta, Rai Krishan Ballauria (Basohli), Rai Raodeh Dhamerwāl, although they had 10,000 horsemen and more than one lakh of footmen submitted and presented themselves at Court with valuable presents." It appears that the whole of the hill states between the Chinab and the Satluj were in revolt and Zain Khān wisely entered the hills at Pathānkot midway between the two extremes, so that as a good strategist he might divide the enemies' forces and conquer them in detail. A force was doubtless sent westward towards Jammu while he led the main army towards the Satluj. It is noteworthy that Chamba, Kulu, Mandi and Suket are not mentioned, but we may conclude that all the States between the Chinab and the Ravi in alliance with Jammu were invoked. Almost all the names can be easily identified except Panna and Kot Bharta. The last name in the list probably refers to a subordinate chiefship under Dhameri or Nurpur. Bharta may possibly be a clerical error for Bhadu, a small state near Basohli.

On their submission they were all considerably dealt with and had their territories and honours restored, but Bidhi Chand had to leave his son, Triloka Chand, then a boy, as a hostage at the Mughal Court. Prince Salīm (Jahāngīr) was also then a boy and the people of Kāngra have a story that when he and Triloka Chand were together at Delhi, the latter had a parrot which Jahāngīr wished to possess, but the young Rājput prince would not part with it. On this account Jahāngīr, it is said, cherished a grudge against Triloka Chand and marched against him on becoming Emperor.

¹ *Ain-i-Akbari*, trans. I, p. 344; also *Ma'āsir-ul-Umarā*, Vol. II, p. 160.

¹In the 41st year of Akbar (A.D. 1594-5) there was another rebellion among the hill chiefs, led by the Rāja of Jasrota, but Bidhi Chand does not seem to have been involved in it, though Rāja Bāsu of Nurpur was, and a force under Mirzā Rustam Qandahāri was sent against him which entered the hills at Pathankot. A force under Shekh Farid, the Emperor's Bakhshi or Paymaster, was also sent to suppress the rising and marched through the outer hills from Jammu by Jasrota and Maukot to Guler, and the Rāni of Kāngra sent envoys with presents, her son being then at Court. Possibly Bidhi Chand also was then at the Mughal Court. The following reference is from the *Akbarnāmah*² :—

“Having left Husain Beg there at Jasrota with a garrison, the army proceeded towards Lakhanpur. The Raja came out to meet it. The *pargana* was given to Muhammad Khan Turkaman and a sufficient garrison was placed in the fort. Then the army crossed the Rāvi by a ford and proceeded to the *pargana* of Pathān. Next day it marched to Mau, a *pargana* under the authority of Bāsu. At this time Bāsu was at Court, but his son had at the first come forward and accompanied the army. He was now told that he ought to seize the opportunity for sending a suitable offering, in acknowledgment of the country having been graciously confirmed to him. The son of Bāsu sent two vakils to invite the Bakhshi to his house, a fort on the top of a hill, to receive the tribute. So the chief men of the army proceeded with an escort Mu (Mau), which is a very strong fort. Excepting some cultivated land immediately adjoining the fort, the whole hill is covered with impenetrable jungle. The road through is very narrow, and in places strong gates are erected across it. At the foot of the hill there is also cultivated land, and around it there are stone walls and deep ditches. The country around is exceedingly pleasant, the gardens are full of fruit trees, and there are plenty of running streams. Bāsu's residence was a fine extensive building. The place was visited and examined and after Bāsu's Vakils had discharged the duties of hospitality, the tribute was brought forth consisting of valuable horses and fine cloths. The other territories of the neighbourhood which had been held by rebellious Rājas and Zamindārs were granted to *jāgirdārs* as *tankhwāh* (salary).”

“The army then proceeded to Gwaliār (Guler) which is also a strong fort belonging to a different Rāja, who came out to meet the army and show his loyalty. The Rāni of Nagarkot whose son was at the imperial Court, sent her Vakīl to pay his respects. On every side the rebels were compelled to submit and show their obedience. All the country which had been in the hands of the rebels, from Jammu to Nagarkot, was reduced, and the Rājas and Zamindārs made their submission or received merited punishment. In fact the country was subjugated in a manner it had never been before.”

“The affairs of the clan of Jaswāl who are Zamindārs with a (common) army, now had to be settled. But when they heard of the approach of the royal army

¹ *Akbarnāmah*, Elliot's History, Vol. VI, pp. 125 to 129; also *Ma'āsir-ul-Umarā*, Vol. II, pp. 167-170, and I.P.H.S. Vol. VI, No. 2, p. 110.

² *Akbarnāmah*, Elliot's History, Vol. VI, pp. 126-9.

and of the reduction of the territories of the Zamindārs all hope of successful resistance was beaten out of them, and they made humble submission."

After having carried the campaign to a successful issue Shaikh Farīd was recalled to Lahore where Akbar then was and travelled from Jaswān *via* Dasuha and Batāla, reaching his destination in three days, a very expeditious journey in those times. He then paid his respects to the Emperor and received great rewards. Shaikh Farīd afterwards received the title of Murtazā Khān for his services at the siege of Kangra Fort in A.D. 1613-14, in collaboration with Suraj Mal of Nurpur, but died soon after.

The rest of Bidhi Chand's reign seems to have passed uneventfully and he died about A.D. 1605.

Triloka Chand, A.D. 1605.—Jahāngīr succeeded to the throne in A.D. 1605 but it was not till A.D. 1615¹ that he sent a force against Kāngra, under the command of Shekh Farīd Murtazā Khān, Governor of the Panjab, the same who commanded in A.D. 1594-5. The invasion of Kāngra is said to have occurred in consequence of the grudge already referred to, entertained by Jahāngīr against Triloka Chand, but Cunningham, with more probability, conjectures that it was the result of the Katoch Chief having revived the local coinage in his own name, a right which had not been exercised either by his father or his grandfather. According to local tradition the fort surrendered after three days' siege and the Rāja was assigned the district of Rājgir, as a *jāgīr*, yielding one lakh of rupees.

² The *Tārīkh-i-Panjāb*, by Ghulam Muhai-ud-din of Ludhiāna, finished in 1820, has a different version of this story. According to it the Katoch Prince was Hari Chand, son of Triloka Chand, but this is probably an error. The version is as follows:—

"On being asked for the parrot by Jahangīr the Rajput prince replied, "We have sent *Bāz* (hawks) and *Jurah* (crystal) in our tribute to the Emperor: this wretched bird I have retained for my own pleasure and to practise with. Whenever given leave from the imperial court, I will return home and send *Bāz* and *Jurah* together with this poor creature as a present. As Akbar favoured Hari Chand, Jahangīr dared not use force to seize the bird but retained a grudge against the boy. When Hari Chand reached Kāngra again he sent *Bāz* and *Jurah* to the Prince. Jahangīr would not accept them. At the time Rāja Trilok Chand died, Akbar also quitted this transitory scene and Jahangīr succeeded his father. The hill Rājas attended to make obeisance and present their offerings, Raja Hari Chand among them. He knew that Jahangīr had a concealed grudge against him and before he left home he ordered his mother to put their fort in a state of defence. As his mother was a daughter of the Raja of Chamba, she summoned her brother from Chamba and he remained in the fort at Kāngra."

"Openly Jahangīr loaded Hari Chand and the other Rājas with favours, but

¹ The order seems to have been first issued in H. 1021 = A.D. 1612-13. Cf. *Ma'āsir-ul-Umara* ii. 638.

² This History was written at the request of Captain Murray, Political Officer in Ludhiana, who died about 1830.

issued secret orders for his seizure and imprisonment. He heard of the design and fled with two or three personal attendants. When he had covered several stages the news reached Jahāngīr and he sent troops in pursuit. He was overtaken when he had reached the village of Kiratpur, five kos from Anandpur, and was forced to defend himself and was slain on the spot."

"The imperial force continued its march to Kāngra, but owing to the orders to strengthen the fort, given by Hari Chand on his departure, none of the places could be taken. They concentrated their efforts on the capital and its fort. It is said that the siege was prolonged for four years. When the supplies inside the fort were exhausted, the son of the Chamba Raja, on promise of favours being granted the kingdom, yielded up the fort to the imperial troops. Hari Chand's mother either killed herself with a sword or plunged into a reservoir."

"As agreed upon, the Emperor conferred a *jāgīr* out of the Kāngra territory on the Chamba prince, which remained with Chamba till A.D. 1824 = S. 1881. In that year Maharaja Ranjit Singh took it, instead of tribute money, and delivered to Wazīr Nathu an agreement not to interfere with the rest of the territories. But dues to the amount of Rs. 8,000 were taken as before. The territory of Bhadrawāh was also given to him (Chamba)."

The story in the *Tārīkh-i-Panjāb* is evidently confused and inaccurate, and the version which refers the incident of the parrot to Tiloka Chand is doubtless the correct one. Hari Chand, son of Triloka Chand, was only twelve years old in A.D. 1620 and did not succeed to the *gaddi* till towards the middle of Jahāngīr's reign, whereas Triloka Chand was a contemporary of Jahāngīr's and about the same age. The reference to Chamba is also incorrect, as Rihlu, the tract said to have been granted in *jāgīr*, had been Chamba territory from early times, and was included by Todar Maī in the confiscations to form the imperial demesne, of which it remained a part till about A.D. 1752, when it was recovered by the Chamba Chief, and finally annexed, as stated, by Ranjit Singh about A.D. 1823.

It is possible, however, that the tradition may be a reminiscence of an early invasion of Kāngra not recorded in the histories, soon after Jahāngīr ascended the throne, in which Triloka Chand was killed. He must have been alive till A.D. 1609-10 as his son, Hari Chand, was only twelve years of age at the capture of the fort in A.D. 1620. It is noteworthy that Triloka Chand's name is not mentioned in connection with the invasion and investment of A.D. 1615. We may, therefore, suppose that he died or was killed about A.D. 1610 and that Hari Chand then succeeded as an infant.

Hari Chand II. c. A.D. 1610.—The Mohammedan historians give a wholly different account of the invasion, which is no doubt the true one. Jahāngīr himself in his Memoirs tells us that the force for the siege of Kāngra Fort was dismissed on its mission on the 11th Farwardin, A.H. 1024 = 1st or 2nd April A.D. 1615, that is, ten years after his accession. He says:—"Murtazā Khān on this day obtained leave to go for

¹ *Tuzuk-i-Jahāngiri*, Vol. I, p. 283, trans. 1909.

the capture of the fort of Kāngra, the equal of which for strength they cannot point to in the hill country of the Punjab or even all the habitable world. From the time when the sound of Islām reached the country of Hindustan up to this auspicious time, when the throne of rule has been adorned by this suppliant at the throne of Allah, none of the rulers or kings has obtained possession of it. Once in the time of my revered father, the army of the Punjab was sent against this fort and besieged it for a long time. At length they came to the conclusion that the fort was not to be taken, and the army was sent off to some more necessary business. When he was dismissed I gave Murtazā Khān a private elephant with trappings. Rāja Suraj Mal, son of Rāja Bāsu, as his country was near that fort, was also appointed and his previous *mansab* was increased by 500 *personnel* and horse.” He also tells us that he “released Rāja Mān, who was in confinement in the fort of Gwalior (the State prison) on the security of Murtazā Khān, and confirming his *mansab*, sent him to the said Khān for duty at the fort of Kangra.”¹

Jahāngir does not tell us who Rāja Mān was, but we may conclude that he was a Rajput chief of Rajputana, probably Anber or Jaipur. Suraj Mal, son of Rāja Bāsu, was then Rāja of Nurpur, having succeeded his father in A.D. 1613, and as we have seen, he was sent by the Emperor to assist in the siege of Kāngra fort. He was, however, far from being loyal and when he saw that the fort was on the point of surrendering, he began to stir up trouble so as to hinder the operations and prevent the capitulation. He was therefore recalled to Court and soon afterwards Murtazā Khān died and the siege was held in abeyance, after having lasted nearly a year. The reference in the *Ma'āsir-ul-Umarā* is as follows:—

“When by the exertions of the Shekh (Murtazā Khān) the besieged (Kāngra Fort) were reduced to extremities and he (Suraj Mal) saw that a victory could not be far off, he set to work to hinder the operations and make them a failure, bound round his waist the covering of erroneous conduct and raised arguments and opposition against the men of the said Khān. Murtaza Khān wrote to the imperial court that Suraj Mal's actions betrayed signs of disloyalty and rebellion. Seeing that the presence in those hills of a capable commander such as Murtazā Khān, at the head of a large force, made his preparations for disturbance and disorder impossible, he was forced to apply to the Prince (Shāhjāhān), sending to him a petition that Murtazā Khān, instigated by designing persons, had conceived a dislike to him, and casting on him the suspicion of turbulence and rebellion, was laying plans for uprooting him. He prayed that he (Shāhjāhān) would act as the saviour of his life and the means of his deliverance, fortune having abandoned him, by causing him to be summoned to the imperial court.”

“At the time of these occurrences, early in the 11th year of Jahāngir (A.D. 1616) Murtazā Khān folded up the carpet of existence, and the reduction of the fort was held in abeyance. He (Suraj Mal) in pursuance of a request made by the Prince (Shāhjāhān) was recalled to the imperial court and was received with favour.

¹ *Ibid.*, 301.

² *Ma'āsir-ul-Umarā*, ii. 176, 177.

Shortly afterwards he was attached to the Prince's force, then about to proceed to the Dakhan (October A.D. 1616)."

In the *Tūzūk-i-Jahāngīrī* the Emperor thus refers to this incident: ¹ "On the 20th of the same month (Bahmān), Rāja Suraj Singh (Mal), son of Rāja Baso, who on account of the nearness of his dwelling-place to it had been sent with Murtazā Khān to capture the fort of Kāngra, came on my summons and waited on me. The aforesaid Khān had entertained certain suspicions with regard to him, and on this account, considering him an undesirable companion, had repeatedly sent petitions to the court and wrote things about him until an order was received to summon him."

Soon after Suraj Mal's recall, Murtazā Khān was taken ill and died at Pathānkot. The event is thus referred to by Jahāngīr. ² "On the 3rd of this month (Khurdād), the news of the death of Murtazā Khān came. He was one of the ancients of this State. My revered father had brought him up and raised him to a position of consequence and trust. In my reign also he obtained the grace of noteworthy service, namely, the overthrow of Khusrāu. His *mansab* had been raised to 6000 and 5000 horse. As he was at this time Subadār of the Punjāb he had undertaken the capture of Kāngra, to which in strength no other fort in the hill country of that province, or even in the whole inhabited world, can be compared. He had obtained leave to go on this duty. I was much grieved in mind at this news." *Tūzūk.*, trans., p. 324.

² After the death of Murtazā Khān in the early spring of A.D. 1616, Rāja Mān, already mentioned, seems to have been in command and acted loyally and gave encouragement to the force besieging the fort. Evidently the place had all but surrendered, for we are told that Rāja Mān had made an arrangement to bring to court the son of the Rāja of Kāngra, who is said to have been 29 years old.³ On his return to court, Rāja Mān received a higher *mansab* and was appointed leader in the attack on the fort, presumably in succession to Murtazā Khān, and all the men to accompany him were also designated by the Emperor.

⁴ The note is as follows: "News came that after the death of Murtazā Khān loyalty was shown by Rāja Mān, and that after giving encouragement to the men of the fort of Kāngra, an arrangement had been made that he should bring to court the son of the Rāja of that country, who was 29 years old. In consequence of his great zeal in this service I fixed his *mansab*, which was 1000 *personnel* and 800 horse, at 1500 *personnel* and 1000 horse."

"After the death of Murtazā Khān, Rāja Mān and many of the auxiliary Sirdars had come to court on this duty. At the request of I'timād-ud-daulah, I appointed Rāja Mān as the leader in the attack on the fort of Kāngra. I appointed all the men to accompany him, and according to the condition and rank of each made him happy with a present, a horse, an elephant, a robe of honour, or money, and gave them leave." It seems probable that his real appointment was as governor of the Punjab in succession to Murtazā Khān.

¹ *Tūzūk-i-Jahāngīrī*, trans. 1909, Vol. I, p. 311.

² *Tūzūk-i-Jahāngīrī*, Vol. I, pp. 326, 336.

³ This must refer to the son of a previous Raja as Hari Chand was then only a child.

⁴ *Tūzūk.*, Vol. I, pp. 326 and 336

¹He, however, never reached his destination. "When he arrived at Lahore he heard that Sangrām, one of the Zamindars (Chiefs) of the hill country of the Punjab, had attacked his place and taken possession of a part of his province. Considering it of the first importance to drive him out, he went against him. As Sangrām had not the power to oppose him, he left the country of which he had taken possession, and sought refuge in difficult hills and places. Rāja Mān pursued him there and in his great pride, not looking to the means by which he could advance and retreat, came up to him with a small force. When Sangrām saw that he had no way to flee by, in accordance with this couplet:—

*Chun waqt-i-zarurat na mānad gurez
Daste ba-gīrad sir-i-shamsher tez.*

In time of need when no (way of) flight is left,
"The hand seizes the haft of the sharp sword."

"A fight took place, and according to what was decreed, a bullet struck Rāja Mān and he delivered his soul to the Creator thereof. His men were defeated and a great number of them killed. The remainder, wounded, abandoned their horses and arms, and with a hundred alarms escaped half dead." The siege of Kangra fort was then abandoned for a time.²

³Though baffled in his first attempt to capture Kangra Fort, Jahāngīr did not abandon the enterprise, and when a letter was laid before him in the autumn of A.D. 1617 from Suraj Mal of Nurpur, asking permission to reinvest the fort, and capture it, the project was at once revived. Suraj Mal had returned from the Dakhan along with Shāhjahān and seems to have been anxious to find a pretext for getting back to the hills. The letter was addressed to Shāhjahān and in it Suraj Mal gave an undertaking to capture the fortress within a year. Jahāngīr confided the matter to Shāhjahān for inquiry as to the feasibility of the proposal, and on receiving a favourable report the enterprise was sanctioned and all arrangements connected with it were entrusted to the Prince. He selected Suraj Mal and Shāh Quli Khān Mohammad Taqi, his own Bakhshi or paymaster, for the command, and on their waiting on the Emperor and stating their requirements for the siege, the engagement to perform the duty was finally approved. Before leaving, Suraj Mal was honoured with a standard and drums and was also presented with a *khilat* or dress of honour, an elephant and a jewelled *khopwa* (dagger), and Muhammad Taqi with a *khilat*. They were then ordered to start for Kāngra, and were dismissed by the Emperor on the 17th Mihr, A.H. 1026 (September A.D. 1617).⁴

The following reference occurs in the Memoirs: "On the 12th Shahryār (12th Sept. A.D. 1617) a letter came from my son, Khurram (Shāhjahān), that Rāja Suraj Mal, son of Raja Baso, whose territory is near the fort of Kāngra, had promised that in the course of a year he would bring the fort into the possession of the servants of

¹ *Tūzūk-i-Jahāngirī*, Vol. I, pp. 361-2.

² This was in the end of A.D. 1616 or in January 1617. Raja Sangrām was probably the ruler of Jammu.

³ *Tūzūk-i-Jahāngirī*, Vol. I, p. 388.

⁴ *Tūzūk-i-Jahāngirī*, trans. Rogers and Beveridge, Vol. I, p. 392.

the victorious State. He (Khurram) also sent his (Suraj Mal's) letter which covenanted for this. I ordered that after comprehending his desires and wishes and satisfying himself with regard to them, he should send off the Rāja to wait on me, so that he might set about the said duty." ¹

Shāhjahān seems to have been quite satisfied as to the feasibility of the undertaking and reported accordingly. Suraj Mal was selected to command the expedition in association with Muhammad Taqi, the prince's Bakhshi or paymaster, and both were presented to the Emperor for final sanction of all requirements for the siege. In the *Tūzūk-i-Jahāngīrī* we find the following note: "On the 13th (Mīhr) Rāja Suraj Mal, together with Taqi, the *bakhshi*, who was in attendance on Bābā Khurram, came and waited on me. He (Suraj Mal) represented all his requirements. His engagement to perform the work was approved and at the request of my son he was honoured with a standard and drums. To Taqi who had been appointed with him, a jewelled *Khafwa* (dagger) was given, and it was arranged that he should finish his own affairs and start off quickly..... On the same day (17th Mīhr), after presenting Suraj Mal with a dress of honour, an elephant and a jewelled *Khafwa*, and Taqi with a dress of honour, I gave them leave to proceed on duty to Kāngra." ²

Suraj Mal, however, was insincere throughout; his only object seemingly being to get back to the hills to raise trouble. This danger was foreseen by some but as the arrangements were in Shāhjahān's hands no one could advise, though, as the historian remarks, "it was utterly opposed to the rules of care and caution to allow Suraj Mal to re-enter the hill country."

Soon after reaching Kāngrā he began to quarrel with Muhammad Taqi, with a view to get rid of him, so that he (Suraj Mal) might be left in sole command. He sent complaints to Shāhjahān, that the Bakhshi was incompetent and that the siege was being delayed. Muhammad Taqi was therefore recalled. Having now a free hand, Suraj Mal, on the pretext that their supplies were exhausted, dispersed many of the imperial contingents to their *jāgīrs* for re-equipment, in anticipation of the arrival of the new commander. Having in this way weakened the Mughal army he began to raise a disturbance, and with his own troops ravaged the *parganas* at the foot of the hills, and carried off all he could lay his hands on in the shape of money and movable property. The siege of Kāngrā Fort was thus interfered with and fell into abeyance.

On hearing of the revolt, Jahāngīr, who was then at Ahmadābād, at once despatched one of his commanders, Sundar Das, Rāī Rāīyān, with reinforcements to suppress it. Suraj Mal after sustaining a defeat took refuge in Maukot, and on its capture by a *coup-de-main* he escaped and fled to Nurpur and finally to Chamba where he died in A.D. 1619.

On the occurrence of the outbreak, Jagat Singh, the youngest son of Raja Bāsu of Nurpur, was summoned from Bengal "in the greatest haste" to assist the Mughals,

¹ *Ibid.*, Vol. I, p. 388.

² *Tūzūk-i-Jahāngīrī*, Vol I, pp. 392-3 of 1909

and on his brother's death and the collapse of all resistance, he was made Raja of Nurpur and ordered to join the Rāī-Rāīyān in the siege of Kāngrā Fort, which was resumed on October 4th, A.D. 1619.

The garrison made a brave resistance and suffered great straits, subsisting on leaves, etc., for some months before the surrender in November A.D. 1620. It was then garrisoned by imperial troops under Nawāb Ali Khān, the first Faujdār or Governor of the hills, and it continued to be so held till A.D. 1783.

There are several references to the final siege of Kāngrā Fort in the time of Jahāngir, both in his own memoirs and in the contemporary histories. In the *Ma'āsir-ul-Umarā* we find the following: "When Jahāngir came to the throne he resolved on conquering it (Kāngrā) and first of all ordered Shekh Farīd Murtazā Khān on the duty, he being then Governor of the Punjab. Before he could carry the campaign to completion he died. Then the work was entrusted to Rāja Suraj Mal. As every matter requires observation of the age and every business depends on the occasion selected, that man of evil disposition hastened to do the reverse of what was desired. At that period, by the strong resolve of the Prince and Heir-apparent (Shāhjahān), and the handsome exertions of Rāja Bikramajit, this knot so long in being untied, began to get unloosed."

"After the return from that campaign (in the Dākhan) he (Suraj Mal) opened a correspondence and undertook the conquest of Kāngrā. Although to allow him to re-enter that hill country was utterly opposed to the rules of care and caution, yet the undertaking having been committed to the charge of the Prince (Shāhjahān) he selected Suraj Mal to command the expedition, jointly with Shāh Quli Khān Muhammad Taqi, the Bakhshi of his own establishment."

"Then having succeeded in his aim, he (Suraj Mal) began to quarrel with Shāh Quli Khān and wrote to the Prince that he found it impossible to get on with the Khān, who was incapable of carrying out the work. If another Commander were appointed it would be quite easy to conquer the fort. In consequence, Shāh Quli Khān was recalled to Court and Rāja Vikramajit, one of the nobles of the Empire, was sent off at the head of reinforcements."

"Considering that his opportunity had arrived, Suraj Mal, before the Rāja Bikramajit reached the spot, began by sending away various bodies of imperialists, on the pretext that, from the length of the campaign, their resources were exhausted. By returning to the *parganas* they held in *jāgīr* they could refurnish themselves, in anticipation of the Rāja's arrival. On their departure, this seeker of an opening for trouble manifested signs of rebellion and disturbance, and stretched forth the hand of oppression and usurpation. He ravaged most of the *parganas* at the foot of the hills, which were in the *jāgīr* of I'timād-ud-daula (father of Nur Jahan Begam) and carried off all he could lay his hands on in the shape of cash and moveables."

"Sayid Safi Bārkhāh, with the remainder of the contingents, who in spite of Suraj Mal's orders giving them leave had not yet departed for their *jāgīrs*, and a

¹ *Ma'āsir-ul-Umarā*, ii. 176-7-8. Cf. J.P.H.S. Vol. VI, No. 2, pp. 112-113-114.

body of his own followers made a firm stand and drank the cup of martyrdom. Some were wounded and some attained a safe refuge by swiftness of foot."

¹The remainder of the account is much fuller in the *Bādshāhnāmāh*, and is therefore given. It is as follows:—"Now we turn to the story of Suraj Mal of which a mere hint was given in the course of the narrative about Jagat Singh."

"When Raja Bāsu (of Nurpur) died his son Suraj Mal was raised to his dignities. But from ingratitude he rebelled, just as had been the practice of his turbulent ancestors. By his guile and devices he brought over to his side all the zamindars in the hills north of the Punjab. He then began to ravage the *parganas* along the foot of the hills in the Punjab. The Emperor Jahāngīr, then in Ahmadabad, Gujarat, heard of this rising and resolved on the extirpation of the rebel and the capture of the strong fortress, of Kāngrā, situated in the hills to the north of Panjab, and on a high mountain."

"For ages none of the rulers of Hindustan who tried to take it had succeeded, not even Akbar. That sovereign sent against it Husain Qulī Khān, Turkmān, entitled Khān Jahān, Governor of the Punjab. The fortress was invested for a long time but the general had to retreat without effecting his purpose. The matter was left over for Jahāngīr to undertake."

"The Emperor had a high opinion of the qualities as soldier and ruler of the Rāī Rāiyān, who had recently returned after obtaining victories over Fath, Jām, and Bihār, rulers of Kachh, bringing them to Court in his train."

"The Emperor on the 23rd Ramzān of 1027 H. (September 13th, A.D. 1618) sent him at the head of a large army from Ahmadābād. The imperial orders were to dispose first of Suraj Mal and then make an attack on Kāngrā Fort."

"The general on reaching the hill country planned to get rid of Suraj Mal. The latter, on learning this intention, sought shelter in Mau Fort.² It was a place of safety belonging to his father and his predecessors. It is surrounded with jungle and trees with closely intertwined branches. There Suraj Mal prepared to stand a siege. Rāī Rāiyān and his men arrived at the foot of the fort and took it by a *coup-de-main* (literally, without dismounting), and after their entry began to slay and capture prisoners and many were killed. While the contest was going on, Suraj Mal found means of escaping and moved on with his followers to the fort of Nurpur. The place had been erected by his father in a very strong position. In ancient days its name was Dhamehri but he changed it to *Nurpur* in honour of the Emperor.³ He made it his home and dwelling-place."

⁴"The Mughals rendered it impossible for him (Suraj Mal) to remain. He fled to Asrāl⁵ which is above Nurpur upon a mountain difficult of access, adjoining the Chambiyāl boundary. It is protected by close-growing trees."

¹ *Bādshāhnāmāh*, p. 285 et seq.

² He had previously tried by flattery and deceit to gain the favour of the Rāī Rāiyān, and then attacked the Mughals and was defeated. Cf. *Ma'āsir-ul-Umarā*, ii. 184-185, 238.

³ Jahāngīr's name was Nur-ud-din.

⁴ Probably Perigarh in Asrāl ka Bāsa, near Kotila, is indicated. Tāragarh had not then been built

⁵ Cf. *Shash Fateh-i-Kangra*. Elliot's History, Vol. VI, pp. 521 to 526.

"When this matter was reported to him, Rāī Rāīyān and his army went in rapid pursuit and invested the fort. As soon as he reached it, Suraj Mal abandoned it also and by swiftness of foot delivered himself from those tigers of the forest of War. He sought protection from the Zamindār of Chambā."

"The Mughals marched back to Nurpur and thence went out to reduce the neighbouring strong places, all difficult of approach and surrounded by thorny trees, viz. Hārā and Thāri and Nesa Nagrota, Sur and Jawāli."

"Their next efforts were directed against fort Kotilah. It lies between Kāngrā and Nurpur and has a stream on three sides of it; the remaining side has a path most difficult to be crossed over. Madhu Singh, brother of Suraj Mal, had taken refuge there. The place was surrounded and in three days it was taken. Mādhu Singh fled and joined his brother. When the whole of Suraj Mal's territory had been occupied Rāī Rāīyān then started for the Chamba State."

"On the way he learned that Suraj Mal had died. He was an ungrateful man who owed his title of Raja and his succession to his father to the recommendations of Shāhjahān (then Prince Khurram). Champāl (Chamba) was written to that his own safety and that of his dominions depended on his forwarding at once the cash and property belonging to Suraj Mal. If he did not he would speedily be destroyed. As he was aware of what had happened to Suraj Mal, he sent his (Suraj Mal's) cash and goods and that fugitive's brother, Mādhu Singh, in charge of his own son and his brother, to the Rāī Rāīyān's camp. Rāī Rāīyān sent them all on to Shahjahan's camp."¹

"As the rains were coming on and no sufficient supplies could be procured it was decided by a Council of War to retire on Nurpur. On the 24th Shawwāl 1028 H. equal to the 1st of Mihr (Oct. 4, A.D. 1619) Kāngrā was invested. Commanders were told off to the various batteries, the excavation of covered ways began and mines with galleries were put in hand. The besieged relied on the strength of their fortress and strengthened their bastions and curtains. Fighting became frequent. The garrison were reduced to such straits from the absence of grain that they stripped the bark from the trees and, boiling it, used it to keep body and soul together. Brought to the last extremity they asked for terms. It is the characteristic of the Mughal dynasty to be merciful and forgiving. Ala' Hazrat (Prince Khurram) out of the generosity of his disposition accepted their petition and applied to Jahāngīr for the pardon of their offences. A *farmān* came stating that they were forgiven, on condition that the fortress be at once made over to Rāī Rāīyān, and they come themselves to the imperial Court. There they would have their lives spared."

"After this imperial order was received, on the 25th Zu'l Hijjah 1029 H., equivalent to the 1st of Adar (20th Nov. A.D. 1620), Hari Singh, son of Tilok Chand, Chief of the garrison, being then twelve years of age, made over the fortress to Rāī Rāīyān. He (Hari Singh) with one, Sikandar, his uncle and chief officer, and

¹ Shahjahan was in charge of the campaign, but does not seem to have accompanied the force under Suraj Mal, but he appears to have joined the Army under Rāī Rāīyān, and probably had his camp at Pathankot.

the rest of the garrison, appeared before the Rāī Rāīyān. He left trusted men in charge of the fortress, and placing Hari Singh and the rest under surveillance he began his march to the Court."

"On an early day in Di of the year 1030 H. (1st Di=Dec. 25th A.D. 1620), on the day when Jahāngīr after his march from Kashmir entered Lahore, he (Rāī Rāīyān) was received in audience. As he had been the victor in such a campaign, on the prayer of Prince Khurram he was made a Raja by Jahāngīr."

The siege had lasted one year two months and some days, as we learn from the *Ma'āsir-ul-Umarā*. It seems clear that Triloka Chand was not then in power. He was probably dead.

¹ Jahāngīr was rejoiced to hear of the capture of Kāngrā Fort, and in his Memoirs we find the following from his own hand: "On Monday 5th Muharram, the joyful intelligence of the conquest of the fort of Kāngrā arrived. Kāngrā is an ancient fort, situated in the hills north of Lahore, and has been renowned for its strength and security from the days of its foundation. The Zamindars (Chiefs) of the Punjab believe that this fort has never passed into the possession of another tribe, and that no stranger's hand has ever prevailed against it, but God knows." Since the day that the sword of Islām and the glory of the Muhammadan religion have reigned in Hindustan, not one of the mighty Sultāns had been able to reduce this fort. Sultān Firoz Shāh, a monarch of great power, besieged it for a long time, but he found that the place was so strong and secure that it was impossible to reduce it, so long as the garrison had provisions. When this humble individual ascended the throne, the capture of this fort was the first of all his designs. He sent Murtazā Khān, Governor of the Punjab, against it with a large force, but Murtazā Khān died before its reduction was accomplished. Chaupar Mal, son of Raja Bāsu, was afterwards sent against it, but that traitor rebelled, his army was broken up and the fall of the fortress was deferred. Not long after the traitor was made prisoner and executed and went to hell, as has been recorded in the proper place. Prince Khurram was afterwards sent against it with a strong force and many nobles were directed to support him. In the month of Shawwāl, 1029 H., his forces invested the place, the trenches were portioned out, and the ingress of provisions was completely stopped. In time the fortress was in difficulty, no corn or food remained in the place, but for four months longer the men lived upon dry fodder, and similar things which they boiled and ate. But when death stared them in the face, and no hope of deliverance remained, the place surrendered on Monday, Muharram 1, 1031 H." There is a discrepancy in the records as to the actual date of surrender—one authority has 1030 H.=A.D. 1620 and the other 1031 H.=A.D. 1621;² but in any case the news must have travelled

¹ *Wāqīāt-i-Jahāngīrī*. Elliot's History, Vol. VI, pp. 374-5.

According to the *Tūzūk-i-Jahāngīrī* the fort was invested on the 16th of Shawwāl A.H. 1029 (5th September A.D. 1620) and captured on the 1st of Muharram A.H. 1031 (6th November A.D. 1621). The respective dates given in the *Bādshahnāma* are the 24th of Shawwāl A.H. 1028 (24th September 1619) and the 25th of Zu'l Hij A.H. 1029 (11th November 1620).

² Probably the latter date is the correct one as it is the one given by the Emperor himself. The surrender was probably made on 1st Muharram = 20th November, A.D. 1621, as Jahāngīr states that the siege began in Shawwāl (Sept. or Oct.) 1029 H. = A.D. 1620, and it lasted fourteen months.

fast to reach Jahāngīr in ten days at the most, in Kashmir, where he then seems to have been. From the Emperor's note as well as other indications it would appear that Prince Khurram (Shāhjahān) was in command of the expedition, though not actually at Kāngrā. His camp may have been at Nurpur or Pathānkot.

¹ The following extract from the *Shash Fath-i-Kangra*, probably by Jalāla Tibatiba in the reign of Shāhjahān, is given as an example of the flowery and extravagant style of some of the Muhammadan authors. It was written to show the author's ingenuity in composing, in six different styles, the account of the capture of Kangra Fort. The early part of the First Conquest is taken up with an account of the rebellion of Suraj Mal of Nurpur, which was suppressed by the Rāī Rāīyan, also called Rāja Vikramajit. It then continues as follows: "Immediately on approaching the fort (Kangra), he (Rāī Rāīyān) surrounded it with his troops; and although his religion was calculated to make him revolt from such a proceeding, yet, for the sake of his master, he used all his exertions to conquer it. He acted contrary to his creed, of which he was a most devoted adherent, rather than become guilty of disloyalty and ingratitude, and considered the service of his master equal to the service of God; for in this fort there was a temple of Devi; who is one of the greatest goddesses of the Hindus, and to worship which idol people resorted to this place in great numbers from the remotest parts of the country. Raja Bikramajit was one of the most faithful and obedient servants of the throne. He was attached to the Emperor's interests to such a degree that in promoting them he would fear no danger, and there was nothing too difficult to be surmounted by his bold and daring spirit. Although his ancestor did not possess the title of 'Raja,' and hereditary honours did not therefore inspire any confidence in his character, yet by his own meritorious services he obtained the title of Bikramajit, and the *mansab* or rank of a commander of 5,000 horse. Entire power was placed in his hands in the execution of the present command. In short, Bikramajit, having surrounded the fort, ordered intrenchments to be made and mines to be dug in their proper places. Each officer was appointed to a certain service and he himself remained to superintend the whole. He led on several gallant attacks upon the fort. The warriors of the royal army fought very bravely with the enemy, and the Rajputs displayed astonishing feats of valour. The besiegers at last effected a breach in the walls and forced a passage into the fort. A most sanguinary contest ensued. The brave soldiers of the royal army shot a great number of their opponents with their arrows, and like lightning opened a dreadful fire on them. The warriors fought so boldly that they rivalled the celebrated Sām and Narimān in feats of chivalry; and the musketeers threw such a shower of balls that the heavens appeared to have hid themselves under the veil of clouds. The whole atmosphere was filled with the smoke of the guns. The arrows of the archers made so many holes in the shields of their antagonists that they resembled the hives of bees; and the breasts of the fighters, from the wounds they received, became as hollow as the scales of a balance. The nooses which the besiegers threw towards the enemy were so strong that

¹ Elliot's History, Vol. VI, pp. 524-5-6.

they might have drawn down the milky way in the heavens. The musket-balls, which fell at a very great distance and with much velocity, exceeded in number the drops of rain, and the noise of drums drowned that of thunder. The shouts of triumph and the sounds of the musical instruments reached the heavenly regions, and confounded Jupiter in the fifth heaven. At last the opponents, being entirely defeated, found their safety in flight. Although they had made a vigorous resistance, and showed much intrepidity and courage in defending themselves, yet the brave warriors advanced to the attack with such great impetuosity, and their ardour and zeal were so unremitting, that towards the close of day the gale of victory blew upon the royal standard, and a complete overthrow was given to the enemy, whom their mighty hand compelled to surrender the key of the fort. Raja Bikramajit triumphantly entered the fort, appointed trustworthy officers to protect the property, which might be found there, and placed *'amils* at different stations where they were required. After this signal victory, he made the whole army happy by offering them his thanks, praising them for their valorous deeds, and rewarding every man with goods and cash according to his deserts. He also increased the *mansabs* of those warriors who distinguished themselves in battle. He took possession of all the treasure which had been amassed by the Rajas of that place from ancient times. From these riches he distributed rewards to the nobles and officers of the army, and what remained, after all the expenses, he sent to the Emperor, with a report on the victory which was thus achieved. His Majesty, on receiving the information of this conquest, offered thanks to the great Creator of the Universe, and distributed a large sum in alms to the poor and the needy."

The famous fort thus passed away from the possession of the Katoch princes and for a hundred and sixty years probably not one of them was ever inside its walls. A strong garrison was left in charge which defied all attempts to retake it, and we read of none in any of the records. It also seems certain that the whole State was annexed by the Mughals along with the fort, only the district of Rājgir being assigned as a *jāgīr* for the maintenance of the royal family.

That Hari Chand on growing up to manhood was content to remain quiet under the loss of his ancestral home, as well as his family patrimony, seems highly improbable. Although the records tell us nothing we may safely conclude that in his reign the guerilla warfare began which became so acute in the following reign, and caused the Mughal governors of Kangra so much trouble.

¹ A short time after the capitulation, that is in the spring of A.D. 1622, Jahāngir visited Kangra in person. He probably came by way of Guler and returned by Nurpur and Pathānkot.

This visit is still recalled in local tradition and it is said that he was so fascinated with the beauty of the valley that he ordered a palace to be built for himself, and the foundations were actually laid and the site still exists in Mauza Gargari. The work, however, proceeded no further, probably Kashmir had greater attractions for him.

¹ Kangra Settlement Report, p. 8, 1889. Cf. J.P.H.S. Vol. VI, No. 2, p. 115.

A similar tradition exists in Nurpur, associated with the name of Nur Jahān Begam who accompanied the Emperor on the occasion in question.

¹ The account of this visit to Kangra in the *Wāqiāt-i-Jahāngīrī* from the Emperor's own pen is so interesting that we give it in full: "The extreme heat of Agra was uncongenial to my constitution, so on the 12th Aban in the sixteenth year of my reign, I started for the mountain country on the north intending, if the climate proved suitable, to build a town somewhere on the banks of the Ganges, to which I might resort in the hot weather. If I could not find a place that suited me, I intended to proceed further towards Kashmir . . . On the 7th De, I arrived at Hardwār on the Ganges and there halted, but as the climate of the skirts of the mountains was not pleasant, and I found no place appropriate for a residence, I resolved to proceed further to the mountains of Jammu and Kāngrā. On the 14th I arrived at Bahlun, a dependency of Siba, and as I had a great desire for the air of Kāngrā, I left my great camp at this place, and proceeded onwards with a few special attendants and servants towards the fortress. I'timad-ud-daula (father of Nur Jahān Begam) was ill, so I left him behind with the camp under the charge of Sadīk Khān *Mīr-bakhshi*. On the following day the intelligence was brought that a change for the worse had come over the Khān, and the signs of dissolution were manifest. Moved by the distress of Nur Jahān Begam and by the affection I had for him, I returned to the Camp. At the close of the day I went to see him. He was at the time insensible, and Nur Jahān, who was by my side, made signs and asked if I perceived (his critical state). I stayed by his pillow two hours; whenever he came to his senses his words were intelligible and sensible. On the 17th of the month he died, and I felt inexpressible sorrow at the loss of such an able and faithful minister, and so wise and kind a friend."

"After this I went on towards Kāngrā and after four days' march encamped on the river Bān-Ganga. . . . On the 24th of the month I went to pay a visit to the fortress, and I gave orders that the *Kāzi*, the Chief Justice and others learned in the law of Islam, should accompany me, and perform the ceremonies required by our religion. After passing over about half a *kos* we mounted to the fort, and then by the grace of God prayers were said, the *Khutba* was read, a cow was killed, and other things were done such as had never been done before from the foundation of the fort to the present time. All was done in my presence, and I bowed myself in thanks to the Almighty for this great conquest which no previous monarch had been able to accomplish. I ordered a large mosque to be built in the fortress."

As we have already seen, one of the gates in the fort is called *Jahāngīrī Darwāza*, having been erected by order of the Emperor. On the gate, it is said, was inscribed the date of the conquest, on a marble slab. When Rāja Sansār Chand took the fort, in A.D. 1786, he removed the stone with Jahāngīr's name on it, and stored it in the room near the gateway without injuring it. Subsequently, in A.D. 1837, when Prince Nau Nihāl Singh was on a visit to the hills on pilgrimage, to visit the holy

¹ *Wāqiāt-i-Jahāngīrī*. Elliot's History, Vol. VI, pp. 381-2.

places, he saw the stone and had it removed to Lahore, where it stood in his mansion.

There is also an interesting reference in the Memoirs to an incident relating to Chambā which occurred on the occasion of Jahāngīr's visit to Kāngrā. He was evidently waited upon by the hill chiefs and among them was the Rāja of Chambā. He says: "At this stage the offering of the Rāja of Chambā was laid before me. His country is 25 *kos* beyond Kāngrā. There is no greater Zamindār in these hills than this. The country is the asylum of all the zamindārs of the country. It has passes difficult to cross. Until now he had not obeyed any king nor sent offerings. His brother also was honoured by paying his respects and on his part performed the dues of service and loyalty. He seemed to me to be reasonable and intelligent, and urbane. I exalted him with all kinds of patronage and favour."

The Rāja of Chamba at the time was Bala Bhadra who had been temporarily removed from power, his place being taken by his son, Janārdan. It was probably the latter who waited on Jahāngīr, along with his brother Bishambar. Both of them were killed in the following year in a war with Jagat Singh of Nurpur. The reference is interesting as proving that Chambā had not then come under the control of Nurpur as it did shortly afterwards.

From its capture in November A.D. 1621 Kangra Fort remained in the possession of the Mughals till A.D. 1783, when it fell into the hands of the Sikhs. The first Faujdār or Governor was Nawāb Ali Khān who was succeeded by his son whose name is believed to have been Hurmat Khān. During the reign of Shāhjahān the fort was held by Nawāb Asad Ullah Khān and Koch Qulī Khān, the latter retaining charge for seventeen years till his death. He is buried on the banks of the Mununi river, a branch of the Bānganga, which flows under Kāngrā Fort. According to tradition the greater part of the State was annexed after the fall of the fort, only the district of Rājgir being left as a *Jāgīr* for the support of the royal family.

After the fall of the fort the capital must have been transferred elsewhere but the records are silent on the subject. In the unsettled condition of the country the Rāja possibly had no fixed place of residence. That the *tālūqa* of Rājgir was granted as a *jāgīr* seems fairly certain, but it was probably resumed soon afterwards in consequence of rebellion. Hari Chand is said to have been flayed alive, and this corroborates the assumption that he was engaged in guerilla warfare during the whole of his reign. As he was only twelve years old in A.D. 1621, he may have lived till A.D. 1635, but according to tradition he was killed by Jahāngīr, and if so the event must have taken place before A.D. 1627, the year in which that Emperor died.

Chandar Bhān Chand, c. A.D. 1635.—As Hari Chand died childless there was probably a long interregnum, during which one Miān Chandar Bhān Chand continued to prosecute the guerilla warfare against the Mughals. He was descended from Kalyān Chand, younger brother of Rāja Dharm Chand, and was probably the next in succession to the *gaddi* after Hari Chand. His spirited but useless defiance of the Mughals still lives in the grateful memory of the people who love to tell of the long and brave resistance which he offered. He began by plundering the country and forces were

sent in pursuit but failed to capture him. At length an army was sent against him from Delhi, when he retired to the lofty hill, 9,000 ft. high, on the outskirts of the Dhaulā Dhār, which has ever since been called by his name, *Chandar Bhān ka tīla*.¹ He was eventually captured and taken to Delhi where he was detained a close prisoner. There are no references to Kangra in any of the Muhammadan records of the time, and we are dependent chiefly on local tradition, which has preserved many stories of Chandar Bhān's exploits. A work of comparatively recent date, the *Tārikh-i-Panjāb*, already referred to, has a different account of those times, evidently drawn from tradition. According to it Chandar Bhān Chand was in the Kangra fort at the time of the siege, and effected his escape. He then entered on a career of plunder and had a reputation like that of one Miān Dido in Jamnu territory in the reign of Mahārāja Ranjīt Singh. The imperialist nobles in the fort went in pursuit of him but failed to capture him, and this state of guerilla warfare lasted for many years.

At length in despair, those in charge of the country devised a plan for restoring order, viz. that the Emperor should grant a *jāgīr* to Chandar Bhān Chand on condition of his submission. This met with the approval of the Emperor, but with the further condition that Chandar Bhān Chand should attend at Court. To this he agreed and was favourably received and the *tālūqa* of Rājgir was granted in *jāgīr*, yielding one lakh of rupees annually. Probably this was simply a restoration of the *jāgīr* granted to Hari Chand which had been confiscated for rebellion. This it is assumed took place in the reign of Shāhjahān.

Soon afterwards, as the account states (A.D. 1640-41), Rāja Jagat Singh of Nurpur rebelled, and an imperial army was sent to coerce him, and all the hill Rājas were summoned, among them being Chandar Bhān Chand. It is said that he was promised the restoration of his state if he secured Jagat Singh's submission. He came with his four sons—Vijai Rām, Udāi Rām, Dalpat, and Narpat—and joined the Mughal army, besieging Maukot. For a time he served in the entrenchments, and was ultimately killed in an assault on the fort.

The period of Kangra history for some time after the capture of the fort in A.D. 1621 is very confused and uncertain, but it seems clear as already noted that on the occupation of the fort the whole territory was annexed, only the *jāgīr* of Rājgir being assigned to the royal family. With this Hari Chand was dissatisfied and broke out into rebellion, and he seems to have given trouble all through his reign till captured and killed probably about A.D. 1635. The guerilla war was then taken up by Chandar Bhān who may have been previously associated with Hari Chand, and was prolonged for many years. The story of his having been killed at Maukot is improbable, as he is said to have been finally captured in the reign of Aurangzeb, possibly about A.D. 1660. In all the documents he is referred to as *Miān Chandar Bhān* and is not given the title of *Rāja*, from which we may perhaps assume that there was no fully invested chief of the Katoch house in power for many

¹ This hill is a spur from the Dhaulā Dhār above Dādā, and half-way between Dharmsala and Pālampur.

years. It is not even certain that he was next in the succession after Hari Chand, though he probably was, but in any case his brave struggle for the independence of his country secured the devoted attachment of his countrymen, who to the present time hold his name in grateful remembrance. Chandar Bhān s said to have built a fort near Nirwānah, east of Dharmśāla, and the ruins of his fort on the Chandar Bhān hill may still be seen. On his capture or death he was succeeded by his son Vijai Rām Chand.

Vijai Rām Chand, c. A.D. 1660.—According to the *Tārīkh-i-Punjab*, Vijai Rām was summoned by the Emperor on his father's death, and failing to appear, the *rājtilak* or mark of investiture was conferred on his brother, Udai Rām, along with the grant of the *jāgīr* of Rājgir and also five other *tālūqas*, viz. Nadaun, Pālam, Mahal-sarae, Jai-sukh, and Malhār. It seems more probable, however, that Vijai Rām succeeded his father. He seems to have founded the town of Vijapur or Bijapur which was his capital, and it continued to be the place of residence of the Rājas till the reign of Rāja Sansār Chand. The old palace buildings are still in existence though now in a state of decay and untenanted. Vijai Rām Chand died without a direct heir and was succeeded by his brother Udai Ram.

Udai Rām Chand, A.D. 1687.—His reign seems to have been peaceful as the guerilla warfare had ceased and the Rājas, realizing the fruitless character of the struggle against a powerful foe, had quietly settled down as tributaries of the Mughal. Udai Rām Chand's reign seems to have been very short and he died in A.D. 1690 and was followed by his son Bhīm Chand.

Bhīm Chand, c. A.D. 1690.—During Aurangzeb's reign the Kangra Fort was successively under the charge of Sayid Husain Khān, Hasan Abdulla Khān Pathān, and Nawāb Sayid Khalil Ullah Khān. "Their rule," Cunningham remarks, "was probably marked by the same intolerant bigotry which distinguished Aurangzeb's governors in other places, as in Multān, Mathura, Gwālīor and Benares, where the Hindu temples were destroyed to make way for mosques." Bhīm Chand is mentioned in the records of the time as having leagued with Guru Gobind Singh in order to repel an invasion of his country by the Raja of Jammu and a Mughal Chief named Mian Khān. In this war he was quite successful and drove his adversaries across the Satluj.¹

Bhīm Chand followed a pacific course and sought to gain the favour of the Emperor by attendance at Court, and in consequence he was called "Diwān." He built a temple at Bijapur which still exists. His younger brother Kripāl Chand made the Bhawārnawali *Kuhl* or watercourse, from one of the snow-fed mountain torrents of the Dhaula Dhār, above Bandla, which is the longest watercourse in Kangra District and supplies a large area. It has made Kripāl Chand's name more famous than that of any Rāja.

Bhīm Chand died in A.D. 1697 and was followed by Ālam Chand.

Ālam Chand, c. A.D. 1697.—This chief had only a brief reign and died in A.D.

¹ Cf. Prinsep, *History of the Punjab*, Vol. I, p. 103.

1700. He founded Ālampur, near Sujānpur, where he chiefly resided. In after years this place was greatly enlarged by Sansār Chand, who also made a large garden, which was famous in its day. Ālam Chand was succeeded by his son Hamīr Chand.

Hamīr Chand, A.D. 1700.—Hamīr Chand had a long reign of forty-seven years, but about the events of his time the records are silent. The bulk of the territory was still under the Mughals, who continued to hold the fort. In such circumstances the Katoch Rājas doubtless considered discretion as the better part of valour, and quietly bided their time. Many indications must have occurred in the course of Hamīr Chand's long reign that the break-up of the Mughal Empire was not far distant. Hamīr Chand built a small fort near the place now called Hamīrpur, from which that place, as well as the Hamīrpur Tahsīl, afterwards received their names. He lived long enough to see the appointment of Nawāb Saif Ali Khān, about A.D. 1740, who was fated to be the last Mughal Governor of Kāngra.

Abhaya Chand, A.D. 1747.—Being probably in middle life at the time of his accession this Raja's reign was a short one, and he died childless. He erected the *Thākurdwāra* in Ālampur, and also a fort called Abhayamānpur, near Sujānpur, which was dismantled only in 1849.

Ghamīr Chand, A.D. 1750.—On the death of Abhaya Chand without a male heir the *gaddi* passed to his uncle, Ghamīr Chand, the younger brother of Hamīr Chand. His reign, however, was a very brief one, and he died in A.D. 1751 leaving eleven sons, who seem to have been men of indifferent character and disliked by the officials and the people. They were therefore set aside, and Ghamand Chand, a son of Ghamīr Chand's younger brother, was raised to power. It is also said that the sons of Ghamīr Chand were all put out of the way.

Ghamand Chand, A.D. 1751.—Ghamand Chand succeeded to the *gaddi* at an eventful period in the history of India. The Mughal Empire was then in the throes of dissolution; Ahmad Shāh Durāni from the North and the Marāthas from the South struggled for the mastery and everywhere confusion and disorder prevailed. In A.D. 1752 the Punjab, along with the hill states, was ceded to Ahmad Shāh Durāni by the Delhi Emperor. The hour had come at last and the Katoch Rāja, like many more, was not slow to strike a blow for the freedom of his country. Taking advantage of the anarchy that prevailed, he recovered all the territory that had been wrested from his ancestors by the Mughals, with the exception of Kangra Fort, which held out under the last of the Mughal Faujdārs, Saif Ali Khān. Though completely isolated and holding nothing outside the range of his guns, this brave man remained faithful to his trust, and maintained his position against all assailants for forty years. During the whole of that time, it is said, he continued to correspond direct with Delhi. Once only—in 1758—he was compelled to bow to a man stronger than himself,—Adina Beg Khān,—then Governor of the Doāb, and afterwards Viceroy of the Punjab.¹

¹ A.S.R., Vol. I, pp. 161-2.

¹ In 1758 Ghamand Chand was appointed Nāzim or Governor of the Jālandhar Doāb by Ahmad Shāh Durāni, and thus acquired the supremacy over all the Hill States of the Jālandhar Circle, between the Satluj and the Rāvi. He also annexed Chauki, the northern half of Kutlehr State, and seized the *tālūqa* of Pālam from Chamba. He is also said to have built or strengthened the fort of Pathiyār, which stood on a lofty ridge not far from Pālampur, but is now in ruins. ² Kulū also was invaded as mentioned by Moorcroft, and it was probably on that occasion that the figures on the Bajaura Temple were mutilated by his mercenaries. Early in his reign Ghamand Chand recruited a large army of 4,000 Muhammadans, chiefly Rohillas and Afghans, and with it he attacked the Kāngra Fort but was unable to capture it.

Ghamand Chand was a strong ruler under whom the Kāngra State was restored to its ancient limits and to much of its former prestige. Sujānpur on the Bias above Nadaun, usually called Tarā Sujānpur, the residence of his descendants, was founded by him and embellished with many fine buildings. He died in 1774 and was succeeded by his son Tegh Chand.

Tegh Chand, A.D. 1774.—Tegh Chand's reign was brief. He maintained a large army of mercenaries like his father and pursued the same policy, but of the events of his reign we know little. On his demise in 1776 his son Sansār Chand came to the throne.

Sansār Chand II, A.D. 1776.—Sansār Chand was the most notable chief who ever ruled in Kāngra. He was only ten years of age when he succeeded to the *gaddi*, and his accession marked a time when all was confusion and disorder both in the hills and on the plains. The Punjab had been ceded to the Durānis, but their rule was never fully established. As Mr. Barnes remarks, "The same vigour of character which secured the territory was not displayed in the measures adopted to retain it." There was indeed an Afghan Viceroy at Lahore, but the old Mughal Governors were practically independent in outlying portions of the province and Saif Ali Khān the last of the Mughal Faujdārs still held his own in Kangra Fort. From the middle of the eighteenth century the Sikhs had been rising into power and under their various leaders were everywhere engaged in plunder and rapine.

Jassa Singh Rāmgarhia was the first of these chieftains to invade the Kāngra hills, and Kāngra, Chambā, Nurpur and some other States became tributary to him. In 1775 he was defeated on the plains by Jai Singh Kanheya, another Sikh Chieftain, and had to retire from the hills, leaving the supremacy over the Hill States in the hands of his rival.

Sansar Chand's chief ambition was the capture of Kangra Fort, the ancient home of his ancestors, and soon after coming into power an attempt was made but without success. He then called in to his aid Jai Singh Kanheya, the Sikh Chieftain already referred to, and, in 1781-2, the combined forces again laid siege to the stronghold.³ The

¹ Kangra Settlement Report, p. 9. ² Moorcroft, *Travels*, Vol. I, p. 170.

³ According to Muhammad Latif the siege took place in 1774, but this must be incorrect as Sansār Chand became Raja only in 1776. Barnes has 1781-2; cf. *History of the Punjab*, Latif, pp. 309-310, and Kangra Settlement Report, p. 9; also *Tārīkh-i-Punjab*.

old Nawāb was then dying and on his demise the fort was surrendered in 1783, but by stratagem it fell into the hands of the Sikhs. The story of its capture as found in one of the records is as follows:—"The siege had lasted a year when the Nawāb died and his remains had to be conveyed to the burial-ground outside the fort. The Hazāris, or Mughal gunners from Delhi, were in secret league with Sansār Chand and had arranged to give up the fort to him for a suitable reward, when a favourable opportunity presented itself. As the Nawāb's corpse was being conveyed from the fort to the Imāmbara for burial by his sons, the Hazāris sent word to Sansār Chand to seize the opportunity for an attack. Jai Singh also, however, had information and as his force was nearest the gate, some of his men secured an entrance first. Sansār Chand, though much chagrined, had to acquiesce and bide his time.

This must be the siege referred to by Mr. Forster the traveller who passed through the Kangra hills in March 1783 on his way from Bilāspur to Nurpur and Jammu.¹ He says:—"To deduce this eventful matter *de ovo* (the war) I must call your attention to the days of Acbar, who is said to have been the first Muhamedan prince who reduced the northern mountains of Hindustan to the obedience of the Empire. Towards the northern limit of Kalour (Kahlur) is a stronghold on an eminence, called the Kote Kangrah, the reduction of which detained Acbar, who commanded the expedition in person, a whole year, according to the tradition of this quarter. To reward one of his officers who had signalized himself in this service, he bestowed on him the captured fort, with a considerable space of adjacent territory. The descendants of this chief, who are of the Sheah sect of Mahamedans, continued in the possession until the present period when the Rajah of Kangrah on some pretence laid the districts waste and besieged the fort." At that time the Rānī of Bilāspur, acting as regent for her infant son, was at war with Sansār Chand and in league with the garrison in the fort. "Unable himself," says Forster, "to repel the enemy the Mahometan solicited the aid of the Billaspour Ranee who with the spirit of a heroine, afforded speedy and vigorous succour to her neighbour, whose cause she has already revenged by plundering and destroying almost every village in Kāngra, the chief of which now vainly asserts that the Ranee, seeing his country destitute of defence, seized under colour of assisting her ally, the occasion of augmenting her own power."

Mr. Forster entered the hills at Nahun and crossed the Satluj at Bilāspur. The common road onward to Jammu, as he states, lay through Nadaun and Haripur, but these places being overrun by the Sikhs he was obliged to deviate from the usual track and proceed to the westward. He passed through the Bilāspur Camp to the Kāngra Camp, and he estimated the Bilaspur army at "about 300 horse and 8000 footmen armed with matchlocks, swords, spears and clubs, huddled together on two sides of a hill in a deep state of confusion and filth."

At the Kāngra Camp, Forster says, only a small body chiefly of horse was stationed, the greater part of the forces, under the command of the Rāja, being engaged

¹ Forster, *Travels*.

in the siege of Kāngra Fort. The surrender of the fort must have taken place soon afterwards. The camp of the Bilāspur army seems to have been between Kumara Hatti (Kahlur) and Lalalri (Hamīrpur Tahsil in Kāngra) just south of the boundary of Hamīrpur Tahsil. It is interesting to note that Forster speaks of Kāngra under its ancient name of Katochin. He says:— “The territory of Kangra or Katochin is limited on the north and north-west by Huricpour (Haripur), on the east by Chambay (Chamba), on the south by Kalour (Bilāspur), and on the west by the Punjab. The ordinary revenue, estimated at seven lacks of rupees, has been much diminished by the chief's alliance with the Sicques.” Forster's reference to the capture of the Fort by Akbar is incorrect. The siege in A.D. 1572 was conducted by Husain Quli Khān, and Akbar was not present. That the fort was under the command of a hereditary succession of Governors is also improbable.

Vigne also is wrong in stating that Kāngra was originally a *jāgīr* which the Mughal emperors granted to different Nawābs, and that it never had its own Rāja. He may simply have been misinformed, for it seems hardly possible that the ancient history of the State could have been forgotten. His account of the capture of the fort after the death of Saif-Ali Khān, the last Mughal Governor, is also confused and inaccurate. ¹ He says:— “The last of these Nawābs (of Kangra) was named Syf Ali, who made himself independent when the dynasty of Delhi was declining. After his death, his Vuzir, Hazara Byrsa, was also master of the neighbouring provinces of Koteli and Rilū, and took the revenues of these places for his own use at the same time that Sinsar Chund of Tira was laying siege to Kangra. The father-in-law of Ranjit was a great friend of the Vuzir and marched to relieve the castle of Kangra but was called away by Ranjit and killed in a fray at Amritsir. Sinsar Chund then took possession of the country for twenty-five years. These are probably the incidents of the war, noticed by Forster in his *Travels* in the year 1783, Vol. I, p. 240.”

² Muhammad Latif again states that Jai Singh Kanheya, on being called in by Sansār Chand, bribed Jewan Khān, son of Saif Ali Khān, who was then dead, to vacate the fort, and thus got possession of it. The various accounts are thus conflicting, but probably that first given is the correct one. The fort remained in Jai Singh's possession for four years from its capture in 1783, though Sansār Chand seems to have made several attempts to reduce it. In 1783 a combination was formed against Jai Singh by Maha Singh Sukerchakia, assisted by Jassa Singh Rāmgarhia and Sansār Chand. The opposing armies met in battle near Batāla, and Gurbakhsh Singh, the favourite son of Jai Singh, was killed. The loss of his son and of a part of his territory broke the heart of the old chieftain, and from that time his power began to decline. For three years Sansār Chand continued to press his claim to Kangra fort, and at length in 1786 a compromise was made by Jai Singh surrendering the fort and the supremacy over the hill states, in exchange for the restoration of territory on the plains which had been conquered by Sansār Chand.

³ Cunningham's account also differs somewhat from the others. He says:—“In

¹ Vigne, *Travels*, Vol. I.

² *History of the Punjab*, Latif.

³ A.S.R., Vol. V, p. 162.

1783 Kangra was besieged by Jay Singh Ghani, a Sikh leader. The old Governor, Seif Ullah, died during the siege and after holding out for five months the fort was surrendered by his son, Zulfikār Khan. Sansar Chand, the titular Raja of Kangra, is said to have instigated this siege and to have been disappointed when the Sikh Chief kept Kangra for himself. Four years later he obtained the aid of other Sikh leaders, and in 1787 Jay Singh was reluctantly obliged to surrender the fort into the hands of Sausar Chand."

¹ With the possession of the fort and supreme power in the hills, Sansār Chand was able to prosecute his ambitious designs. Supported by his large army of mercenaries he completely overawed the hill chiefs, made them tributary and compelled them to attend his Court and send contingents for his military expeditions. In this way, says Mr. Barnes, "he gained a renown which had not been surpassed by any of his ancestors and ruled despotically for twenty years, none daring to resist his will."

Not content with the recovery of his own patrimony, Sansār Chand also demanded from the hill chiefs the surrender to himself, as lord paramount, of all the fertile tracts that had been included in the imperial demesne, attached to the fort in the time of the Mughals. In pursuance of this policy the Chambā Chief was required to make over Rihlu, and on his refusal, the country was invaded and he was killed in battle at Nerti near Shāhpur in defending his rights. Mandi also was in a similar manner subdued and the capital sacked, the young Rāja being made captive and retained as a prisoner at Nadaun for twelve years. Three districts of the State were also seized, one of which was given to Suket, another to Kulū, and the third Sansār Chand retained for himself. His attempt to capture the fortress of Kamlahgarh was unsuccessful.²

Other States were treated in a similar manner. For example, in Kutlehr State the district of Chauki, forming the northern half of the principality, had been seized by Ghamand Chand, and Sansār Chand now annexed the southern half, so that the Rāja was entirely dispossessed. On the Gurkha invasion the State was restored.

Sansār Chand's fame spread far and wide and his Court became the resort of all classes of people in search of pleasure or personal advantage. An Indian writer thus describes this golden age in Kangra history³:—"For many years he (Sansār Chand) passed his days in great felicity. He was generous in conduct, kind to his subjects, just as Nushīrvan, and a second Akbar in the recognition of men's good qualities. Crowds of people of skill and talent, professional soldiers and others resorted to Kāngra and gained happiness from his gifts and favours. Those addicted to pleasure, who live for the gratification of others, flocked from all quarters and profited exceedingly by his liberality. Performers and story-tellers collected in such numbers and received such gifts and favours at his hands, that he was regarded as the Hātim of that age and, in generosity, the Rustam of the time."

¹ There are twenty-two doors leading into the great darbar hall at Tara Sujanpur, one of which is said to have been assigned to each ruling chief on the occasion of his attendance at Sansar Chand's Court. This was probably meant to indicate his claim to the paramount power over the twenty-two states of the hills—eleven being to the east and eleven to the west of the Ravi.

² Moorcroft, *Travels*, Vol. I, p. 66.

³ *Tārīkh-i-Punjab* by Ghulam Muhai-ud-din, Fourth Daftar.

Sansār Chand is said to have been a great builder and many places in the State were beautified and embellished by him. He also planted numerous gardens, especially that of Ālampur already referred to, which is said to have rivalled the Shalimār Gardens in Lahore. His court seems to have been held chiefly at Nadaun in the earlier part of his reign, and it was probably at that time that the following popular saying, recorded by Moorcroft and Vigne, and still widely current in the hills, took its origin¹:—

Aega Nadaun

Jaega Kaun ?

“Who that comes to Nadaun will go away ?”

In later years he resided chiefly at Tara Sujampur or Alampur.

In 1786 Raja Sansār Chand made some extensive repairs to the Baijnath temple and at the same time added the present entrance porch and the two large side balconies. These had previously existed but had fallen down and disappeared.²

For twenty years Sansār Chand ruled as undisputed monarch of the hills, and had he been content with the possessions acquired by himself and his ancestors, he might have passed on his kingdom unimpaired to his posterity. But his overweening ambition carried him too far, and as the Indian writer remarks, “his fortune turned to misfortune and ruin fell upon his life.” His dream was to regain the far-reaching dominions of his ancestors and even to establish a Katoch kingdom in the Punjab. A common saying at his court was “*Lahore parāpat*”—“May you acquire Lahore,” the wish being father to the thought. But it was only a dream and fated never to be realized.

In 1803-4 he twice invaded the plains in the direction of Hoshyārpur and Bajwārah, but was defeated and driven back by Ranjit Singh who was then rising into power, and would brook no rivals. Disappointed in his designs on the plains he in 1805 turned his arms against Kahlur (Bilāspur) and annexed the portion of the State lying on the right bank of the Satluj. This act was his undoing and led to his downfall and the extinction of his kingdom. How this was brought about must now be briefly told.

In the latter half of the eighteenth century the Gurkhas of Nepāl had been seized with an ambition for conquest, similar to that of Sansār Chand, and before the end of the century they had extended their dominion from the Gogra to the Satluj, over the whole of Kumaon, Garhwāl, Sirmaur, and the Simla Hill States. Their design was to establish a great Gurkha kingdom stretching from Nepāl to Kāshmir.³ With a view to this they approached Ranjit Singh with a proposal for joint action against the Durānis of Kābul who then ruled the Kāshmir valley, but the Sikh chief had marked out Kāshmir as his own prize, and gave the Gurkhas no encouragement. Sansār Chand also stood in their way, and Moorcroft states that on their attempting to invade Kangra he drove them back, and a treaty was concluded by which the Satluj was established as a boundary which neither was to pass.⁴

¹ Vigne, *Travels*, Vol. I, p. 133. Moorcroft, *Travels*, Vol. I, p. 76.

² A.S.R., Vol. V, p. 178.

³ It is even said that they aimed at the conquest of the Punjab; cf. Vigne, Vol. I, p. 138.

⁴ Moorcroft, *Travels*, Vol. I, p. 127.

Sansār Chand's action against Kahlur aroused keen resentment among the other Hill States, and smarting under the many wrongs they had endured at his hands, as well as fearing for their own possessions, the chiefs formed a coalition against him, and sent a united invitation, through the Rāja of Bilāspur, to the Gurkha Commander to invade Kāngra. They also promised the aid of their own contingents whenever he crossed the Satluj. This invitation was wholly acceptable to the Gurkhas, for it was in keeping with their ulterior design.

¹ A short time previous to this, Sansār Chand's army had been weakened by certain changes he had made, for the sake of economy, on, it is said, the advice of Ghulām Muhammad, the deposed Rāja of Rāmpur, who was living in the State. In the time of his father and grandfather the force was recruited chiefly from Rohillas, Afghans and Rajputs drawn from the Delhi and Afghan armies, to whom liberal pay was given. Ghulām Muhammad, who had fought with the British, and had gained a high military reputation, persuaded Sansār Chand to break up his force as needlessly expensive, and levy an army of Rohillas on cheaper terms. These Ghulām Muhammad himself undertook to raise. As soon as the Gurkhas heard of this change they in 1806 broke their treaty and invaded the country before the new levies could come up. Amar Singh Thapa, the Gurkha Commander, who is said to have had an army of 40,000 men, crossed the Satluj at Bilāspur and Jiuri in Suket and was joined by the various contingents from the Hill States of the Kāngra group, and Bilaspur and Basohli, their united forces amounting to about 10,000 men. "All of these Rājas," Vigne states, "took an oath of fidelity to the Gurkha Chief, on the understanding that he was to retain Kangra Fort, and they were to be unmolested in their territories." ²

Along with the other states, Chamba sent a force to assist the Gurkhas, under the command of Wazir Nathu, and a letter exists in the State archives from Amar Singh Thapa to Rāja Jit Singh. He is admonished not to be afraid of Trigadḥ (Kāngra). The Gurkhas, Chamba and Kahlur (Bilāspur), are all one, and Chamba is the Wazir of the Gurkhas. Jit Singh is asked to send to Dugar (Jammu) for help and gather all the other Rājas; he is to keep a part of his army at Rihlu and send the rest to Sant Pāl. The letter states that the Katoch troops had seized Pālam, but the Gurkhas drove them out and occupied the Pathiyār Fort. There was much need of money, and the Wazir (probably Nathu of Chamba) had written for Rs. 4,000. This sum was to be sent at once and news would be received in two months. The letter is not dated but was probably written in 1806-7.

A second letter also exists, in the same handwriting but without name or date, in which assistance in money is asked, and it is stated that Rs. 4,000 had been promised, of which only Rs. 1,000 had been sent. ³

It is interesting to note that Kāngra was still known as Trigadḥ, that is Trigār or Trigarta, down to that time. The name has now become disused.

¹ Moorcroft, *Travels*, Vol. I, pp. 128-9.

² Vigne, *Travels*, Vol. I, pp. 137-8-9.

³ Chamba Museum Catalogue, App. VI, p. 73. C. 57, C. 58, with which cf. Moorcroft, *Travels*, Vol. I, p. 140; also Vigne, *Travels*, Vol. I, pp. 137-8-9.

The first encounter took place in Mahal Morian, and Sansār Chand made a brave stand, but was defeated, and though the new levies under Ghulām Muhammad came to his aid they too were encountered and dispersed.¹ The Gurkhas then advanced into the country and on reaching Nadaun they liberated the Rāja of Mandi who, as already stated, had been detained as a prisoner for twelve years, and sent him back to his State. Sansār Chand first took up a position at Tarā to harass the enemy and later sought refuge in Kāngra Fort along with his family. The supplies of grain for the garrison had been sufficient for twelve years, but want of care and actual waste had exhausted them in a much shorter period, while the sources of supply in Guler had been closed by the defection of the Guleria Rāja, Sansār Chand's own near relative, and the head of the senior branch of the Katoch clan; so heavy had his hand been even upon his own kinsmen that they all deserted him in his hour of need.

²The Gurkhas then advanced into the heart of the country and laid siege to the fort, but all their efforts to capture it were fruitless. For four years they plundered and laid waste the country, and so dreadful were the ravages they committed that the inhabitants deserted their homes and fled into neighbouring states. The country was thus partly depopulated, the land was uncultivated, wild animals roamed about the towns, and grass grew in the deserted streets. "The memory of those disastrous days," says Mr. Barnes, "stands out as a landmark in the annals of the hills. Time is computed with reference to that period and every misfortune, justly or unjustly, is ascribed to that prolific source of misery and distress. The Gurkhas prepared to establish their success. Certain portions of the country were subdued and held by them, other portions, including the fort of Kāngra and the principal strongholds, remained in the hands of the Katōches. Each party plundered the districts held by the other to weaken his adversaries' resources. The people, harassed and bewildered, fled to the neighbouring kingdoms, some to Chamba, some to the plains of the Jullundur Doāb. Other hill chieftains, incited by Sansār Chand's former oppressions, made inroads with impunity and aggravated the general disorder. For three years this state of anarchy continued. In the fertile valleys of Kāngra not a blade of cultivation was to be seen, grass grew up in the towns and tigresses whelped in the streets of Nadaun."

Meantime the siege of the fort went on. For a time supplies were smuggled in from Pālam, but the Gurkhas cut off these by blocking the river gate of entrance into the fort; and the Rāja and the garrison were without food, and subsisted for four months upon little else than the leaves of vegetables.

³After the struggle had continued for four years, Sansār Chand, rendered desperate by the ruin which had come upon his country, and seeing no hope of relief, applied to Mahārāja Ranjit Singh for help, the Kāngra fort being offered as the price of his assistance. Twice, it is said, the Maharaja set out from Lahore for Kāngra, and

¹ J.P.H.S., Vol. VII, No. I, p. 19.

² Kangra Settlement Report, p. 10.

³ Barnes has *three* years, but Moorcroft states that the siege lasted more than four years; cf. Moorcroft, *Travels*, Vol. I, p. 129.

turned back; once from Sujānpur near Pathānkot and once from Nurpur. Sansār Chand being in despair then opened negotiations with the Gurkhas to arrange a surrender if permitted to leave the fort with his family. Vigne states that they required Sansār Chand to come out of the fort and take an oath at the shrine of Devi of Malekra in proof of his sincerity. He sent his Wazir Naurang to take the oath, and thus persuaded them to retire from the gate leading to the river, by which his supplies had come in. During the day he amused them by sending out things that were indispensable and at night brought in fresh supplies. He then secretly left the fort in charge of some of his officers and retired along with his family and his wazir, Naurang. Once outside the fort and in safety at Tarā Sujanpur he again sent a request for help to Ranjit Singh, by his brother Fateh Chand and Naurang. In May 1909 Ranjit Singh marched from Lahore, Naurang accompanying the Sikh camp as far as Pathānkot. From there he hastened to rejoin Sansār Chand, and was secretly readmitted into the fort, which was entrusted to him. Negotiations with the Gurkhas were then broken off. By this time the hill chiefs had all deserted Amar Singh Thapa and were engaged in cutting off his supplies to compel his retirement.

For nearly a month a discussion went on between Ranjit Singh and the Katōch Chief regarding the conditions on which help would be given, Ranjit Singh demanding the surrender of the fort before proceeding to expel the Gurkhas. To this Sansār Chand declined to agree. At length by the mediation of Wazir Nathu (of Chamba) and the Rāja of Guler, an arrangement was come to and the two monarchs met at the temple of Jawāla-Mukhī, when Sansār Chand's terms were accepted, and the Mahārājā with his hand over the sacred flame took an oath to do him no harm.²

It is probable that neither of them was sincere in his engagement to fulfil the terms of the treaty; indeed Prinsep states that Sansār Chand played a double part through the whole of the negotiation. Notwithstanding his engagement with Ranjit Singh he could not reconcile himself to the loss of the fort and entered into a treaty with Amar Singh promising to surrender the fort to him, and thus obtaining leave to bring away his family, he managed at the same time to throw in four months' supplies, hoping to keep the fort against both claimants.³ The Gurkha Commander on hearing of the agreement with Ranjit Singh wrote to warn him against placing any reliance on Sansār Chand, and asking him to conclude an arrangement for the disposal of the fort and territory for a money equivalent, but his proposals were rejected.

On the advice of one of his officers, the Mahārāja then sent for Anirūdh Chand, son of Sansār Chand, from Tara Sujanpur, in order to hold him as a hostage for the fulfilment of the treaty. On his arrival he was received with all honour and placed in charge of Fateh Singh Ahluwālia. Ranjit Singh then advanced to Kāngra Fort in August 1809, and attacked the Gurkhas, who began a retreat, ending in flight and their retirement across the Satluj. Four years later, in 1813, the first Nepālese War

¹ *Tārikh-i-Punjab*, Fourth Daftar. Cf. Moorcroft, *Travels*, Vol. I, p. 129.

² *Tārikh-i-Punjab*, Fourth Daftar. Cf. Vigne, *Travels*, Vol. I, pp. 139-140. The treaty is said to have been signed in blood.

³ Prinsep, *History of the Punjab*, Vol. I, pp. 301-2.

ensued, on their invading British territory, and after two years of war the Gurkhas were driven back to their original frontier on the Gogra.

¹ After defeating the Gurkhas the Mahārāja advanced to the town of Kāngra, and with the consent of Sansār Chand sent Fateh Singh Alhuwālia, along with Anirūdh Chand, into the fort, to require its surrender. Naurang Wazīr, however, who was in command, declined to make the surrender to any one but his master, from whom he had received charge. The Mahārāja then said to Sansār Chand, "If you value the safety of Anirūdh Chand you must go in person to the fort and order its surrender, otherwise Anirūdh Chand will pay the penalty." Sansār Chand and the Mahārāja then mounted an elephant and proceeded to the gate of the fort, where they were met by a message from Naurang that Sansār Chand should enter alone.

This he did accompanied by Fateh Singh Alhuwālia, and Naurang then asked a written order from his master, absolving him of all responsibility and requiring him to surrender the fort. Having done this, the Rāja took Naurang by the hand and led him out of the fort, and the Mahārāja with a few of his followers entered and took possession. To Sansār Chand he gave a writing guaranteeing to him the possession of the State except the portion attached to the fort in Mughal times, consisting of 66 villages in the Kāngra valley; and a Sikh garrison was then placed in the fort.

Desa Singh Majithia was appointed Nāzim or Governor of the Fort and the administration of the Kangra hills, and he is said to have treated Sansār Chand with all honour and respect.

With the cession of Kāngra Fort to Ranjīt Singh, the Kāngra State as well as all the other States of the Jālandhar group became subject and tributary to the Sikhs. From that time Sansār Chand retired to Tara Sujanpur. Once a year he had to go to Lahore to pay his respects to the Mahārāja, doubtless a galling duty to him, but he was always treated with every honour, though apprehensive that sooner or later he would be detained a prisoner.

It is related of him that on one occasion when on a visit to the Sikh Court and seated at the side of the Mahārāja, he happened to yawn, whereupon Ranjīt Singh said jokingly, "*Lahore parāpat*," evidently referring to the saying which had been customary at Sansār Chand's Court in better days. The Rāja was, however, equal to the occasion and remarked, "*Jo hua so parāpat*," meaning, "whatever happens is a gain."

As years passed Ranjīt Singh seems to have become less considerate of his once powerful rival, and we learn from Mr. Moorcroft that Sansār Chand was subjected to many indignities. We are fortunate in having an interesting narrative of Mr. Moorcroft's visit to Sansār Chand's Court in 1820. He had crossed the Satluj with his caravan at Bilāspur, on his way to Ladākh, and on reaching Mandī was told that he could not proceed further without the special permission of Ranjīt Singh. He, therefore, left everything at Mandī in charge of Mr. Trebeck, his travelling companion, and proceeded to Lahore. Having obtained the necessary authority he returned *via* Nadaun

¹ *Tārīkh-i-Punjab*, Fourth Daftar.

and Tarā Sujānpur, and after paying a long visit to Sansār Chand's Court, rejoined his camp in Kulū.

Mr. Moorcroft has left a graphic account of his experiences at Sansār Chand's capital, where he was treated with the utmost kindness and generosity. The narrative conveys a very favourable impression of the Katōch Chief. He was then only fifty-four years old, but years and misfortune had mellowed his character and left their mark upon him. From loss of territory and other exactions on the part of the Sikhs, his revenues, originally thirty-five lakhs, had become much impaired, and he complained of being unable to maintain his royal state as was his wont in former days. He had also much to say about his treatment at the hands of Ranjit Singh, which is hardly in keeping with the statements of Indian writers of the time.

During his visit Mr. Moorcroft had an interesting experience, of which he gives an impressive account. Sansār Chand's younger brother, Fateh Chand, was taken seriously ill with apoplexy, and all hope was despaired of. Every one was in distress and preparations had begun for the funeral, even the *rānīs* being ready to become *sati*, when Mr. Moorcroft by his medical skill was able to avert a great calamity and bring back the patient almost from the jaws of death. Great was the gratitude shown, and nothing seemed to be too much to do in token of their joy and satisfaction at the remarkable recovery.

¹ As the whole narrative is so interesting we give it in full:—"In the evening I waited upon the Rāja at his desire and found him with his son and grandson in an open building in a garden. Rāja Sansār Chand is a tall well-formed man about sixty. His complexion is dark but his features are fine and expressive. His son, Rāi Anirudha Sinh, has a very handsome face and ruddy complexion, but is remarkably corpulent. He has two sons, one of twelve and the other of five years of age, both less fair than himself. Sansār Chand was formerly the most powerful Rāja from the Satluj to the Indus. All the potentates from the former river to Kāshmir were his tributaries or dependants, and he was extremely wealthy, possessing a revenue of thirty-five lacs of rupees. He is now poor, and in danger of being wholly subjected to Ranjit Singh. His misfortunes are mainly owing to himself, and his decline presents a remarkable contrast to the rise of his neighbour and now paramount lord, Ranjit Singh..... Ranjit sends for Sansār Chand to his court once a year, and the latter expects on one of these occasions to be detained a prisoner, but the Sikh's purposes do not seem yet to be matured, and satisfied that his prey is within his grasp, he forbears awhile to pounce upon it."

"The loss of territory and falling off of his dependencies have so much reduced the revenues of Katōch, that, as the Rāja assured me, he has but 70,000 rupees a year for the expenses of himself and his family after paying his troops. His resources are, however, still respectable, his country is strong, his peasantry resolute and warmly attached to him, and he has a large property in jewels which might be turned to

¹ Moorcroft, *Travels*, Vol. I, p. 126 *et seq.* In Lahore Museum there are interesting portraits of Moorcroft—done during his visit to Sujānpur—also of Sansār Chand and Fateh Chand.

better account. His pride, however, prevents him from making the sacrifices necessary to the improvement of his means, and whilst he spends large sums upon a numerous zenana, and a parcel of hungry retainers, he allows the defences of his country to fall into ruin, and keeps his soldiers short of powder and ball. He is very anxious to be taken under the protection of the British Government, and in the event of a rupture with the Sikhs it would find in him a zealous and useful partizan."

"Whilst I awaited at Shujānpur a reply to my letter (from Ranjīt Singh) the Rāja and his son and brother treated me with the greatest attention, inviting me to spend part of every day with them, and sending me presents of sweetmeats and fruits, when an occurrence took place which confirmed their regard, and established between us a close and curious connexion." Mr. Moorcroft then enters into a detailed account of the illness of Fateh Chand, the Rāja's brother, and of the means used to promote his restoration to health, which is too long for quotation. The closing paragraph is as follows:—"Nothing could exceed the expression and I believe the sentiment of gratitude on the part of the Rāja and his son. Besides a valuable dress of honour, the former conferred on me a grant of land, desiring me to appoint some one to manage it on my behalf. The whole country seemed to rejoice in Fateh Chand's recovery, for his courage and frankness made him a general favourite. He himself, when sufficiently restored, insisted on exchanging his turban for my hat, and making me his brother by adoption. He placed his turban on my head and my hat on his, each waved his hand, holding a handful of rupees, round the other's head and the rupees were distributed amongst the servants. He also gave me some green *dub* grass, which I was desired to wear, and thus, notwithstanding the difference of caste and complexion, I became an honorary member of the family of Sansār Chand. Whatever might be the value of such an association, it was a most unequivocal testimony of the sincerity of their gratitude.".....

"Since the loss of Kāngra the Rāja has resided principally at Shujānpur, or rather Ālampur, on the right bank of the Biās, in gardens in which some small buildings accommodate himself and his court, and a larger one is erected for the zenana. His earlier residence and that of his predecessor, was at Tirā, where an extensive pile of buildings stands upon an eminence on the left bank of the river. The apartments are more spacious and commodious than is usual in Indian palaces, but they are now made no use of except for the Rāja's personal armoury, in which are some splendid swords and for a small manufactory of carpets for his own use."

"Sansār Chand quitted this residence, it is said, in consequence of its being distant from water, but another reason is assigned by popular rumour. On one of the Rāja's visits to Lahore, Ranjīt Singh remarked that he had heard much of the beauty of the palace at Tirā, and should like to see it. Sansār Chand replied that he should have felt honoured by the visit, but that he had quitted Tirā, and the place had fallen into so much decay, that it was unfit to receive the Sikh Chief, as he might satisfy himself by sending a person to inspect it. Ranjīt accordingly despatched an envoy for this purpose, but a messenger, sent off immediately by Sansār Chand, with orders to travel day and night, anticipated the Sikh envoy in sufficient time to give Tirā a

dismantled and desolate appearance. The report made by the Sikh deterred Ranjit from his proposed visit, but the circumstance excluded Sansār Chand from his patrimonial mansion."

"Rāja Sansār Chand spends the early part of the day in the ceremonies of his religion, and from ten till noon in communication with his officers and courtiers. For several days prior to my departure he passed this period at a small bangala, which he had given up for my accommodation, on the outside of the garden. At noon the Rāja retires for two or three hours, after which he ordinarily plays at chess for some time, and the evening is devoted to singing and naching, in which the performers recite most commonly Brij-bhākha songs relating to Krishna. Sansār Chand is fond of drawing and has many artists in his employ; he has a large collection of pictures, but the greater part represent the feats of Krishna and Balaram, the adventures of Arjuna, and subjects from the Mahabharat: it also includes portraits of many of the neighbouring Rajas and of their predecessors. Amongst these latter were two portraits of Alexander the Great, of which Rai Anirudha gave me one. It represents him with prominent features and auburn hair flowing over his shoulders; he wears a helmet on his head begirt with a string of pearls, but the rest of his costume is Asiatic. The Raja could not tell me whence the portrait came; he had become possessed of it by inheritance."

In addition to many other tokens of gratitude a grant of land was also conferred on Mr. Moorcroft, but as we know he never returned to benefit by Sansār Chand's kindness.

¹Mr. Moorcroft gives a very clear idea of the extent of the territory in the reign of Sansār Chand. He says:—"The Raj of Katoch or Kangra, which is subject to Raja Sansar Chand, is about forty short *kos* in length from north to south, and varies in breadth from east to west from fifteen to forty *kos*. The greatest length is from Pathiehar Mahal, on the north-west, near the frontier of Chamba to Bilāspur, on the south-east; the greatest breadth is from Baidyanath Maharaj, or Iswar Linga, a shrine of Shiva, and place of religious resort on the north-east, adjacent to Kulu and Mandi, to Tulhati Mahal, to the south on the borders of Jaswal: It is surrounded by Mandi and Suket on the east; by Kahalur and the vale of Jaswa on the south; by part of Jaswa, Siba and Gula on the west and Kulu and Chamba on the north. It is separated from the Bist (or Byas and Setlej) Doab of Jalandhar by the states of Jaswa, Siba and Gula, and from the great snowy range of the Himalaya by those of Mandi, Sukhet, Chamba and Kulu. It is however close to the mountains and is of considerable elevation. In some parts of it there is ice on the ground in July."

"The Raj is divided into three provinces, or Katoch, Changa and Palam. The latter is the more western and northern, bordering on Chamba. Three considerable rivers flow from the neighbouring mountains, the Banganga, Kurali and Nayagul, which unite in Haripur and, under the name of Trigadh, fall into the Byas at Siba

¹ Moorcroft, *Travels*, Vol. I, pp. 139-140.

fort. The Byas itself waters the eastern portion of the Raj, flowing through Shujanpur Tira and Nadaun."

Moorcroft speaks of an Irishman named O'Brien in Sansār Chand's service, whom he met at Tarā. O'Brien had been in the army of the E.I. Company in the Royal Irish Regiment. Having come on guard without some of his accoutrements he was reprimanded and answered in an insolent manner. On being touched or struck with a cane he knocked the officer down with the butt end of his carbine and galloped off. Not daring to return to his regiment he ultimately found service with Sansār Chand, with whom he seems to have remained till his death. Gul O'Brien as he is called at Sujānpur Tarā is still remembered, and a grave in a little grove of trees just to the west of the town is shown as his. His portrait occurs in two pictures of Sansār Chand's Court. He established a manufactory of small arms and disciplined an infantry corps of 1400 men. He also devised a quaint uniform like that of the E.I. Company's sepoy—for the Rāja's troops—some of whom appear in one picture. In Lahore Museum there are interesting portraits of Moorcroft (done during his visit to Sujānpur), also of Sansār Chand and Fateh Chand. Among Sansār Chand's pictures in the possession of Raja Sir Jai Chand, K.C.I.E., of Lambagraon, there is a portrait of Ghulām Muhammad of Rampur.

Sansār Chand died in December 1823, after a reign of 47 years. He was in many respects a remarkable man, and has left a record in these hills second to none as a ruling chief. Like Jagat Singh of Nurpur, whom he closely resembled in character, Sansār Chand stands out among the royal personalities of the past, both as a soldier and an administrator, and his name is still a household word far beyond the boundaries of Kāngra. Under him the ancient kingdom of the Katōches reached the zenith of its power and glory, and had he been content with what he had acquired he might have passed on his extensive dominions unimpaired to his posterity. For twenty years he was lord paramount of the hills, and even a formidable rival to Ranjit Singh himself. But his aggressive nature led him on in his bold designs and he fell at last a victim to his own overweening ambition. With him the glory of the Katōches passed away, and what remained to his son was little more than a name.

Anirūdh Chand, A.D. 1823.—On Sansār Chand's death, his son Anirudh Chand was installed as Rāja, and we are told some of the Sikh Sirdārs of high rank came to offer their condolence and congratulations, bearing certain presents from the Sikh Court. These consisted of a horse and bow, shawls and a gold *yarah*, with a pearl necklace (*Kantha*) and a *wajah* or turban. After six months, Anirūdh Chand was summoned to the Sikh Court, then at Adinanagar, which was a favourite resort of the Mahārāja. He presented a *nazarāna*, or fee of investiture, of one lakh and twenty thousand rupees, and received a suitable *khilat* in return. This visit was repeated in the following year, but on the third occasion Anirūdh Chand was met by a very unacceptable demand.¹ Sansār Chand had left two daughters by his *rānī* and three by a Gaddin concubine (*khawās*), and Rāja Dhiān Singh of Jammu, the Prime

¹ Cf. *History of the Punjab* by Muhammad Latif, pp. 440-1; also Honigberger, *Thirty-five Years in the East*, pp. 47 and 100, and Prinsep, *History of the Punjab*, pp. 86-7-8.

Minister, asked through the Maharaja, one of the rāni's daughters in marriage for his son, Hira Singh. For prudential reasons Anirūdh Chand expressed his willingness and gave a written engagement, but in reality he regarded the proposed alliance as an insult to the family honour. By immemorial custom among the Rajput royal families of the hills, a Rāja's daughter may not marry any one of lower rank than her father, that is a Ruling Chief or an heir-apparent. Anirūdh Chand was a Rāja in his own right and the descendant of a long line of kings, while Dhiān Singh was a Rāja only by favour of his master. Dhiān Singh too was of royal descent, and, next to the Mahārāja, the most powerful man in the Sikh Kingdom, but all this counted as nothing in the eyes of the proud Katōch when weighed against the family honour.

Time passed and Dhiān Singh through the Maharaja sent messages to hasten the marriage alliance. Anirūdh Chand used the pretext that his mother had recently died and he would give his sister a year later.

But he secretly sent away his property across the Satluj preparatory to flight. When the year was past, the Maharaja, at the instigation of his Minister, started for Nadaun to hasten on the marriage, if necessary by force. On hearing of this the Rāja sent his family across the Satluj, and when the Mahārāja reached Adinanagar he himself fled into British territory.

¹ The Mahārāja came to Nadaun and received two of the three illegitimate daughters of Sansār Chand in marriage, from their brother, Jodhbīr Chand, and gave the third to Wasāwa Singh Sindhānwālia. Nadaun and the neighbouring district he granted in *jāgīr* to Jodhbīr Chand, with the title of Raja, and it is still held by his descendants.

Fateh Chand, younger brother of Sansār Chand, did not leave the country with his nephew, and on waiting on the Mahārāja offered his own grand-daughter in marriage to Rāja Hira Singh. In reward he received the district of Rājgir in *jāgīr*, and was made a Rāja. He is also said to have received the rest of the State on lease on favourable terms, but he died on his way home. Ludar Chand his son succeeded to the *jāgīr* and lease; but failed to pay the amount agreed upon and was ejected from the leased lands, which were made over to zemindars, under the control of a Sikh officer. The first of these was Lehna Singh Sindhanwāla, for one year, followed by Kunwar Sher Singh for two years, both of whom resided at Tarā Sujānpur. Sher Singh (afterwards Mahārāja) was very kind to Ludar Chand and conferred on him a village and an orchard in his own *jāgīr* at Batāla. Afterwards Pālam became the *jāgīr* of Prince Nau Nihāl Singh, and the rest of the State was placed under Lehna Singh Majithia, who became Nāzim or Governor of the hills on his father's death.²

Soon after arriving in British territory Anirūdh Chand married his two sisters to the Rāja of Terhi Garhwāl, and died four years later, leaving two sons, Ranbīr Chand and Parmūdh Chand. In 1833, at the request of the British Government conveyed

¹ Cf. *History of the Punjab* by Muhammad Latif, pp. 440-1; also Honiberger, *Thirty-five Years in the East*, pp. 47 and 100, and Prinsep, *History of the Punjab*, pp. 86-7-8.

² *Tarikh-i-Punjab*, Fourth Daftar.

through Col. Wade at Ludhiana, Ranjit Singh recalled them, and granted a *jāgīr* of Rs. 50,000 value in Mahal Morian, where they took up their residence. Ranbīr Chand died in 1847.

¹ In 1835 Mr. Vigne met the two brothers. He says:—At a place called Kruhin, situated in the midst of low and treeless hills, covered with rank herbage, I found the residence of the ex-Rajah of Tira and his brother, the grandsons of the once powerful Sinsar Chand. After his death his son, Murut Chand, went to Lahore, where Ranjit demanded his sister in marriage for his favourite and Minister, Dihan Singh. Murut Chand requested permission to go back and talk over the matter with his mother, who, it is said, was not averse to the match; but he himself being a Rajput of high caste, refused to give his sister to an upstart of no family, and sent her and his mother and family across the Sutlej for security, under the pretence that they were going on a pilgrimage to the Ganges at Hurdwar; and the Fakir Aziz-u-Dyn, who had been sent to Tira by Ranjit, arrived there only to find that the bird had flown. Upon hearing the story, Ranjit came himself to Jewala Muki, afterwards noticed, where Murut Chand, at an interview, was asked three times if he would give his sister to Dihan Singh. He replied that he would, and was allowed to depart. He proceeded to Tira, and immediately despatched all his valuables towards the Sutlej; upon which Ranjit sent a force to make him prisoner but he escaped, and by the next day was safe in the Company's territories, where he joined his family at Hurdwar and soon afterwards died there. His sons were invited back to the Punjab and were living upon a jaghir (a grant of land) at Kruhin, where I saw them.

The residence consisted of two or three low thatched houses, and they were in the receipt of 30,000 rupees (3000*₹*) a year, which was collected from the surrounding country by permission of the Maharajah. The elder of the two brothers, and the rightful Rajah of Tira, was very civil, and gave a breakfast on the morning of my departure.

The young ex-Rajah showed me a friendly letter which his grandfather had received from Lord Lake by the hands of an envoy, whom he had despatched to wait on his lordship, after he had followed Holkar into the Punjab; and also a *chit* or writing by Mr. Moorcroft, given to and in favour of Rajah Sansār Chand, in which that open-hearted, intelligent, but unfortunate traveller, had spoken in the warmest terms of the kindness and attentions he had received from him.

On the termination of the First Sikh war the hill tracts between the Satluj and Biās were, under the treaty of 9th March, 1846, ceded to the British Government, and Kāngra thus came directly under British control. But the transfer was not carried out without difficulty. Relying on its ancient prestige, the Sikh Commandant of the fort refused to yield up his trust and Kotila Fort also held out for a time. When all means of persuasion had failed, a British force with a battery of artillery was sent up from Ludhiana by way of the Gaj Nala to compel the surrender, and at the end of two months the Commandant of Kāngra agreed to evacuate the fort, on

¹ Vigne, *Travels*, Vol. I, pp. 107-108-109.

condition of a free and honourable retirement for himself and the garrison. After the surrender of the fort a native infantry regiment was sent to garrison it, and this arrangement continued till some time before the earthquake of 4th April, 1905, when the stronghold was almost demolished. A detachment of eighty men was also posted at Kotila under a European Officer.

The dispossessed chiefs also did not yield a willing allegiance to their new rulers. The transfer of the hill tracts to Government was a consummation to which they had long been looking forward, in the eager hope and expectation that they would all be restored to their dominions. In this hope they were encouraged by the generous treatment accorded to the chiefs of the Simla hill states on the conclusion of the Nepalese War; when in accordance with the agreement made at the beginning of the war they were all reinstated in their possessions. Great then was their disappointment when the chiefs found that the Government meant to retain the country in their own hands. They all became disaffected in consequence, and when in 1848 they were approached by emissaries from the Sikh Sirdārs in rebellion, some of them lent a willing ear to illusive promises, that in the event of the British being defeated, they would be reinstated. First, the Wazīr of Nurpur, and then Parmūdh Chand, son of Anirūdh Chand, along with the Rājas of Jaswān and Datārpur, broke out into revolt. A force was sent against them under Mr. Lawrence the Commissioner, afterwards Lord Lawrence, which swept through the country and soon overcame all opposition. On his surrender, Parmūdh Chand, along with the Rājas of Jaswān and Datārpur, was sent to Almora, and detained as a political prisoner. There he died in exile and childless in 1851, and Sansār Chand's line thus came to an end.

Fateh Chand, younger brother of Sansār Chand, had died soon after the annexation of the State, and Ludar Chand, his son, succeeded to the *jāgīr* granted by Ranjit Singh, originally larger but reduced to Rs. 35,000 in 1833, on the return of Anirūdh Chand's sons from British territory. Ludar Chand was followed by Partāp Chand, who succeeded to the family title in 1851 on the demise of Rāja Parmūdh Chand without issue. He died in 1864, and since then his son, Rāja Sir Jai Chand, K.C.I.E., C.S.I., has been the head of the Katōch clan. He resides at Lambagraon, near Sujānpur on the right bank of the Biās. At the time of his succession he was a minor, and the estate was managed by the Deputy Commissioner of Kāngra as the Court of Wards. The estate was then heavily encumbered, but on the Rāja's coming of age in 1883, it was handed over to him free of encumbrance. Rāja Sir Jai Chand was educated partly at the Mayo College, Ajmir, and partly by private tutors. He speaks and writes English. He holds the honorary rank of Lt.-Colonel in the 37th Dogras, and served in the Black Mountain and Chitrāl Relief expeditions. He is also an Honorary Magistrate invested with criminal and civil powers, and is Sub-Registrar of his *jāgīr*. Rāja Sir Jai Chand is the second Viceregal Darbāri in the Kāngra District.

During the present year (1918) Lt.-Col. Rāja Sir Jai Chand, K.C.I.E., C.S.I., has received from the King-Emperor the distinction of Knight Companion of the Most Eminent Order of the Indian Empire, in recognition of his devoted loyalty and his

distinguished services to Government, especially in connection with the War. He had previously received the distinction of C.S.I.

LITERATURE.

- Ancient Geography of India.*
Archaeological Survey Reports.
The Uttara Kanda of the Padma Purana.
Researches in Mythology. Vans Kennedy.
Pentapetamia Indica.
Rājataranginī.
 Elliot's History.
 Ferishta, *History.*
 Alberuni's *India.*
Antiquities of Chamba State.
 Moorcroft, *Travels.*
 Vigne, *Travels.*
 Forster, *Travels.*
 Journals, Punjab Historical Society.
 Kangra Settlement Report.
 Kangra Gazetteer.
 Chamba Gazetteer.
 Elphinstone, *History.*
Akbarnāmah.
Āīn-i-Akbari.
Tūzūk-i-Jahāngīrī.
 Tod's *Rajasthān*, Reprint 1899.
Bādshāhnāmah.
History of the Punjab, Prinsep.
History of the Punjab, Muhammad Latif.
Tarīkh-i-Punjab, Ghulam Muhai-ud-dīn.

~~~~~

## Addenda to History of Nurpur State.

VOL. VI, NO. 2.

1. To be read as a separate paragraph after, "but does not give his authority," p. 104, line 28.

The reference in the *Tārīkh-i-Alfi*<sup>1</sup> is as follows:—"After capturing this fort (Jud) Ibrāhīm directed his attention towards another, called Damāl, which was situated on the summit of a high hill on the borders of Hindustan. On one side of this fort there was a large river, reported to be impassable, and on the other a large thorny jungle into which nothing but the rays of the sun could penetrate. The jungle was, moreover, infested with venomous serpents and flies, and abounded with elephants of enormous size. It was inhabited by a race of Hindus of gigantic form, and it was the most celebrated of all the places of Hindustan. At the foot of the hill there was no level ground suited for his operations. Ibrāhīm, nevertheless, with his usual courage, made an attempt to take the fort, and through the aid of God soon captured it. He took possession of an immense quantity of property and jewels, the like of which had never been seen."

This reference is interesting as proving that a fort had existed at Dhameri (Nurpur) from ancient times, long before the one erected by Rāja Bāsu.

2. To be read as a separate paragraph after, "completely demolished," p. 108, line 9.

In the *Tārīkh-i-Daūdī* we find an interesting note regarding the building of Maukot, called Mankot in the translation. Salīm Shāh Sur, younger son of Sher Shāh (also called Islām Shāh), had in A.D. 1547 been engaged in a campaign against the Khokhars, a tribe inhabiting the country at the foot of the hills between the Satluj and the Jehlam. Having destroyed many of the tribe, many of the zamindars (petty chiefs) whose possessions were at the foot of the hills submitted themselves to him. The narrative is as follows:—"Skirting the hills, he (Salīm Shāh) went thence towards Murīn, and all the Rājas of the Siwālik presented themselves and expressed their intentions of being obedient and faithful in their allegiance to him. Parsurām the Rāja of Gwālīor (Guler) became a staunch servant of the king and was treated with a degree of consideration which far exceeded that shown to the other zamindars. Gwālīor (Gwālīyār in the MS.) is a hill, which is on the right hand towards the south amongst the hills, as you go to Kāngra and Nagarkot. Islām Shāh erected some buildings there. The inhabitants of Gwālīor are not particularly good-looking and Islām Shāh composed these lines in jest:—

---

<sup>1</sup> *Tārīkh-i-Alfi*, Elliot's History, Vol. V, p. 162.



“How can I sing the praises of the beloved ones of Gwālior.  
 I could never do so properly if I tried in a thousand ways.  
 I do not know how to salute Parsurām when I behold him, I am distracted and  
 exclaim, Rām, Rām.”

Tāj Khān Kirāni, one of the king's attendants and companions wrote and presented this verse:—

“I style myself your slave.

What better employment can I find than your service !”

Islām Shāh stayed some time at Gwālior (Guler) and then set about building the fort of Mankot (Maukot). He went thither and caused five forts to be erected, one of which he named Shergarh; a second, Islāmgarh; a third, Rashidgarh; a fourth, Firozgarh; the fifth retained its original name of Mankot (Maukot) and Mangarh (Maugarh). The performances of Islām Shāh at this period can only be compared with the works done by the genii, by Hazrat Sulaimān (on whom be peace). Those who have beheld these forts know better than any other how miraculously they have been constructed. But Islām Shāh at this time behaved harshly towards the people, and gave no money to the nobles and the army for three years. Certain nobles agreed together to act treacherously, and instructed a certain individual, who was careless of his life, thus: “The King will go forth to-day from the red tents for the purpose of inspecting the fort of Mankot, approach him where the path is narrow, under the pretext of demanding justice, and then kill him.” This person went to the summit of a hill and posted himself in a place where only one man could pass at a time. When Islām Shāh reached that narrow passage he was preceded by some of his attendants and followed by others. The aforesaid assassin approached the King, demanding a hearing. As he did so and when he was close to him he drew a short sword which he had kept concealed, and struck at Islām Shāh, who was slightly wounded in the neck and fingers. Islām Shāh's extraordinary valour induced him to spring from his horse, and grapple with his assailant, whom he threw down and then wrested his weapon from him. Daulat Khān Ūjiāla beheld all that took place from the rear and came as swift as the wind to the assistance of His Majesty. He took the man out of the King's hands, saying, “If you will allow me, I will take charge of this person.” Islām Shāh replied, “He will be the cause of the ruin of many. Put him quickly to death. He is sure to accuse many people falsely of having instigated him to act thus. There is no benefit to be derived from keeping him.” Daulat Khān accordingly killed him on the spot.

There arose a great disturbance amongst the troops on account of the wound which the King had received, and the people said amongst themselves, “The King has been killed by a *paik*.” Islām Shāh returned immediately to his camp, and remained seated for some time on the throne. He sent for the sword with which the man had wounded him and threw it down before the nobles. They all, as well as the King, perceived that the weapon was one which he had himself given to Ikbāl Khān. This Ikbāl Khān was called Karamulla and had served in the King's infantry. Islām Shāh patronized him and promoted him to the rank of a noble. The King summoned



him and thus addressed him, "I raised you to your present station because I believed you to be faithful and trustworthy and I made you extremely wealthy. I am ashamed to put you to death because you are a person whom I have raised and treated kindly. Thus I punish you,—I degrade you from your dignity and position as a noble and send you back to the salary which you formerly received as a foot soldier. Take your old place again." The King then repeated this verse:—

"I am so vexed with my friends, I will never take one even to save myself from ruin."

The reference in the *Tārīkh-i-Badauni* is as follows:—"The ranks of the Niāzis began to be thinned day by day and they soon dispersed. In the first instance they took refuge with the Ghakars, in the neighbourhood of Rohtās, and then settled themselves in the hills in the neighbourhood of Kashmīr. Salīm Shāh with the view of suppressing for the future the disturbances excited by these insurgents, moved with an overwhelming force, and took up a strong position in the hills to the north of the Punjab, where for the purpose of establishing posts, he built five fortresses, called Mankot (Maukot),<sup>1</sup> Rashīdkot, etc. As he had no friendly disposition towards the Afghans, he forced them, for a period of two years, to bring stones and lime for the building of these fortresses, without paying them a single *fulus* or *jital*.

3. To be read as a separate paragraph after, "could be carried into effect," p. 109, line 22.

In A.D. 1572 during his reign, a Mughal army was sent by Akbar for the capture of Kāngra Fort. Jai Chand, the Rāja at the time, had incurred the Emperor's suspicion in some way, and was arrested and imprisoned, probably in Dehli. His son Bidhi Chand, looking upon his father as dead, assumed power and stirred up a rebellion. The Mughal army was under the command of Khān Jahān Husain Qulī Khān and advanced by way of Paithān (Pathānkot) and Dhāmeri (Nurpur). On arriving at the latter place the governor, called Janu (variants, Choto and Khabu), who is said to have been a relative of Jai Chand, withdrew into the fort from fear, but sent his envoys with an offering, and promised to keep the roads open. The offering was accepted and the Mughal force marched on, leaving an armed post at a village in the way near Nurpur to keep open communications. The narrative in the *Ma'asir-ul-Umarā'*<sup>2</sup> is as follows:—"He (Khān Jahān) in the 17th year (of Akbar) (A.D. 1572) set himself in motion according to orders for the conquest of the fortress of Nagarkot. It had been in the possession of Rāja Jai Chand. After his imprisonment, his son, Bidhi Chand, assumed that he had succeeded to his father's position, looking on him as if he were dead, and raised a disturbance. When he (Khān Jahān) arrived near Dhamthari (Nurpur), its governor, one Janu (variant, Khabu), a relative of Jai Chand, was afraid and withdrew out of the way, but envoys he had sent bound themselves for *rāhdāri* (to keep the roads open). The Khān left a number of his men to form

<sup>1</sup> *Tārīkh-i-Daūdi*, Elliot's History, Vol. IV, pp. 493-4-5-6.

Note.—The fort of Maukot was erected without paying the workmen, that is, by *begār* or forced labour. Cf. *Tārīkh-i-Badauni* and *Wāqiat-i-Mushtaqi*, Elliot's History, Vol. V, p. 489.

<sup>2</sup> *Ma'asir-ul-Umarā'*, Vol. I, p. 647.

an armed post (*thāna*) at a village lying close to the route, and then himself continued his march. He arrived at fort Kotila, which by its height makes a claim of equality with heaven. From a hill opposite that fort he discharged his guns several times, and so frightened the garrison that during the night they came out and fled. This fort in former times had belonged to Rāja Rām Chand, ruler of Gwāliyār (Guler); and it had been forcibly taken from him by Rām Chand the grandfather of Jai Chand. For this reason Khān Jahān made it over to the Rāja of Gwālyār, who was a descendant of Rām Chand, and posted there a guard of armed men. In advance (of Kotila) the trees were intertwined to an extraordinary degree, rendering the passage of an army exceedingly difficult. Khān Jahān sent out a multitude to cut down the jungle, and advanced each day the distance that had been cleared."

The district of Kotila with its strong fort had evidently become what it was for centuries, a bone of contention between Kāngra, Guler, and Nurpur. Originally it must have been Kāngra territory and was probably taken over or seized by Guler after that State was founded. It passed into the possession of Nurpur some time later, for in A.D. 1617—18 it was held by a Nurpur garrison against the Mughals, during the rebellion of Rāja Suraj Mal. After this it probably became a part of the imperial demesne, and the fort was garrisoned by imperial troops.

From the *Tabakāt-i-Akbari*<sup>1</sup> we learn that a son of Rāja Takht Mal, named Bhuj Dev, was killed at the siege of Kāngra Fort in A.D. 1572, and also that a fort existed in the reign of Takht Mal, which he had strengthened and into which the governor retired on the approach of the Mughal army. The fort most probably occupied the same site as the one erected by Rāja Bāsu, at a slightly later date when the capital was transferred from Pathānkot to Nurpur, about A.D. 1585. The variants of the name of the governor suggest that the real word is *Takhtu*, and that Rāja Takht Mal himself was in command of the fort. Remembering his brother's fate he had good reason for fear and anxiety.

4. To be read after, "and he took to flight," p. 134, line 16.


The note in Khāfi Khān is as follows<sup>2</sup>:—"For three days most vigorous attacks were made, but Dāra's position was very strong and his men fought bravely so that the assailants made no impression. Dāra's forces indeed sallied out and after causing considerable destruction of men and beasts returned to their positions. The artillery practices of the assailants damaged only the defence works. On the fourth night Aurangzeb called around him some of his most trusty servants and incited them by strong exhortations and promises to undertake an assault.

Next day Aurangzeb sent Rāja Rājrup, zamindār of Jammu (Nurpur), with his infantry, against the rear of a hill where an assault was not expected and where the concentration of forces was thought to render it impossible. But he forced his way and planted his banner on the summit of the hill..... The success at the beginning of the battle was due to Rāja Rājrup, but at last the

<sup>1</sup> *Tabakāt-i-Akbari*, Elliot's History, Vol. V, p. 358.

<sup>2</sup> *Munakḥḥab-ul-Lubāb*, Elliot's History, Vol. VII, p. 240.

victory was owing to the devotion of Shaikh Mir and the intrepidity of Diler Khān Afghān, who attacked the lines held by Shāh Nawāz Khān. Pride and shame so worked upon Shāh Nawāz that he gave up all hope of surviving and died fighting most courageously.



## Daniel Moginié, a forgotten Swiss adventurer in Hindustan.

(1738-1749.)

Translated from the German by the REVS. J. W. DÜHR, S.J., and H. HOSTEN, S.J.

Johann Bernouilli mentions, in a list of works on Nādir Shāh,<sup>1</sup> one by a Swiss adventurer, whose name and fame India seems to have entirely forgotten. He is said to have died at Agra on May 22nd, 1749, aged 39 years, and to have been Governor of the Panjab.

All I can say is that I have not found his name on any of the tombstones in the Catholic graveyards of Agra, although I copied all the inscriptions up to the end of December 1912. Of Moginié himself and his adventures I know nothing beyond what we learn from Bernouilli. His history is, however, too romantic to leave it in the limbo of oblivion. Perhaps one of our readers will feel stimulated to try and get hold of the original account, and push the study of it, and its claims to recognition or its spuriousness, further than Bernouilli.

H. HOSTEN, S.J.

—————:O:—————

[P. 11]. *L'illustre Paysan, ou Mémoires et aventures de Daniel Moginié, natif du village de Chézales au Canton de Berne, baillage de Moudon, mort à Agra, le 22 de Mai 1749, âgé de 39 ans ; Omrah de la première classe, Commandant de la seconde Garde Mogole, Grand Portier du Palais de l'Empereur et Gouverneur du Palngeab. Où se trouvent plusieurs particularités anecdotes des dernières Révolutions de la Perse et de l'Indostan et du Regne de Thamas-Koulikan. Ecrit et adressé par lui-même à son Frere Francois, son Légataire. A Lausanne, 1754. 8vo.*<sup>2</sup>

I have not seen this book for a very long time in the original French edition, but I have it lying before me in German, in which language it has appeared under several titles. First, at Berlin in 1755, the title: *Der erlauchte Bauer oder Lebensgeschichte und Begebenheiten Daniel Moginies*, etc., being the literal and complete translation of the long French title. Subsequently, a new title-page was put to this Berlin edition, with the following title: *Die bewundernswürdige Gunst des Glücks oder*

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *Des Pater Joseph Tieffenthaler's, b. G. J. und apost. Missionarius in Indien, historisch-geographische Beschreibung von Hindustan. Zweyten Bandes, zweyter Theil*, (Berlin) Gotha, E. W. Ettinger, 1788, pp. 11-17. [The notes not within [ ] are by Bernouilli. We leave the spelling of some of the proper names in their original form.]

<sup>2</sup> [The illustrious Peasant, or Memoirs and adventures of Daniel Moginié, a native of the village of Chézales in the Canton of Bern, Bailiwick of Moudon, who died at Agra on May 22, 1749, aged 39 years, Omrah of the first class, Commandant of the second Mogol Guard, Great Gate-Keeper of the Emperor's Palace, and Governor of the Palngeab [Panjab], wherein are found several Particulars (and) anecdotes about the latest Revolutions of Persia and Indostan and of the reign of Thamas-Koulikan. Written and addressed by himself to his brother François, his legatee. At Lausanne, 1754.]

*wahrhaftige und zuverlässige Lebensbeschreibung eines Menschen welcher von dem niedrigsten Stande bis fast zum höchsten Gipfel der Ehren gestiegen ist, und der seine Tage erst gegen die Mitte des jetzigen Jahrhunderts beschlossen hat. Nebst verschiedenen geheimen Umständen einiger sehr beträchtlichen Staaten.* Frankfurt und Leipzig, 1760.<sup>1</sup> The new title-page contains this quaint and quite new title, together with the 12 last pages of the text, and the identical list of atrocious errata found in the Berlin edition. Another German edition, which I have not seen, and which, if I understand Herr Meusel aright,<sup>2</sup> is a different translation from that of the Berlin edition, has for title: *Daniel von Moginie selbst eigene Beschreibung seiner Reise und seltsame Begebenheiten in Persien und Indostan; herausgegeben von (Reichard) Tomlinson.* Bern 1763, 2 parts, 8vo.<sup>3</sup>

[P. 12]. We might have assigned before this a place to Moginié, because he deals but briefly with Nādir's expedition to Dehli, whereas he relates at length the events preceding it. One knows hardly what to think about this quite marvellous book, which has much the appearance of a novel. At the age of 18, Moginié, the son of a substantial peasant, had a dream, after which he found, in a hollow wall of his father's house, a roll of parchment on which were written wonderful characters which he could not read. He sought the advice of Crousaz and Rüchat of Lausanne, was directed to a Leiden Professor (probably Schultens), and, to manage to go there, entered the service of a Dutch family at Bern. The Leiden Professor directed him in turn to the former commandant of Malacca, Herr Kalb of Amsterdam, from whom he finally learnt that his manuscript was written in the Malay, or the original Indian tongue, and contained the genealogy of a family, which descended from Amorgines, King of the Sacæ (*dem Könige der Sacer*), but was dispersed in the 11th century, when the barbarians invaded Persia. The third son of Sapor Amorgines, the then head of the family, went to Constantinople, next to Rome, where he was baptized and married. With what remained of his jewels he bought a piece of land in the Wadt or Pays de Vaud (then part of Savoy), where, in the year 1069 A.D. he wrote in his own hand at Avenicum (or Aventicum, now Avanches) the manuscript in question. Herr Kalb, recognising in Moginié a descendant of this Prince, and therefore one of the oldest noblemen in the world, showed him a father's affection, and took him to Batavia, but died on the journey. After several romantic adventures, Moginié reached Malacca, where the Governor of the town, an old French refugee, called d'Imberbault, gave him some instruction in the military art, to enable him to enter the service of Thamas, the Persian Prince.

Moginié, whose ambition it was to rescue his family from the obscurity into

<sup>1</sup> [The remarkable Favour of Fortune, or veracious and credible Biography of a Man who rose from the lowest Condition to well-nigh the highest Pinnacle of Honour, and who ended his Days only about the Middle of the present Century. Together with several unknown circumstances of some very important States. . . .]

<sup>2</sup> "Alia Versio Theotisca prodiit sic inscripta," etc. Vid. *Bibl. Histor.* Tom. II. P. 2, pag. 4. Herr Meusel has inserted this book among the authors on India, because it was not yet known to him, when he wrote that part which deals with the writers on Persia.

<sup>3</sup> [Daniel von Moginié's own Description of his Travels and strange Adventures in Persia and Indostan; published by (Reichard) Tomlinson. . . .]

which it had fallen, followed this plan. On December 24th, 1729, he arrived at Bender Abbasi, and, after weighing the pros and cons, he judged it more to his purpose to offer his services to the Afghan King Azraf, then at Shiras, than to Thamas, who was at a distance. He was well received by Zeberdest, Azraf's General, before whom he gave himself out as a French nobleman experienced in gunnery and the military profession; and, as Shiras was besieged shortly after by Thamas Kuli Khan, he was of great assistance in the defence of that town. The town was taken, however, after Azraf, who had abandoned it, was utterly defeated. Moginié now collected a force of 200 men, and taking command of it offered his services to Thamas Kuli Khan. From this time onward (February 1730), Moginié [P. 13] was for some years almost continually near the Persian General; he accompanied him in his expeditions, rendered him (as he says) important services, and rose higher and higher in his favour. His narrative of the events of this period is very circumstantial, and has every appearance of trustworthiness; nor do I see why a novelist should have taken the trouble to invent so many incidents therein related, which are of no interest to the mere dilettante reader.

Soon after ascending the throne in May 1736, the new Shāh (Nādir) sent Abdul-Bachi-Khan to Constantinople to confirm the peace. Moginié had to accompany him; and, though his character was not defined, his mission consisted chiefly in attracting to the Shāh's service all the Europeans residing at Constantinople who might be able to perfect in Persia the sciences generally, and especially the military art. Abdul-Bachi-Khan is the very ambassador with whom Otter travelled from Constantinople to Ispahan. Moginié, who remained behind in Constantinople, learnt, however, already in December 1736 that Abdul had accused him before the Shāh, as also before the Great Vizier and other Ministers of the Sublime Porte, as if he had hindered the conclusion of the peace. He was now ordered by the Shāh to remain as his agent near the Sublime Porte at Constantinople, and, under threat of disfavour, to settle within two months the business pending. As he had no hope of effecting this, he considered himself as lost. To save his remaining fortunes, he left Stamboul for Persia on the 4th of March 1737, and arrived in disguise at Ispahan, where his friends, out of fear and interested motives, betrayed him. The only one who took an interest in him was Heer Norpeen, the Director of the Dutch Factory, who advised him to try his luck in India, and offered him his help in the matter; for the circumstances were too bad for him to appear before the Shāh and seek to exculpate himself. He betook himself first to Candahar, where he was known to the Prince,<sup>1</sup> in order to settle there, and he helped to defend this town, which Nādir Shāh, not long afterwards, besieged for more than a year. During the siege, the issue of which could be foreseen, Moginié, who especially had to fear the Shāh's vengeance, fled to Dehli (which, like Otter, he calls Dilly), disguised as a Banian, and accompanied by an Afghan notable, who succumbed to the hardships of the way.

---

<sup>1</sup> During the first mission which he received from Thamas Kulikhan, viz., to examine secretly the condition of the Kandahar fortress, he gained the affection of the Prince, and continued in it, although he had to prove unfaithful to him in secret.

Here he soon rose to power, especially as he could still show [P. 14] the patent he had received from Nādir Shāh, and he already commanded a corps, and was consulted, when Nādir Shāh marched on Dehli. He advanced with the Mogol Army and assisted at the first events. He relates also, but differently from others, the well-known treacheries which then occurred; but, as Mohammed Shāh was retained a prisoner by Nādir after the meeting of the two Monarchs, the situation grew again too hot for him; and, to avoid falling into the Shāh's hands, he profited by the general disorder, and fled with about 60 officers. He reached Dehli before anything had transpired there about the Emperor's being kept a prisoner, and helped himself to horses from the Emperor's stable, four elephants, and the most precious objects in the palace of Nessur-Ali, lately deceased, which (palace) the Emperor had gifted to him. His followers had now increased to 1,500 officers and other persons of rank; he marched with them southwards, and conceived the idea of taking possession of the kingdom of Golkonda. At the end of three months, he was already at the head of 4,000 infantry and more than 1,800 horse, and had a camp with artillery and baggage. However, in July (1739), he learned, through the couriers sent from Dehli to the Provinces, what had since happened between the Emperor and the Shāh: the latter's retreat, and that he had bound himself to help the Emperor in bringing his nobility to obedience, or maintaining them in it. Hereupon, Moginié himself returned, was received by the Emperor as a faithful servant, was appointed to the dignity of a commandant of the second guard (*der andern Garde*), and honoured with other favours. These kindnesses animating him with new zeal, he undertook to organise the whole corps after what he considered the best methods of military discipline. In September 1740, he made them manœuvre before the Emperor, who was so highly pleased that he made him an Omrah of the first rank, and presented him besides with 400,000 rupees, to enable him to live up to his rank. Shortly afterwards, after a repetition of these manœuvres, he obtained the patent of a Lieutenant-General of the armies of Hindustan, and the Governors in the Provinces were ordered to discipline their troops according to his method.

This mission, however, does not appear to have been successful. Moginié was sent to Bengal, "in order to receive from the Regents of Dacca the accounts which they had to submit to their Over-Raja from the time of his minority."<sup>1</sup> The [P. 15] mother of the young Raja was a sister of the Emperor's, and he was to bring both to

<sup>1</sup> Before this, much [of Moginié's story] was simply improbable; but here the narrative limps quite violently and is surely false. How could Moginié give to the Mahomedan Governor of Bengal the title of Raja, which belongs only to Hindus? The supposed Over-Raja must have been Saffraskhan, to whom the rebellious Sadshi and Aliverdi, after they had done away with the Subah Sudsha Khan in 1738, disputed likewise the governorship, and whom they slew in battle at the end of 1741. Saffraskhan, besides, was older than to be a prince who had just emerged from his minority, since he was alive already before 1720 (Cf. *Holwell*, pp. 36-37). And, as for his mother, it is rather uncertain whether she was the Emperor's sister. On one point only does one remark a distant similarity with real history, viz., that at the time when Moginié would have been sent to Bengal, the Emperor, who was reduced to straits by the Mahrattas owing to the Tshout, offered to them to go to Bengal, to levy there the revenue which had fallen into arrears owing to the supposed anarchy, to which they agreed. [The word 'Tschout' may be identified with *Chauth* (Mahr.), 'one fourth part'; the black-mail levied by the Mahrattas from the provincial governors as compensation for leaving their districts in immunity from plunder. Cf. *Hobson-Jobson*—s. v., Chowt, and compare with Manucci by W. Irvine, *Storia do Mogor*, IV, 431, note on Chiutia.]



Agra, where the Raja intended doing homage to his sovereign and uncle, whereas his mother would remain in the Mahal. However, he made the Princess change her mind, and his old genealogical record moved the Emperor to give him his sister in marriage and appoint him Governor of the Panjab (*Panshab*) and Lahor. He is supposed to have lived in this glorious position from February 1742. Three years after his marriage, his wife would have died, and his only wish during [the last] four years was to have his brother near him, especially as the bad state of his health told him to prepare for death.<sup>1</sup>

I have allowed myself to be detained by this "illustrious peasant" at greater length than I had intended, and than he seems to deserve. For my justification I can add only that even the famous historian Herr Meusel has a higher opinion of the value of this book than probably most of my readers, or those who have read the whole of it. I want to quote his opinion at foot,<sup>2</sup> and add here freely my own. The authenticity of the old parchment-roll may be left undecided; it is not impossible, provided the contents, as given in the book itself, agree somehow with the Persian Annals to be found in trustworthy authors; perhaps, one might learn still in the *Pays de Vaud* whether the alleged discovery of this document is not a mere gloss added to the book by the editor.

[P. 16]. Still less importance is to be attached to the traveller's amorous adventures and others, which drove him to Malacca. He reached Shiras, and, as he has often occasion to speak of the Afghans (*Avganen*), he gives his brother an idea of this people and of the revolutions they had brought about in Persia. "I shall tell you about this," he wrote to his brother, "what I have learned from the chief and best informed persons among them. As their downfall and ruin took place under my own eyes, I shall be able to speak to you about it as an eye-witness." In another place (p. 63) one sees that he must have learned much from the French cannon-founder Chomel, who had come to Ispahan already in 1716 or 1717, and who from 1724 had enjoyed an influential position among the Afghans. However, this portion may also be merely an addition compiled by the editor from the several earlier histories I have indicated above. My opinion about Moginié's doings in Persia is more definite. I have said already why I consider them trustworthy. In that case they constitute the best and most useful portion of the book. I add still that the fortunes of our adventurer in Persia are not quite so extraordinary as to exceed all likelihood. Nādir was fond of Europeans,<sup>3</sup> and Moginié had talents which, for the country, were not common. Only one point offers a difficulty: Moginié asserts that the daughter of

<sup>1</sup> This brother had gone with him to Holland, and had entered the service of an Englishman.

<sup>2</sup> Liber historici magis, quam geographici argumenti, utpote qui, præter auctoris fata mirabilia, multa de rebus titulo memoratis tradit alibi haud obvia, certe minus explicita. Nos supra Vol. I, P. II, p. 63, sqq. ubi de rebus Persicis ævi recentioris sermo, hujus quoque scriptoris probe instructi meminissimus, si tum ejus librum cognovissimus. In usum eorum qui de rebus Persiæ historias condidere, venisse haud videtur. [=The subject of the book is historical rather than geographical; for, in addition to the author's wonderful adventures, it contains many things on the matters mentioned in the title which are not found elsewhere, or at any rate are less clear. In Vol. I, Pt. II, p. 63, sqq., where we speak of Persian affairs of more recent times, we should have mentioned also this well-informed writer, if we had then known his book. It does not appear to have been known by the historians who have written about Persia.]

<sup>3</sup> See in particular pp. 158-159, and *Lettres édifiantes*, Rec [ueil] xxv, p. 405.



Samedkhan, a distinguished General in Nādir's service, was given him in marriage by her own father, whose favourite he was. This seems to show that he changed his religion. He wishes, however, to forestall the suspicion (p. 162); but I doubt whether the two could have gone together, and I suspect that a remnant of Swiss piety and shame made him suppress the circumstance. Probably, too, he bore another name in Persia and Hindustan, which he nowhere mentions.

To come finally to the events which would have occurred after his flight from Persia: some of these may be true, and one can learn even some incidents about Nādir's expedition; but, very shallow and partly false are on the whole the informations inserted about Hindustan; I take them as an addition of the ignorant editor, nor do I consider less apocryphal Moginié's relationship with Mohanmad-Shah, the Emperor of Hindustan; for, in that case, new doubts arise, on the score of religion among other things. Moreover, one may wonder that not the slightest information about the Mogol Court is to be found for the period 1742-1749, not even about the death of his imperial brother-in-law, which occurred in 1747. [P. 17] This is easy to understand, however, when one considers that the editor had not at hand any printed books from which to fill in the gap.<sup>1</sup>

*St. Xavier's College,  
30, Park Street, Calcutta.  
1917.*

---

[<sup>1</sup> The following facts may possibly throw some light on Moginié's stay at Dacca. According to Stewart's *History of Bengal* (pp. 426-429), Sujā-uddin, the Nawāb of Bengal, who governed Murshidābād from 1726 to 1739, appointed his son-in-law Murshid Kuli Khān, as Deputy Nazim of Dacca. Murshid Kuli Khān employed as his Diwān 'Meer Hubbeeb,' a native of Shiraz, who had been a broker at Hugli. In 1734, Murshid Kuli Khān was appointed to the deputy-government of Orissa and he took 'Meer Hubbeeb' with him. The government of Dacca was then conferred by the Nawāb on Sarfarāz Khān, but he was ordered to send there as his deputy 'Ghalib Aly Khan,' who asserted his descent from the kings of Persia. Might Moginié not have been known, therefore, in India by the title of Ghalib Ali Khan?

An Augustinian Friar, Ambrosio de Santo Augustinho, relates how, while he was Rector of Nagori near Dacca, there arose a persecution against the Christians of his Mission under Murshid Kuli Khān and his second 'Morohib' (Meer Hubbeeb). Morohib was, however, a friend of the Christians, and he did everything he could to defend them. "This man completed his term of office, and another one came. The case was placed before the tribunals, and all were condemned to death. The Nababo who had to ratify the sentence was a Persian; a good man, called Galbalican. He said he would not kill them. God, who had created them, would kill them; let them remain in prison for life. They remained in prison three years and some months. One died in prison; the other two were set free at the request of a Christian, the Nababo's surgeon, and they did not enquire any further about the others or about the Fathers; the whole thing was hushed up that way or put out of sight."

Having no books at my disposal here at Darjeeling (15-3-1920), I am unable to push my enquiries about Galbalican any further.]

## The Cradle of Graeco-Buddhist Art.<sup>1</sup>

A. FOUCHER.

It may be taken as an historical fact that the Graeco-Buddhist school of art arose some time about the beginning of our era, and somewhere on the North-Western borders of India, from the impact of two inverse expansions: that of Hellenism towards the East, consequent upon the political conquests of Alexander, and that of Buddhism towards the West, due to the religious propaganda of Aśoka. All that remains to be done is to go beyond these safe but rather too wide approximations, and to determine with more precision the place as well as the date of birth of that school. Of course both enquiries, the geographical and the chronological one, are closely connected together: yet to-day we are especially concerned with the first, and our set task is to fix as accurately as possible the limits of the country which may boast of having been the cradle of the school, or, to make things easier, of its characteristic trade-mark, I mean the Indo-Greek type of Buddha. As you already know, the latter is the indisputable prototype of all the modern Buddhas we find still enthroned in the pagodas of the Far East. Now, if we consider that Graeco-Buddhist art thus spread as far as the shore and islands of the Pacific Ocean and played in Eastern Asia the same prominent part as Christian art in Europe, the question of its starting-place will seem to be quite worth an answer, and we shall feel we are not idling away our time if we look for it in an atlas.

As soon as we glance at the map, which is bound to contain the object of our search, viz. that of the mountainous region between India and Iran, we see that our quest will be singularly simplified by the physical character of the country. For it is a well-known law, easy to exemplify all over the world, that Art never was a mountain-flower. So we may take it as granted that the Graeco-Buddhist school can only have flourished in one of the two alluvial plains shown on the map. It sprang up either on the northern or on the southern side of the Hindu Kush, the ancient Paropanisus range, *i.e.* either in the valley of the Oxus or in that of the Kābul-Rūd. So the question of priority is to be decided between—if we give their ancient names to the two competing countries—Bactria and Gandhāra.<sup>2</sup> To be sure, the Peshawar district and the adjoining valleys have been for a century, especially since the annexation of the Panjab and the British expeditions to Kābul, the great find-place for “Buts,” as they call every Buddhist sculpture on the Frontier; and lately the admirable excavations of Sir John Marshall have conclusively showed that Graeco-Buddhist art flourished

<sup>1</sup> Summary of an illustrated lecture given at Barnes Court, Simla, on the 1st August, 1919.

<sup>2</sup> For the sake of brevity we include here, under the name of Gandhāra, the neighbouring valleys of Swat and Buner (anc. *Udyāna*) and of Kābul (anc. *Kapiśa* and *Nagarahara*).

as far East as Taxila. But what about Bactria, the fertile, rich, thickly populated country of Bactria, the "Pride of Ariana," with its thousand towns, and its old capital Bactra (now Balkh), the "Mother of Cities"? When we are seeking for the origin of an acknowledged semi-Hellenic school, how can we forget that Bactria was for a long time the largest Greek colony in the Middle East? Or would the fact that no archaeological exploration has yet been attempted in Afghan Turkestan be a sufficient reason for putting its claim aside off-hand? Evidently not: but then we must confess that we entirely miss one of the two essential elements of the problem; and its solution becomes a case of "guessing if you can, and choosing if you dare" as the French poet puts it.

We are thus confronted, at the very outset, with the most glaring and deplorable gap in our knowledge of the antiquities of Buddhist Asia. It can easily be shown how the Buddhist art of Java, Cambodia, Ceylon, is linked up in its origins, through the medium of Amarāvati, Bodh-Gayā, Benares and Mathurā (Muttā), with the North-West frontier of India. Thanks to the splendid explorations of Sir Aurel Stein, Edouard Chavannes, and others, we can follow in the same way the spread of Indo-Greek influence along the sandy roads of Central Asia to China, Corea, and Japan. But then, between the Peshawar district and the Kābul valley on one side, and the Chinese Turkestan on the other, there is an almost perfect blank, the upper basin of the Oxus being still practically unexplored, as far as archaeological research is concerned. What makes matters still worse, Balkh lies just at the apex of the angle, at the branching off of the two great routes along which Buddhist religion and art travelled, leading either towards the South-East, to Java, or towards the North-East, to Japan: so the presence of that gap, as you may imagine, cannot but tell very heavily on the study of Asiatic art, old and new. To begin with, our present query about the birth-place of the Graeco-Buddhist school must ever remain open to discussion as long as the ruins of Balkh have not been properly examined and excavated. But if we cannot to-day reach certitude, that is not a reason to discard what we can get, *viz.* probabilities. While we wait and long for the scientific evidence, it may be of some use if I briefly give you some obvious, and, I trust, reasonable arguments in favour of Gandhāra as against Bactria.

## II.

When we enquire about the historical circumstances which engendered the creation of the Indo-Greek type of Buddha, what particularly attracts Europeans is how Hellenic influence can thus have reached as far as the banks of the Oxus and of the Indus. When once they are satisfied that, after Alexander's conquest in 329-327 B.C., Bactria knew two full centuries of Greek rule, they are quite ready to use the expression "Graeco-Bactrian Art" to designate the sculptures found on both sides of the Indo-Afghan frontier. Now were that school Greek only, I mean had it produced none other but classical motives, this mental attitude—one-sided as it is—would be perfectly right. Suppose that in Gandhāra we found only Ionic or Corinthian capitals, winged lions or griffins, Atlantes or Tritons, *amorini* or bacchanals, and so on; in order to explain their origin we should not have to look any further than to

Hellenized Bactria. But, besides these decorative subjects, the finds of Gandhāra have brought to light in overwhelming numbers scenes and images which no recourse to Greece or Persia could ever explain alone: I mean the Buddhist ones. To account for them, it is necessary to prove the penetration not only of Greek art, but also of the Buddhist religion—founded a thousand miles away in the middle Ganges valley—into the country which was to be the place of their union. So it would not be sufficient to repeat over and over again the hackneyed story of Alexander's raid in the Panjab, and, later on, of the Indian conquests of Demetrios and Eukratides, of Menander and Apollodotos, in the second century B.C. It is not less essential to bear in mind how the famous Aśoka, in his zeal for the propagation of the Good Law, had Gandhāra and Kashmīr converted by the apostle Madhyāntika towards the middle of the third century B.C., and how the extreme North-West of India was soon, as the sacred texts say: "glistening with golden foundations and yellow monastic robes," so much so that Gandhāra became in fact, after Magadha, the second Holy Land of Buddhism. If now you remember that on the contrary Bactria was not an Indian country, but an Iranian one, specially famous as the alleged birth-place of Zarathustra, and the stronghold of Mazdeism, you will have to own that—even if we gratuitously suppose that Buddhism penetrated there directly after the conversion of North-Western India, say, in the second century B.C., at the soonest—it was not a fit place for the immediate thriving of it. Thus these simple considerations already create a *prima facie* advantage in favour of Gandhāra.

That is not all: let us not be satisfied with mere words. The meeting of two abstractions like Buddhism and Hellenism could never produce such a concrete creation as the Graeco-Buddhist sculptures. Take the case of the truest representative of the school, the Indo-Greek type of Buddha. Such an image could be brought forth only when ordered of a Greek sculptor by a native Buddhist. I should even be tempted to go one step further. The more I look at these old acquaintances of mine, the more they appear to me as a kind of hybrid compromise, where Greek and Indian features are so indissolubly blended together that I feel driven to the conclusion that the most likely creator of this Eurasian Buddha would be, too, a Eurasian sculptor, an artist by his Greek father, and a Buddhist by his Indian mother. Be it as it may, this mixed breed of images is clearly not a pure Indian work, but Greece too could never have produced it alone without the help of India. It really is a new creation, exactly as from the amalgamation of two alien chemical substances in a crucible, there springs forth a third and different one. There lies its own kind of originality; and by the way, you see how wrong those are, who, prompted by some aesthetic bias, or by a narrow nationalist spirit, used to despise and disparage these statues which are, after all, the greatest artistic success ever achieved in the East. But to revert to our main point, it must have taken at least two or three generations of close intercourse between Greek and Buddhist people for such a double-faced personage, such a strange mixture of an Indian monk and a Hellenic god, such an intimate combination of the Mahapurusha and Apollo to be finally evolved. Now we can nowhere find, in the history of Bactria, time for such a protracted intercourse between a strong Greek colony,

and a flourishing Buddhist community. During the third century B.C., Alexander's successors were simply ruling over Bactria, as over one of the provinces of the just-dismembered Persian empire, perhaps the most Iranian of all: practically, they had nothing whatever to do with either Buddhism or India. It is only *circa* 200 B.C., after the success of the Buddhist propaganda in North-Western India, and simultaneously with the conquests of the latter by Demetrios, son of Euthydemus, that we may assume some of the monks to have found their way to the northern side of the Paropanisus range. But then two-thirds of a century had scarcely elapsed before the Greeks, in their turn, were swept out of Bactria by the invading Scythians.

Thus we come to the most decisive argument against Bactria having ever been the cradle of the Græco-Buddhist school, that is to say, the chronological one. All historians agree that *circa* 135 B.C. under Heliocles, the Bactrian part of the Greek kingdom, was overrun by the Barbarians. Somehow the Greeks seem to have succeeded in keeping their Indian dominions for some fifty years more, till they were completely supplanted by Saka and Parthian invaders. Some of them even managed to maintain themselves in the Kābul valley, where Hermaeus was still ruling at the advent of the Kushāns, in the first part of the first century of our era. Now, it is most likely that, as far as we can see, the Græco-Buddhist school was not originated before the first century B.C., at about the time of the late Yavana and the first Saka-Pahlava kings. True it is we are no longer bound to postpone the birth of Buddha's image till the end of the first century A.D., for the seemingly peremptory reason that it does not make its appearance on coins till the time of Kanishka. Since the sensational discovery of the Peshawar relic-casket by Dr. D. B. Spooner, we can see clearly that at the time of Kanishka the type of Buddha already was a much stylized one. Yet, on the other hand, we cannot well refer its creation—much as we should be inclined to do so—to the time of the greatest Indo-Greek dynasts, not even of those who, like the famous Menander, have the Greek legend on the obverse of their coins translated on the reverse into Indian language and writing for the benefit of their Indian subjects, and stamp their coinage with undeniable Buddhist symbols. As a rule things do not move so quickly in India. You may imagine for yourselves how many reciprocal prejudices must have been surmounted before invaders and invaded were able to start in common a new artistic school. But there we are again: if the Buddha's prototype did not see the light before the first century B.C., then its birth-place cannot have been the already 'barbarized' country of Bactria.

Shall I add that every logical presumption points in the same direction? Impartial as you are, you will readily admit with me that the want of those new religious creations must have been first felt, like the want of bilingual coins, rather on the southern than on the northern side of the Paropanisus, rather in India than in Iran. If the Græco-Bactrians had anything to do with them, it was only after they had had to forsake Bactria—compelled to do so by the irresistible advance of the Scythian hordes—and to fall back on their Indian possessions. There only, from the Irano-Greeks they still were, they were turned into real Indo-Greeks; there only they were at liberty to mix with a fairly ancient and exceptionally prosperous Bud-

dhist community long enough to conceive the idea of and receive orders for the production of bas-relief scenes from the life of Buddha and for statues of the Master himself. Keep saying, if you like, that Graeco-Bactrian artists created Graeco-Buddhist art; but concede that the opportunity of doing so was first offered them in the Kābul valley and the Peshawar district, in Kapiśa and Gandhāra.

### III.

Such at least are, for the present, the probabilities: the definitive answer to the question is still lying beneath the mounds of Balkh, and, as history has not much to do with logic, these when once dug out, may after all teach us better. But as we are aiming only at gathering presumptions, it is now too late to stop short: the fact that I have ventured a first assertion about the Gandhārian origins of Graeco-Buddhist art entitles you to exact my opinion about the circumstances of its introduction into Bactria. Of course, the smallest bit of fact is better than any amount of hypothesis, and it is a vain business to try and imagine beforehand what these unexcavated ruins are likely to yield to the digger. However, the ruins are there, and Sir Alexander Burnes estimates their circuit to be twenty miles, which is, you will concede, quite enough to make an archaeologist's mouth water. May we, by the way, express the hope that some kind aeroplane will soon bring us a good photographic survey of them, as has already been done for some ancient sites in Mesopotamia? Another welcome, though not very enlightening, piece of information is that most of the population, such as it was—and, after the passage of Chingiz-Khan, it never was a large one again—was removed in 1858 some miles to the East, to Takht-a-Pul, which is the seat of the Afghan governor: this general exodus will, some day, greatly facilitate researches. Unfortunately, we are still at a time where we can make nothing but surmises: yet I think our conjectures cannot possibly go very far astray. Of the great artistic river, the source of which is, we believe, in Gandhāra and the mouth in the Pacific, we know pretty well the course throughout Central Asia: why should we not undertake to dot, as it were, on the map the short unexplored part?

On Buddhist art in Bactria we possess, it is true, rather scanty and meagre information. Fa-hien and Sung-Yün took the short cut between Khotan and the Indus; thus we are reduced, about the country of *Po-ho*, i.e. Balkh, to the testimony of a single Chinese pilgrim; but this is no lesser one than Hsüan-tsang (seventh century A.D.). At first the number of "one hundred convents or so" he mentions—as many as in Kucha and Khotan, and far less than in Kashgar—contrasts unfavourably enough with the "1,000 and more" which he ascribes to Gandhāra. Yet what he says of the antiquity of the shrines, and the beauty of the statues, bodes well to the future excavations, and leaves no doubt that Graeco-Buddhist art spread—as it was bound to—in Bactria, on its way to Sogdiana and Serindia. The only question is, when did this spreading take place? Provisionally, I should think it did not, in earnest, till the time of Kanishka. Let us bear in mind that the vast kingdom of this monarch, the second great emperor of Buddhist tradition, was thrown across the Hindoo-Koosh



much as a double bag across a pack-saddle. As Aśoka's conversion had reacted all over India, so did that of Kanishka react over a large part of Central Asia. The first had pushed on at a stroke the Good Law to Gandhāra and Kashmīr, the second made it cross the Roof of the World and smoothed for it the way to China; and so you can well understand why the Buddhist Fathers are always so partial to both, to the Barbarian as well as to the Indian King. Everything reckoned, I should readily attribute to the end of the first century A.D. the oldest foundations noticed by Hsüan-tsang in the district of Balkh.

If now you enquire about the characteristics of Buddhist art in Bactria, I may safely answer that it would be absurd to suppose its productions to be very different from those which have already been excavated either on the South-Eastern border of that country, in the Kābul valley, or on its North-Eastern one, in Chinese Turkestan. Only I should be inclined to conjecture that the decoration of Bactrian convents was already more like that of the Serindian than of the Gandhārian ones. At least, as soon as we reach the Bamyan Pass, beyond Kābul, this impression forces itself upon us. Of the famous antiquities of that place, we have some sketches made by Capt. Maitland, one of the officers of the Afghan Boundary Commission, and published in the J.R.A.S. for 1886.<sup>1</sup> Not only do the numerous caves and idols carved in the conglomerate rock on the sides of the gorge bear a striking resemblance to the "Ming-oi" of Chinese Turkestan, but the drawings made from the paintings in the grottoes might be mistaken by any expert for those you will soon see reproduced in the second Report of Sir Aurel Stein on Serindia. Shall we gather the same idea from the Buddhist remains of Balkh, once they are rid of their cover of earth? You will perhaps be surprised if I say that much depends upon the geological formation of the Oxus basin. Few people realize what a boon the bluish slate, which is to be found in the valleys adjoining the Kābul and Swat rivers, was for Gandhāra sculpture. It meant for it what marble meant for Greek art. As C. Masson rightly says in a Memoir forming a part of *Ariana Antiqua* (p. 56) concerning the *stūpas* of Jellalabād: "The abundance of primitive slate, of a fine dark colour, in the hills of Afghanistan, has furnished the artists with a plentiful supply of excellent and easily worked stone, of which they have admirably profited to promote the elegance and beauty of these structures." If the hills nearest the course of the Oxus did not supply a suitable stone for carving, then the Bactrian artists must have been obliged to fall back on the materials used all over Central Asia, *viz.* stucco and clay: and, in that case, the kinds of Buddhas excavated by Sir Aurel Stein on the plaster-coated walls of the Rawak *stūpa*, in the region of Khotan, would probably give us a fair foretaste of what we may expect to dig out of the Balkh tumuli.

Shall we press the subject still further? We are at liberty to look forward to many other kinds of discoveries. We could for instance anticipate among the finds, in addition to Buddhist sculptures, some Iranian ones as well, such as images of the

---

<sup>1</sup> Since the above was written I have found among the photographs brought back by the Afghan Boundary Commission two views of the Bamyan Pass, and three of Balkh: they merely confirm the impression.

famous goddess Anaitis, who had one of her most celebrated shrines in Bactra, or of her consort Mithra, or of any one of the numerous deities which figure besides the Buddha on the coins of Kanishka and Huvishka. Or we could foresee the discovery of purely classical objects in even a larger number than in Gandhāra, owing to the privileged situation of Bactra on the high trade road to and from the Hellenized countries of Western Asia. I would not hesitate in prophesying especially the turning up of interesting specimens of Graeco-Sassanian and Graeco-Persian plate and jewellery: we already have as a pledge the well-known patera from Badakshan and the celebrated "Treasure of the Oxus", which now are much prized possessions of the British Museum. The first is rather a debased piece of work, but the second contains very fascinating things indeed, some of Greek and some of Persian workmanship, even some which—as is the case with an admirable gold bracelet of inlaid jewellery—raise the much-controverted question of Scythian influence. Such are the principal ways, without reckoning many unexpected others, in which we may confidently predict that any diggings at Balkh would be amply rewarded.

But I perceive that we are insensibly drifting further and further away from our main thesis. To sum up, I have endeavoured, first of all, to make a strong case in favour of Gandhāra being the real cradle of the Graeco-Buddhist school: the fault does not lie with me if, by the way, I could not help convincing you of the paramount importance of Bactria or, if you prefer to call it so, Afghan Turkestan, for the history of Eastern Art. I should not be much astonished—nor very sorry, either—if this side-issue had somewhat thrown the title of my lecture into the shade, for it is after all the most interesting and actual part of my subject. Preoccupied as we are with the past, we cannot but be confronted now and then with the present, and even feel tempted to interrogate the future. One question, I am sure, is to-day on your lips, which before I conclude I must venture to express. Will this be one of the belated consequences of the Great War to have the Afghans brought out of their wild isolation, and taught to give up the unprofitable rôle of dog in the manger? To speak plainly, will they at last be induced to admit archaeological missions to their territory? Let us wait and see. In matters of diplomacy ordinary mortals must remain content with repeating the cautious as well as shrewd utterance of the old Indian poet, who, to conclude a highly philosophical hymn of the Rig-Veda, says: "Only the gods know, and perhaps even *they* do not know."

~~~~~


JOURNAL

of the

PANJAB HISTORICAL SOCIETY

Vol. VIII, No. 2, pp. 103-206.

	PAGE
History of Jammu State. <i>J. Hutchison and J. Ph. Vogel</i>	103
History of Bhadu State. <i>J. Hutchison and J. Ph. Vogel</i>	152
History of Spiti. <i>J. Hutchison and J. Ph. Vogel</i>	159
History of Lahul. <i>J. Hutchison and J. Ph. Vogel</i>	162
Notes on the History of Chanchni State. <i>J. Hutchison and J. Ph. Vogel</i> ..	167
Notes on the History of Bandhrāla State. <i>J. Hutchison and J. Ph. Vogel</i> ..	172
Some aspects of Slavery. <i>V. Lakshman Sarup, M.A., D.Phil. (Oxon.)</i> ..	174
The Historical Aspect of some Himalayan Customs	185
Military Secretariat Records	198
Secretary's Report, 1919 and 1920	200
Officers and Members of Council	201
Honorary Treasurer's Report for 1920	202
Panjab Historical Society	203

Calcutta :

PRINTED AT THE BAPTIST MISSION PRESS AND PUBLISHED BY
THE PANJAB HISTORICAL SOCIETY, LAHORE.

NOTICE.

Correspondence relating to membership, meetings, papers and publications should be addressed to—

A. C. WOOLNER, ESQ., M.A.,

Hon. Sec., Panjab Historical Society, University, Lahore.

Subscriptions and letters containing enquiries concerning subscriptions should be sent to—

MISS FORSTER,

Hon. Treasurer, Panjab Historical Society,

University, Lahore.

History of Jammu State.

J. HUTCHISON and J. PH. VOGEL.

Jammu state seems originally to have included only a small tract in the valleys of the Tawī and the Chīnāb, in the outer hills, and extending some way into the plains. At the period of its greatest expansion, under the old dynasty in the eighteenth century, it was bounded on the west by the Chīnāb, on the north by the Ladha range separating the Tawī from the Chīnāb, on the east by the States of Chanēhni, Bandhrālta, Mankot and Jasrōta, and on the south by the plains. Within this area were embraced several subordinate States, ruled chiefly by branches of the Jamwāl family in subjection to Jammu. These were Rihāsi, Bhotī, Sāmba and Dalpatpur, while Akhnur to the west of the Chīnāb seems to have been similarly ruled. Jammu also held suzerainty over all the States in the outer hills to the east as far as the Rāvi, and over Kashtwār and Bhadrwāh in the Chīnāb Valley. The original name of the State was Durgara, and according to tradition the capital was at Bāhu, where the ancient fort and a small town still exist.

The fort and town of Bāhu stand due east of Jammu, on the left bank of the Tawī and overlooking that river. The fort still bears an appearance of great strength, and was famous in former times, as we learn from the Muhammadan authors.

It is to be regretted that the material for the history of an ancient State like Jammu should be so scanty and unreliable. Every available source of information has been drawn upon but with indifferent results, and we can only express the hope that further research may yet bring more material to light.

Of the documents relating to the history of the State the *Vansāvalī* of the royal family is the most important; but unfortunately it is not available in original, and the only copy forthcoming is a compilation said to have been made in the reign of Mahārāja Gulāb Singh, and called the Gulābnāmah. It may have been compiled from older records, but it contains little more than a long list of names, dating from that of the mythical founder down to the present time. As there is no corroborative evidence for the early portion, it must be received with caution. It contains about 120 names, but there are several breaks in the continuity of the line, so that it is difficult to form an estimate as to the foundation of the State. We may, however, safely assume that it is of ancient origin, probably dating from the first century of the Christian era or earlier. Considerable doubt is thrown upon the reliability of the *Vansāvalī*, by the record of long reigns of sixty and seventy years ascribed to a succession of Rajas.

The History of Jammu State by Thakur Kāhn Singh Balauria is practically the

only other source of information in addition to references by Muhammadan authors, and to it we are indebted for many details. The author has been at great pains in tracing the origin of the various branches of the Jamwāl clan and in showing their connection with the parent stem.

¹ A reference to the State occurs in Ferishta connected with events which are said to have happened in the first century. Where Ferishta got his information we cannot say, but possibly he had access to old records which are now lost. The account is somewhat confused and not fully reliable; and yet it may well be a reminiscence of an early invasion of the hills by one of the paramount powers on the plains, which as we know claimed dominion over the hill tracts.

At that early period, it is said, one Rāja Rām Dev Rāthor ruled in Kanauj, and among conquests made by him, the Outer Himālaya, from Kumāon to the Jehlam, are said to have been invaded and subdued. After conquering Kumāon he advanced westward as far as Nagarkot, which also submitted, and then he went on to the fort of Jammu. The Rāja of Jammu, "confident in the valour of his army, the strength of his fortress, the difficulty of access, the denseness of the jungles and the abundance of his supplies, refused to surrender and came out to battle." But he was unable to make a stand and fled. A force was sent in pursuit and meantime the fort was invested and soon captured. The Rāja then came humbly to wait on Rām Dev, who, after concluding peace and receiving a daughter for his son, penetrated westward as far as the Jehlam and then returned to Kanauj.

That Jammu is an ancient principality seems hardly open to doubt, though it is not referred to in Sanskrit literature or any ancient records. The first historical mention of the State, under the name of Durgara, occurs on two Chambā copper-plate title deeds of the eleventh century, but referring to events that took place in the early part of the tenth century, proving that the State was then in existence and ruled by its own chief.² Surprise has been felt that no reference to Durgara is to be found in the *Rājataranginī*, in which many hill States, as Chambā, Vallāpura (Balor), Trigarta (Kāngra), and others are mentioned.³ The explanation seems to be that the State is referred to under the name of its capital, which was then evidently at Babbapura, now Babōr, near the left bank of the Tawi, some 17 miles east of Jammu. Reference to the hill States by the name of their capital was and still is a common custom, indeed in many cases the State has taken its name from its capital. That Babbapura or Babōr was a former capital of Jammu State seems extremely probable. The modern derivation is entirely in analogy with that of other similar place-names in the hills, e.g. Vallāpura-Balōr; Brahmāpura-Brahmōr; Mangalāpura-Manglōr. That Babōr is an ancient site is attested by the ruins of no less than seven stone temples, one of which bears an inscription in Śārada characters, but so badly defaced as to be illegible. But enough remains to show that the type of Śārada is the same as that of the Baijnāth Eulogies, which are dated in Sāka 1126=A.D. 1204. We are

¹ Ferishta, *History*, Brigg's trans. Vol. i, Introduction. Also Elliot's *History*. Vol. vi, App. p. 562.

² *Antiquities of Chamba State*. Part I, pp. 99 and 182 sq.

³ *Journal Royal Asiatic Society* for 1907, pp. 403—9.

thus referred to the very period in which, from Kalhana's account, Babbāpura must have flourished. The situation of the place, its extent and ancient remains and especially the name by which it is still known, all point to the conclusion that it represents the ancient Babbāpura. There is every evidence that the town which once stood on the site shared the fate of so many Indian cities at the hands of foreign invaders. Among the coins found on the spot was one of Kalaśa of Kashmīr, who reigned from A.D. 1063 to 1089. An exploration of the ruins now in progress may throw more light on the subject.

According to the *Vansāvalī* the town of Jammu also is of ancient origin, but this seems improbable as there are no ancient remains or evidences of antiquity. It may, however, date from about the ninth or tenth century as stated in one record.

That Babbāpura was the original capital seems doubtful, as Bāhu is so regarded by ancient tradition. After the Muhammadan invasions began both Bāhu and Jammu must have been specially open to attack, being so near the plains; and it thus seems not improbable that for a time the Rājas withdrew further into the interior of the hills, and fixed their residence at Babbāpura.

That place is not mentioned by Alberuni (A.D. 1030),¹ and local tradition is indefinite, owing probably to its having been the capital for a comparatively short time. Two and possibly three chiefs of Babbāpura are named in the *Rājataranginī*. First among the hill chiefs who visited Srinagar in the winter of A.D. 1087-8, in the reign of Kalaśa, the son of Ananta Deva, is mentioned "Kirti of Babbāpura."² Sir A. Stein has suggested that possibly this Rāja is to be identified with "Kirtirāja, lord of Nilapura," whose daughter, Bhuvanamati, was married to Kalaśa. It is, however, impossible to say if Nilapura is synonymous with Babbāpura, or if it was the name of another principality, perhaps under the same ruler. Kalhana, the author of the *Rājataranginī*, twice mentions a locality called Bappanila, which looks like a combination of the two names.

³ At a later period we meet with the name of "Vajradhara of Babbāpura" among the five hill princes who, about A.D. 1114, while on a pilgrimage to Kurukshetra, fell in with Bhikshachara, great-grandson of Kalaśa, and acknowledged his claim to the throne of Kashmīr, which had been usurped by the Lohara princes. At a still later date (A.D. 1118-19), Vajradhara is again referred to as supporting Susala against Bhikshachara, after having been given an opportunity "to do homage,"⁴ presumably to swear allegiance. It has also been surmised that Umadhara,⁵ who was in alliance with Harśa, son of Kalaśa, in A.D. 1101, was a chief of Babbāpura, but his state is not named. On a reference to the *Vansāvalī*, or genealogical roll of the Jammu rājas, we find the names of Kirtidhara and Vajradhara, or Vajraladhara as in the *Vansāvalī*, just about the period when one would expect to find them, and they are separated by two reigns which may have been very short.

¹ Alberuni was present at the siege of Kangra Fort in A.D. 1009 (Anc. Geog. of India, p. 140), and remained in India till A.D. 1031 or later.

² *Rājatarang*, Stein trans., VII, 588 and 582.

⁴ *Rājatarang*, VIII, 625.

³ *Rājatarang*, Stein, VIII, 537-541.

⁵ *Ibid.*, VII, p. 1512.

Further evidence of the great antiquity of the State is furnished by the extensive ramifications of the royal clan. These are ten in number, each of which ruled over a separate principality, *viz.*, Jammu, Jasrōta, Sāmba, Mankot, Lakhanpur, Trikot, Dalpatpur, Rihāsi, Akhnur and probably Bhoti. Some of these, as Rihāsi, Dalpatpur and Akhnur, were probably only fiefs of the parent State and always dependent upon it, while others enjoyed complete autonomy.

As already mentioned the ancient name of the State was Durgara, as found on two Chambā copperplate deeds, and of this name the terms *Dugar* and *Dogra*, in common use at the present time, are derivations. Till the discovery of the copperplates several other derivations were assigned for the origin of the name. One of these was *Dugarta* or *Dvigarta*, that is, "the tract between two rivers," *viz.*, the Rāvi and Chināb—in analogy with *Trigarta* or *Kāngra*. By some the name was supposed to refer to the two sacred lakes of Saroin Sar and Man Sar, and the country around them. These derivations of the name must now be regarded as purely fanciful. The name Durgara is probably a tribal designation, like Gurjara, the original of the modern "Gujar."¹ The names *Dugar* and *Dogra* are now applied to the whole area in the outer hills between the Rāvi and Chināb, but this use of the terms is probably of recent origin, and dates only from the time when the tract came under the supremacy of Jammu.

The chronology of Jammu is a blank down to the early part of the tenth century, when it is referred to under the name of Durgara. This reference establishes the fact that the State then existed and was ruled by its own chief, called the "lord of Durgara." At a considerably later date the references in the *Rājatarangīnī* to two Rājas of Babbāpura, if accepted as applying to Jammu, enable us to fix approximately the subsequent reigns. We may assume that Vajradhara, who was in power in A.D. 1114-18, succeeded about A.D. 1110, and the earliest authentic date after this is that of Rāja Parasrām Dev (A.D. 1589). Between these dates twenty Rajas ruled the State, giving an average reign of about twenty-five years. There may have been omissions of names in copying the *Vansāvalī* which would reduce this average, indeed one such name is found in the *Akbarnāmah*. Again, from A.D. 1589 to A.D. 1812 there were twelve reigns, giving an average of nearly twenty years. These averages are in keeping with those of many other hill States.

As in other parts of the hills, Jammu State was probably preceded by a long period of government by petty chiefs, called Rānas and Thākurs. The traditions relating to this Thākuraīn period, as it is called, are less definite to the west than to the east of the Rāvi, but in the historical records of most of the States in the Jammu area there are fairly clear evidences of such a political condition. These traditions, however, are least definite in the oldest States, having probably passed into oblivion through lapse of time. The foundation of some of the States is distinctly associated with the conquest of one or more of these petty barons.

There are no references to the Rānas in the Jammu *Vansāvalī*, and it is unusual

¹ *Dugar*, derived from *Durgara*, is the name of the country—*Dogra*, which would correspond to a Sanskrit form: *Daurgara*—indicates the inhabitants.

to find such references in the case of very ancient States, but in the folklore of the people traditions of the ancient polity are common. We may therefore assume that for many centuries after Jammu State was founded the outlying portions, which at a later period became separate and independent States, were under the rule of Rānas and Thākurs, possibly with a loose allegiance to Durgara.

The Dogra royal line trace their descent from Kus, the second son of Rāma, and came originally, it is said, from Ayodhya. Like Chambā and many other royal families of the hills, they belong to the Surajbansi race and the clan name is *Jamwāl*. Probably there was an older designation which has been forgotten.

¹ The Manhās Rajputs, a large agricultural tribe found along the foot of the outer hills between the Rāvi and the Jehlam, claim to be descended from the same ancestor as the Jammu royal clan. The tradition among them is that from an early period some of the younger members of the royal clan took to agriculture, and as following the plough is opposed to Rajput sentiment, they thereby became degraded, and are looked down upon by those who adhere to ancient custom. Most of the Manhās, it is said, can trace their descent from chiefs of the various States under different offshoots of the *Jamwāl* royal clan. It is improbable that *Jamwāl* was the original name of the tribe as suggested by Ibbetson. The name can date only from the time when Jammu became the capital and it is applied only to the royal clan and its offshoots.

The early history of the State is lost in the mists of the past and even common tradition is silent. The first Rāja, named Agnibaran, is said to have been a brother or kinsman of the Rāja of Ayudhya. He came up into the Punjab by way of Nagarkot (Kāngra), and after crossing the Rāvi settled at Parol near Kathua, opposite to Mādhopur in the Gurdāspur District. According to the records this, if authentic, must have been at a very early period. His son, Vayusrava, added to his territory the country of the outer hills as far west as the Jammu Tawi. Four other Rājas followed in succession and the fifth was Agnigarbh, who had eighteen sons, of whom the two oldest were Bāhu-lochan and Jambu-lochan. Bāhu-lochan succeeded his father and founded the town and fort of Bāhu, on the left bank of the Tawi, opposite Jammu, and made it his capital. In seeking to extend his territories towards the plains he fell in battle with Chandārkhās, then Rāja of the Punjab (Madhyadesa) whose capital was probably at Siālkot. The reference is interesting and probably historical. The war with Chandārkhās doubtless was the outcome of an attempt on the part of the hill chief to enlarge the State boundaries towards the plains. Tradition affirms that in former times the territory extended much farther to the south than now, and the Rāja of Siālkot would naturally oppose such encroachments on his borders.

² Siālkot has been identified with the ancient Sākala, the Sāgala of Buddhist literature, which is thus proved to be one of the oldest cities in the Punjab. In very

¹ Punjab Ethnography, Ibbetson, 1883, para. 455.

² Cunningham identified Sākala—Buddhist Sāgala—with Sāngala Hill. It was visited by Hwen Thsiang in A.D. 630, but the reference is evidently to Siālkot. A.S.R., Vol. ii, p. 193.

ancient times it was the capital of the Madras who are known in the later Vedic period, and Sākādvīpa or "the island of Sākala" was the ancient name of the *doab* between the rivers Chandrābhāga (Chenāb) and Irāvati (Rāvi). In somewhat later times (c. B.C. 200) Sākala was the capital of the later Graeco-Indian kings of the house of Euthymedus, who ruled the Eastern Punjab, and it was the residence of Menander who has been identified with king Melinda, who is known from the Buddhist treatise called "The Questions of Melinda." His date was about B.C. 150. At a still later period Sākala was the capital of Sālavāhana, whose son, Rāsālu, is the great hero of all Punjab tradition, and after the invasion of the Hunas (Huns) in the latter part of the fifth century A.D. it became the capital of Toramāna and his son Mihirakula, who ruled over the Punjab and also probably over Kāshmir. As Jammu is only thirty miles from Siālkot, and the boundary even at the present time is within seven miles of the latter place, it is evident that frequent disputes must have arisen in former times, similar to that referred to in the Vansāvalī.

Jambu-lochan followed and continued the war with Chandar-hās in which the latter was slain. He is then said to have founded the town of Jammu. The story is thus related:—Jambu-lochan on becoming Rāja wished to found another town as his capital and name it after himself. With this in view he went out hunting one day accompanied by his officials, and crossing the Tawī he saw in the jungle a deer and a tiger drinking at the same tank. Being surprised at the sight he returned to his tent and calling his Ministers enquired the meaning of such a strange occurrence. They replied that the explanation lay in the fact that the soil of the place excelled in virtue and for that reason no living creature bore enmity against another. The Rāja therefore came to the conclusion that this was just the kind of site he was in search of and founded a new town, calling it Jambupura.¹

The spot on which the tank was found is now called *Purāni Mandī*,² a locality in Jammu town, where the Rājas on their accession receive the *rājtilak*, or mark of investiture at the time of installation. The Purāni Mandī marks the spot where the palace originally stood, and the Rājas resided for centuries. It is near the small temple of Raghunāth (Rāma) called "Mahārāni ka Mandir," founded by the Bandhrāli Rāni of Maharāja Ranbīr Singh. A great number of people are daily fed there, and receive each one pice in cash in name of the *rāni*. The present Purāni Mandi buildings are said to have been erected by Rāja Māl Dev, probably in the fourteenth century. The present palace is modern and was erected by Maharaja Gulab Singh.

Jammu has no ancient buildings or remains, nor anything to indicate that it is a place of great antiquity. The temples, which are generally a sure evidence of age, are all modern. The place has a large population, but its prosperity is of recent date. The earliest historical mention of Jammu is in connection with Timur's invasion in A.D. 1398-9. In the *Tārīkh-i-Kashmīr-i-Azamī* (A.D. 1417) a Rāja of

¹ A belief in the influence of the soil on human and animal life is widely prevalent in the hills.

² *Mandī* among Rajputs is the name in use for the courtyard in front of the house. In Jammu it is the outer court of the Palace where all State business is done.

Jammu is referred to and the town is spoken of as then about five hundred years old. We may therefore conclude that it was founded about A.D. 900. It is quite possible, however, that Jammu may date from an earlier period, as the legend says; though it may not have been a place of any importance and did not become the capital till a later time.

From the earliest times, as there is good reason to believe, the capital was at Bāhu and the Rājas resided in the strong fort; and this probably continued to be their residence till they retired to Bābbāpura after the Muhammadan invasions began, perhaps in the tenth or eleventh century.

Jambu-lochan was followed by Puran Karan who had two sons, Dayakaran and Dharm Karan. A strange tradition of an occurrence of this time is found in the *Vansāvalī*. Kāshnīr is said to have then been in disorder and Puran Karan was appealed to for help. He sent his elder son, Daya Karan, who restored order and became ruler of the country. From him are said to be descended the Bhau Rajputs still existing in Jammu, whose former capital was at Kaleth, near Akhnur.

Some generations later we find a note purporting to refer to the time of Rāja Sāla or Sālavāhana who ruled the Punjab as far north as Gāndhāra (Peshawar), and whose capital was at Siālkot. He is said to have invaded Jammu, defeated the Rāja named Shib Prakāsh, and destroyed the town.

The Rāja of Jammu being driven from his capital sought refuge in the inner mountains, where he and his successors are said to have lived for some generations. Jammu was then recovered and the Rāja returned. Most probably the reference is to Bāhu, which must still have been the capital of the State.

¹ Sālavāhana was Rāja of Siālkot, then called Sākala, probably about B.C. 100. He seems to have belonged to the Yādava family—descendants of Krishna—who may have succeeded the Graeco-Indian kings. The first capital of the family, according to Cunningham, was at Gajnipur, now Rawal Pindi, from whence they were driven by the inflowing tide of the Indo-Scythian or Sāka invasions, when they retired to Sākala. Sālavāhana is said to have afterwards defeated the Sākas in a great battle, near Multan, and established the Sāka Era—B.C. 78—to commemorate his victory. He was succeeded by his son, Rāsālu, the famous hero of tradition in the Punjab, who also contended with the Sākas, but on his death his kingdom passed to one Rāja Hudi, who was his enemy, and probably a Sāka prince.

For long afterwards we find only a list of names, the only event which may have an historical reference being a conflict on the Rāvi with a Rāja of Nagarkot—probably a border foray—in which the Rāja of Jammu was killed. Such a conflict between Jammu and Nagarkot at that early period is a thing not at all improbable. The State boundaries must have been very indefinite and the tracts between Durgara and Kāngra were probably held by Rānas and Thakurs, whose allegiance to either State must have been very uncertain.

² For many generations afterwards there is nothing on record but a long list of

¹ Arch. Survey of India, Vol. ii, pp. 21, 22.

² *Antiquities of Chamba State*, Vol. i, pp. 182 to 197.

names which brings us down to the early part of the tenth century, the date of the first historical reference to Durgara. The two Chambā copperplate deeds already referred to are the most important and interesting historical documents we possess in connection with this period of Jammu history. These plates were issued in the middle of the eleventh century by two Rājas, named Soma Varman and his brother, Āsata, who ruled in succession, the first by Soma Varman alone, and the second conjointly. Their probable date is A.D. 1050-66. Durgara is referred to in both, and the chief historical interest lies in the fact that they allude to events associated with that State which occurred in the early part of the tenth century.

¹ Sahila Varman was then Rāja of Chambā (c. A.D. 910-30), and his country is said to have been invaded by a strong force of foreigners, called "Kīra" in the deeds; assisted by the "lord of Durgara and the Saumaṭaka." Who the Kīras were is still a moot question. By some they are supposed to have been Kāshmiris, as Kāshmir is said to have then claimed paramount power over a large tract of the western hills, and is known from the *Rājataranginī* to have invaded Chambā and other hill States about A.D. 1050-60. Sir A. Stein, however, regards the Kīras as having probably been a tribe living to the north-east of Kāshmir and perhaps in alliance with that country. In any case it is clear that Durgara had been called upon to furnish a contingent, and help was also afforded by the Saumaṭaka or people of Sumaṭa (map Sambarta)—doubtless Vallāpura or Balōr, called Basōhli in later times. The allies of the Chambā chief were Trigarta (Kāngra) and Kulūta (Kulū). The invaders are said to have been completely defeated, for we are told that they were dispersed by the Chambā forces "as if by a frown on the Raja's brow." Possibly the victory was not secured quite so easily, but the hill chiefs were never slow to take credit to themselves on such occasions.

About one hundred years later the Muhammadan invasions began and Durgara lay directly in the line of advance of the invading armies. Even at a later period it was still the custom for such armies to advance and retreat along the foot of the hills, crossing the large rivers where this could most easily be done. There is no mention of Durgara or Jammu in the histories of those times, and we may perhaps conclude that previous to this the capital had been moved from Bāhu to Babbāpura for safety. Jammu if it then existed must have been only a small and insignificant place.

That Babbāpura was the capital for a time seems highly probable, especially in view of the fact that the names found in the *Rājataranginī* correspond with those in the *Vansāvalī*. The comparative silence of tradition on the subject would suggest that the transfer lasted only for a limited period. The place was undoubtedly very ancient and its erection is popularly ascribed to the Pāndavas, as is the common custom all over India in the case of ancient remains the origin of which is unknown. On the map it is called "Pāndu ruins," and it stood on the road through the hills from the plains to Kāshmir. ² Mr. Drew in *Jammu and Kashmir* has the following

¹ Chamba Gaz. pp. 76, 77, 78.

² Drew, *Jummoo and Kashmir*, p. 7.

remarks about Babōr. "Within a couple of marches from Jammu to the eastward are three or four places worth noting, one of these is Babōr in the Dausāl Dūn, near the left bank of the Tawi. There are the ruins of three old Hindu temples, of what age I know not, the buildings were of great solidity and considerable beauty, the chief feature of one of them was a hall, whose roof was held up by eight fluted columns supporting beams of stone 10 feet in length, on these beams were laid flatter stones chequerwise so as to fill up the corners of the square as far as the centre of the beams, and to make a new square corner-ways to the other, on this was laid a new set of stones cornerwise to this, and so on till the whole space was covered; this square mass of stone was ornamented with carving. The material of these buildings is a slightly calcareous sandstone, which is found among the strata near. It has well stood against weathering, and its toughness may be known from one of the beams of it used in the construction being as much as 14 feet in length. No mortar was used in the building, this must have been a predisposing cause of the lateral shifting of some of the stones, one upon the other, the moving cause being, I take it, earthquakes. The other neighbouring ruins have a great resemblance to this first, but they are not all equally ornamented."

It is probable that Mahmud of Ghazni passed near Jammu on more than one of his expeditions, but the place is not mentioned in the histories of his time. Alberuni (Abu Rihān) who was in India in A.D. 1030-31, gives an itinerary of the road from Hardwār to Kāshmir through the hills, which was in use in his time as at a later period, and passed through Babōr. Though he names stages not far from Jammu he does not refer to the place itself or the State. These stages were Pinjōr to Dahmāla (Nurpur), thence to Ballāwur (Balōr), then to Ladha and the fort of Rājagiri, and then turning to the north the road ran on to Kāshmir over the Banihāl Pass.¹

About twenty years later (A.D. 1055), the two copper plate deeds in which Durgara is mentioned were granted by two Rājas of Chambā. It seems probable that Kāshmir had for some time previous exercised a suzerainty over some of the States in the outer hills.² From the Rājataranginī we learn that Rāja Ananta Deva of Kāshmir, A.D. 1028-63, invaded Chambā and "uprooted" the Rāja, whose name was Salā or Salāvāhana, and placed a new ruler on the throne. From the contents of the deed it is plain that both then and in the previous century the name *Durgara* was in use for Jammu State, as known by that designation at a later period. We may therefore assume that Durgara had been the name of the State from a very early period, though it was also known alternatively by the name of its capital for the time being, in accordance with a practice which as we have seen is still in use.

Kirtidhara, c. A.D. 1070.³—About thirty years later, in the winter of A.D. 1087-8, we find in the Rājataranginī a reference to an assemblage of eight hill chiefs at the court of Rāja Kalaśa of Kashmīr, son of Ananta Deva, among whom is mentioned "Kirtī, the ruler of Babbapura." They had evidently come to render homage to Kalaśa as lord paramount. The prominent position given to Kirtī in the list seems to

¹ Alberuni's *India*, Trübner's Oriental Series, 1910, Vol. i, p. 205.

² *Rajatarang*, Stein, vii, 218.

³ *Rajatarang*., Stein, vii, 588-590.

imply that he held a leading place among the hill chiefs, and we are justified in assuming that the State of Durgara is indicated, the capital of which was then probably at Babbāpura or Babōr. Evidently Kāshmir had not then relaxed its hold on the states of the outer hills, of which Durgara was one.

Kirti or Kirtidhara's name as we noticed above also occurs in the *Vansāvalī* just about the time one would expect to find it. There can thus be little doubt that he was the Rāja of Jammu of the time. We may assume that Kirtidhara reigned from about A.D. 1070 to 1090, and was succeeded by *Ajyadhara* and *Vijayadhara*, the next Rājas according to the *Vansāvalī*, whose reigns must have been short; and they were followed by *Vajradhara*, called *Vajraladhara* in the *Vansāvalī*.—Here the *Rājataranginī* again comes to our aid and in the reign of Sūssala of Kāshmir we find another reference to Babbāpura, and its Rāja, as “*Vajradhar*, the lord of Babbapura.” That he is to be identified with the *Vajraladhara* of the *Vansāvalī* seems exceedingly probable.¹

At that period political affairs in Kāshmir were in a very unsettled condition. In A.D. 1101, the descendants of Ananta Deva,—his grandson, Harśa and great-grandson, Bhoja,—had been killed and the throne was usurped by the Lohara Princes—Uchchala and Sussala. On Bhoja's death his infant son, Bhikshachara, was conveyed away to Mālwa by the Princess Āsamatī. There he remained till A.D. 1112, when he returned to the Punjab in order to make an attempt to recover his paternal throne. At Kurukshetra (Thanesvar) he fell in with several hill chiefs who had come there on pilgrimage.² Among them was *Vajradhara* of Babbapura and also *Jāsata* of Chambā, who was maternal uncle to the young prince. These two Rājas along with the *Yuvārājas* or heirs-apparent of *Trigaṛṭa* (Kāngra), and *Vallāpura* (Balōr), espoused his cause and promised their support. Soon afterwards Bhikshachara made an unsuccessful invasion of Kāshmir, but what amount of help he had from *Vajradhara* we do not know. He and *Jāsata* of Chambā soon lost interest in the royal claimant, and changed sides when things looked unfavourable. The following note in the *Rājataranginī* (A.D. 1118) makes this quite clear.³ “When the king (Sussala) who resembled *Vajradhara* (Indra) gave an opportunity to *Vajradhara* and other princes to do homage he showed them a favour against his will.” That this refers to *Vajradhara* of Babbāpura seems extremely probable, and we may assume that he returned to his allegiance like *Jāsata* of Chambā, and left Bhikshachara to his fate. This is the last reference to him or the State in the *Rājataranginī*.

Surya Dev, c. A.D. 1125.—*Vajradhara* may have ruled from about A.D. 1110 to 1125, and was succeeded by *Suryadev*, who was the first to assume the suffix of *dev*, and it continued in use till the expulsion of the Senior Branch of the family about 1812.

Bhuj Dev, c. A.D. 1150.—The next Rāja was *Bhuj Dev*, who was in power from

¹ The form *Vajradhara* must have been the correct and full form of the name. We may assume that from it was formed an abbreviated name, *Vajrala* (as in names like *Vayula*, *Dronala*, *Rudrila*) to which *dhara* was added in the *Vansāvalī* by the mistake of a copyist, making the impossible form *Vajraladhara*.

² *Rājataranginī*, viii, 537-541.

³ *Rājataranginī*, Stein., viii, 625.

about A.D. 1150 to 1175, and from him were descended the collateral branches of Mankot and Jasrōta which founded separate and independent States.

Autār Dev, c. A.D. 1175.—Bhuj Dev's eldest son, being feeble-minded, was regarded as disqualified for rule in those warlike times, and was therefore displaced by his next younger brother, named Autār Dev. He was probably assigned a *jāgīr*, where his descendants resided, and about A.D. 1280 or 1300, the then head of the family, named Mānak Dev, made himself independent and built the Mānkot Fort. The third or youngest son of Bhuj Dev, named Karan Dev, in like manner obtained a *jāgīr*, and founded the Jasrōta State, about A.D. 1200.

Till the foundation of Jasrōta State, Durgara seems to have remained one and undivided. The State probably extended westward as far as the Chināb; towards the north it was shut in by the Ladha Range and to the east by the independent States of Chanehni and Bandhrālta, all of which may have been founded by the beginning of the eleventh century. Farther to the east it may have bordered with Vallāpura (Balor) and Bhadu, and southward it may have extended some way into the plains.

The Rānas and Thākurs as already noted are not so prominent in the records as in those of many other States, but that they were in possession previous to the founding of all these States can hardly be doubted, and even after their subjection they still continued to hold their lands and wield great power. They are referred to in the records of Bandhrālta, Chanēhni and Vallāpura.

Jas Dev, c. A.D. 1195,—Autār Dev may have reigned till about A.D. 1195, and was succeeded by his son, Jas Dev, who is said to have founded the town of Jasrōta, which afterwards became the capital of the State of that name.

From the beginning of the Muhammadan invasions, in A.D. 1000, there must have been almost continuous warfare, and references occur in the vernacular history to these wars, in which several Rājas fell in battle, but unfortunately no details have been preserved. In the final struggles in the latter half of the twelfth century we find Kāshmir mentioned among the confederate States,¹ comprising the army of Anang Pāl of Delhi (A.D. 1150–70), the last of the Tomara line; and Durgara with other Hill states must also probably have sent a contingent. Though the Muhammadans held Lahore, and the plains of the Punjab, they were unable to penetrate into the mountains, where the Rajput chiefs still preserved their independence, with a free passage for their forces through the hills to Delhi.

After Jas Dev the following Rājas succeeded, of whom we know nothing beyond the names: *Sangrām Dev* I, *Jasākara Dev*, *Chak Dev*, *Braj Dev*, *Narsingh Dev*, *Arjun Dev*, *Jodha Dev*, *Māl Dev*. It must have been in the reign of one or other of these Rājas that the capital was changed from Babbāpura to Jammu. As already stated, the present Purāni Mandi buildings are said to have been erected by Rāja Māl Dev, who may have succeeded about A.D. 1370.

The town of Jammu stands on the right bank of the Tawi river at the point

¹ Tod's *Rajasthan*, reprint, 1899, Vol. i, p. 268.

where it leaves the low hills. It is built on three terraces rising one behind the other, the highest—on which the palace stands—being towards the north. Viewed on the approach from the plains the place presents a picturesque appearance, with the low hills of the Sawālaks in the back ground rising tier upon tier, till the horizon is closed in by the snowy range of the Pir Panjāl. From the palace the vista to the north-east, along the upper windings of the Tawī, is very fascinating. The finest view of all is from Rāmnagar to the north of the town, overlooking the Tawī Valley. Here stands a striking pile of buildings erected by the late Raja Sir Amar Singh, with the frontage to the river and in tastefully laid out grounds.

Jammu contains a large cluster of temples on the lower terrace, but all of them seem to be of recent date.

The town was originally fortified towards the south, fronting the Tawī, but the walls are now in a crumbling condition, and have been breached in many places. Towards the north and east it was protected by the deep gorge of the Tawī, and on the west by the dense jungle.

Though Jammu contains no ancient remains to indicate that it is a place of any great antiquity, yet there may have been the nucleus of a town on the spot from an early period. We may assume, however, that it was not a place of any importance till the ninth or tenth century, when according to the *Tārīkh-i-Kashmīr-i-Azami* it is said to have been founded.

¹ *Bhīm Dev*, c. A.D. 1395.—As already stated the first historical mention of Jammu is found in the *Malʿuzāt-i-Timūri* in connection with Timur's invasion of India in A.D. 1398–9. He advanced as far as Delhi, and hearing of the Hindus who inhabited the outer hills he determined to carry a holy war against them on his way back to the Indus. The Rāja of Jammu of the time is referred to but not named, and we may conjecture that Bhīm Dev was then in power.

From Timur's personal narrative it is easy to follow the line of his advance northward along the foot of the hills. After leaving Delhi on his return he marched by Mirat to near Hardwār on the Ganges, the ancient name of which, Mayapuri, is noted. He then entered the Sawālaks, and crossed the Jamna, the Satluj and the Biās where they leave the hills, fighting all the way.

Between the Satluj and the Biās he had severe conflicts in the outer valleys with the forces of the Rāja of Nāgarkot (Kāngra), but does not appear to have penetrated as far as Kāngra fort, nor does he mention its capture. He most probably passed through Pathānkot, then called Pathān or Paithān, which was at that time the capital of Nurpur State. Having crossed the Rāvi, probably at Shāhpur Kandī or Mādhopur, he continued his march along the fertile tracts bordering on the plains, as far as Mansar, whence the final advance was made on Jammu. Timur's camp must have been pitched on the left bank of the Tawī river opposite the town, and a reference occurs to Jammu Fort, that is, the fort of Bāhu, on the left bank of the Tawī. The dense jungle along the low-lying valley of the Tawī to which Timur refers

¹ Cf. *Zafarnāma*, Elliot's History, Vol. iii, pp. 517–520, and *Malʿuzāt-i-Timūri*, Elliot's History, Vol. iii, pp. 468–9–70.

still exists and it is easy to understand how a successful ambush could be laid for the Jammu forces as related.

On moving away from Jammu, Timur crossed to the right bank of the Tawi and followed that bank down to the Chināb, which he calls Chināwa, a name still in use. He then crossed that river into Bajwāt, as the district is now called, and marched westward into the Chibhān—or country between the Chināb and Jehlam—and crossed the latter river probably a little way above the present town of the same name. There he left his army and travelled by forced marches to the Indus on his way back to Samarkand.

¹ The reference to Jammu is interesting and we give it in full;—"I inquired of the people who were acquainted with this region if there were any more infidels in the vicinity against whom I could carry the scourge of a holy warfare. In answer to my inquiry I was informed that the castle of Jammu was near, that it was connected with the Siwalik and Kuka mountains, and that the inhabitants were not submissive and obedient to the Sultans of Hindustan. These facts being made known to me, I on the 16th Jamada'l-Akhir, 802 (A.D. 1398), marched from the village of Mansar determined to carry my arms against the infidels of Jammu. After marching six *kos* I encamped at the village of Baila, in the territory of Jammu. I sent Amir Shaik Muhammad, son of Amir Aiku Timur and some other officers at the head of a body of horse against the village of Baila. The people in that village confident in their numbers, in the density of the jungle, and in the altitude of the position, had placed themselves in ambush in many places along the borders of the jungle, prepared to give battle and offer resistance. The Amirs who had gone on in advance reported these facts to me, and asked permission to attack and defeat the enemy. I returned answer that I myself was desirous of sharing in the merit of the holy war, and therefore that battle must be deferred to the morrow, until I should arrive. On the next day the 17th I marched towards Baila. When the eyes of the enemy fell upon my royal banners, and the cries of my warriors sounded in their ears they wavered and fled, seeking refuge in the dense jungles and thickets. I directed the Amirs in the front to advance and seize the mouths of the jungles and woods, so that the troops might enter the village of Baila and plunder it in security. No man was to enter the jungle and woods. The Amirs carried out these orders and the soldiers obtained great quantities of grain, sugar and oil. After that they set fire to the houses and destroyed the buildings. At the foot of a mountain in the vicinity of my camp there was a flourishing village, and I sent a force to plunder it. When they reached it, the Hindus of the place who were numerous assembled to resist, but on the approach of my men fear fell upon their hearts, and they set fire to their houses and fled to the mountains. My victorious soldiers pursued them and slew many of them. A large booty in grain and property fell into our hands. There were two other large villages in the vicinity of this village. These also were plundered and a large amount of spoil was secured. On this day Ra-timur was wounded."

¹ *Maḥẓẓāt-i-Timuri*, Elliot's History, Vol. iii, pp. 468-9.

"On the 19th I again marched and came up opposite to the city of Jammu and there encamped, my royal tents and canopies being set up. The five or six *kos* which I traversed on this day's march was entirely through a cultivated country, nowhere did I see any dry or waste land, and so in the place where I encamped there was no necessity for any man to go out into the fields in search of fodder, for his horse or camel, for there was grain and grass enough between the tents to feed the animals. On the next day, the 20th, after resting for the night, I again moved with the intention of attacking the town of Jammu. I came into the valley where the source of the river of Jammu is situated and there I pitched my tents, but I sent my army over the river to the foot of a mountain, on the left of the town, and to the village of Manu on the right. When my forces had secured these positions, the demonspirited Hindus sent off their wives and children from their villages to the tops of the mountains, and they fortified themselves in their village. The Rāja, with his warlike *gabrs*, and athletic Hindus, took his post in the valley, where they howled like so many jackals. I commanded that not a soldier should go towards the mountain or have anything to do with these *gabrs*, but that they should attack and plunder the town of Jammu and village of Manu. Accordingly my forces fell to plundering, and secured an enormous booty in grain, goods of all kinds, and cattle. I returned victorious to the baggage, where I entered my tents, and passed the night in pleasure and rest."

"As soon as morning broke the drums sounded. I selected certain *Kushūns* (regiments) which I placed under the command of experienced, veteran Amirs, and I instructed them to go and conceal themselves in the jungle, while I marched away with drums playing. The Hindus and *gabrs*, who had fled to the hills in alarm at my approach, would then come down from the mountains in fancied security, and my troops in ambush might fall upon them and cut them to pieces. In execution of this order the troops went and concealed themselves, and I mounting my horse crossed the river of Jammu, and marched four *kos*. All this distance was through arable land, and a green and fertile country. I encamped on the banks of the Chinawa on a piece of cultivated ground, and set up my tents with all the baggage around. Some horsemen now arrived in haste from the Amirs whom I had left in ambush, to inform me that after I had marched away, the Raja of Jammu and other devilish *gabrs* came down confidently from the tops of the hills. When they reached the plain the Amirs rushed suddenly from their ambush upon the infidels and killed a great number of them. A few of them, worn out and wounded, had escaped to the jungle and woods. The Raja of Jammu, who was ruler of the country, with fifty Raos and Rajputs had been made prisoners by Daulat Timur Tawachi, Husain Malik Kuchin and others belonging to the *tuman* of Amir Shaikh Nurud-din, and the whole force was coming up with the prisoners. I gave thanks to almighty God that the enemies of the Muhammadan religion had been smitten down by the men of the faith, or had been made prisoners. The day before, confident in their numbers and in the density of the jungle and the altitude of the hills, they had raised their cries of defiance, and now by the grace of God they were prisoners in my hands. I immediately

gave orders that the prisoners should be put in bonds and chains. When my eyes fell upon the Rāja of Jammu who was wounded and a prisoner, fear took possession of his heart and he agreed to pay certain sums of money and to become a Muhammadan if I would spare his life. I instantly ordered him to be taught the creed, and he repeated it and became a Muhammadan. Among these infidels there is no greater crime and abomination than eating the flesh of a cow or killing a cow, but he ate the flesh in the company of Musalmans. When he had thus been received into the fold of the faithful, I ordered my surgeons to attend to his wounds and I honoured him with a robe and royal favours."

We are not told the name of the Rāja of Jammu who was thus captured and forced to become a Muhammadan; it may have been Rai Bhīm. Of one thing we may be certain, *viz.* that his successor was a Rājput of the ancient line.

Some years after Timur's invasion a reference to Jammu occurs in the *Tārīkh-i-Kāshmir-i-Azamī* (A.D. 1417). It is to the effect that Sultan Ali, son of Sultān Sikandar of Kāshmir, after reigning for six years and nine months, abdicated in favour of his brother, Zain-ul-Ābidin, and started on a pilgrimage to Mecca.

¹On reaching Jammu the Rāja of that place, to whose daughter he was married, dissuaded him from undertaking the journey, and incited him to march against his brother. It is certainly very remarkable that the daughter of a Hindu Rāja should have been married to a Muhammadan prince. One is inclined to conclude that the Rāja of Jammu of the time must have been the same whom Timur converted by force to Islām, and who, having broken caste, may have been unable to return to his ancestral faith.

²A few years later another reference is found in the *Tārīkh-i-Mubārikshāhi*, containing the name of a Rāja of Jammu which does not appear in the *Vānsāvali*. It is thus evident that some names must have been dropped in copying. At that period the Sayyid dynasty was ruling in Delhi (A.D. 1414-1450), and the Punjab seems to have been in a disturbed and unsettled condition. The Rāja of Jammu of the time was Rāi Bhīm and he may possibly be the same who is referred to in the *Tārīkh-i-Kashmīr-i-Azamī*. His name, however, is not found in the *Vānsāvali*, but he may have come after Rāja Māl Dev, about A.D. 1395.

³In A.D. 1420, a rebellion broke out in the Punjab led by one Jasrath Shaikha Khokar, one of the local *Zamindārs* or petty chiefs, and he aimed at the capture of Delhi.⁴ The first mention of the family occurs in Timur's Memoirs. On his march towards Delhi he was opposed near the banks of the Biās by one, Nasrat Shaikha Khokar, who was defeated and slain. This man had formerly, as we learn, been Governor of Lahore under Sultān Mahmud of Delhi (A.D. 1394-1414). On the defeat of Nasrat Shaikha Khokar, his brother, Malik Shaikha Khokar, waited on Timur and made his submission. He remained for some time in Timur's camp, and after receiving permission to depart, he proceeded to Lahore and rebelled. A force was sent

¹ Ferishta, Vol. iv. Briggs, 1910, pp. 467-8.

² Elliot's History, Vol. iv, p. 56.

³ Elliot's History, Vol. iii, pp. 54-55.

⁴ Elliot's History, Vol. iv, pp. 415-416.

against him and he was made prisoner and brought to Timur's camp, and of him we hear nothing more.¹

² Jasrath Shaikha Khokar was probably a son of Malik Shaikha Khokar. On his rebellion a force was sent against him from Delhi and being defeated on the Satluj he fled northward along the foot of the hills, pursued by the Sultān, and seems to have passed near Jamnu. Rāi Bhīm came to the royal camp and was honoured with an interview. He then undertook to act as guide in the pursuit of Jasrat Shaikha Khokar, and after crossing the *Janhāva* (Chināb) he conducted the royal army to a place named Tekhar, Jasrat's stronghold, which was captured and destroyed.

In ³ A.D. 1421 Jasrath Shaikha Khokar was again on the war path, and advanced as far as Lahore, to which he laid siege. On being defeated, after some severe fighting, he retreated towards Kalanaur, then an important place held by a royal garrison. On hearing of the new outbreak, Rāi Bhīm seems to have hastened from his capital to Kalanaur to offer assistance, and came into the fort. On Jasrath's approach constant fighting went on without any decisive result. At length on the approach of a royal army from Delhi Jasrath was compelled to retreat to Tekhar his stronghold, and as the royal army advanced in pursuit along the foot of the hills, Rāi Bhīm again came out and joined it, but we are not told how the rebellion ended. This is not the last we hear of Jasrath Khokar. In A.D. 1423, he again invaded the Punjab and was once more opposed by Rāi Bhīm, who was killed in the fighting,⁴ the greater part of his horses and arms falling into the hands of the victor. On the death of Rāi Bhīm, Jasrath, joined by a company of Mughals, then beginning to swarm into India probably as mercenaries, attacked the territory of Dipalpur and Lahore, but was driven back. He continued to be a thorn in the flesh to the Sayid Sultāns for many years. The last we hear of him is in A.D. 1441, when Bahlol Lodi was sent against him from Delhi, but he managed to win over Bahlol and encouraged him to aspire to the throne. Jasrath was ultimately killed by his wife, a daughter of Rāi Bhīm, in revenge, it is said, for the death of her father.⁵

The side lights which these records throw on contemporaneous history are interesting as showing the general condition of things in those distracted times, in which the Rājās of Jammu must have borne a part. Unfortunately we meet with no further references to any of them in the Muhammadan histories till a much later period.

The States of the eastern hills continued to enjoy independence for several centuries after the Muhammadan invasions began. For a short time indeed Nagarkot, after being captured by Mahmud in A.D. 1009, remained in alien hands; but it was recovered in A.D. 1043, and for three hundred years afterwards it was in the possession of its legitimate lords. With Jammu things must have been different. It

¹ Elliot's History, Vol. iii, p. 473.

² Elliot's History, Vol. iv, pp. 54, 55, 56.

³ Elliot's History, Vol. iv, pp. 56-57.

⁴ Elliot's History, Vol. iv, pp. 59 and 85. Tekhar has not been located, but it was in the hills to the west of the Chinab called Telhar on p. 73.

⁵ *Ain-i-Akhbari*, trans., I, p. 344, and *Māāsir-ul-Umarā*, ii, p. 367.

was much more open to attack, being on the very edge of the plains and lying right in the way of advancing and retreating armies. Unfortunately there are no records to tell us of the varying fortunes through which it passed. That it was tributary to the Muhammadans from an early period seems probable, more especially after the fall of the Hindu empire of Delhi in A.D. 1193, and the full establishment of Muhammadan rule. That revolts were frequent seems certain, and we read of such an occurrence in the reign of Salim Shāh Sur when Jāmmu Fort was captured (A.D. 1545-53). The hill princes were probably often goaded into rebellion by the harsh treatment meted out to them by local governors, for in the reign of Sher Shāh, A.D. 1540-45, we read that Hamīd Khan Kakar "was in charge of the hill country and ruled with great severity."

The Rājas who followed Bhīm Dev were Hamīr Dev, Ajaya or Ajab Dev, Virāma Dev, Ghogar Dev and Kapūr Dev, but of these reigns no records are available.

Jag Dev, c. A.D. 1560.—Kapūr Dev had two sons, Jajna or Jag Dev and Samīl Dev, between whom a dispute arose about the succession, owing probably to their having been born of different *rānis* at or near the same time. On their father's demise strife began between them, and as each seems to have had a large following, the State was divided into two parts, with the river Tawī as the boundary. Bāhu Fort had probably been the place of residence of the Rājas from ancient times and Jag Dev held his court there, while Samīl Dev ruled in Jammu, and this condition of affairs seems to have lasted for several reigns. The Rājas ruling in Bāhu were called Bāhuwāl and those in Jammu took the name of Jamwāl. We may perhaps conclude that *Bāhuwāl* was the ancient clan name of the Rājas of Durgara, and that the present clan name *Jamwāl* dates from the time of Samīl Dev.

Parasrām Dev, c. A.D. 1585.—Jag Dev was succeeded by Parasrām Dev, and Samīl Dev by Sangrām Dev, ruling as contemporaries, the one in Bāhu and the other in Jammu, and so keen was the feeling between them that people crossing the Tawī from either side were robbed and maltreated, and actual warfare seems to have gone on for some time, with the loss of many lives.

With the full advent of Mughal rule the Muhammadan supremacy which had previously been intermittent became firmly established, and from the time of Akbar onwards for 200 years the hill States were completely subject. Even then, however, this submission was not accepted willingly, for we read of frequent outbreaks in which Jammu and other States were involved. Such an outbreak occurred in A.D. 1588-89, in the 35th year of Akbar's reign. The revolt seems to have been general throughout the hills from the Satluj to the Chīnāb, and was led by Rāja Bidhi Chand of Kangra. Among the hill chiefs involved appear the names of Parasrām of Mount Jammu, Partāp of Mankot, Rāi Krishan Balauria of Balōr (Basōhli), Rāi Bhaso (Bhabu) Buzurg of Jasrōta, Balhbhadar of Lakhanpur, Rāja Bāsu of Mau (Nurpur), Bidhi Chand of Nagarkot (Kangra), Rāja Anrudh of Jaswān, Rāja Kamluri (Kahluri-Bilāspur), Rāja Jagdes Chand Dahwāl (Dadwāl-Datārpur), Daulat of Kot Bharta

¹ *Ain-i-Akbari*, trans., I, p. 344, and *Māāsir-ul-Umarā*, Vol. ii, p. 368.

(Bhadu), Rāi Sansār Chand of Panna, and Rāi Raodeli Dhamerwāl. The united forces of these Rājas amounted to 10,000 horsemen and one lakh of footmen.¹ Zain Khān Koka who was Akbar's foster-brother was placed in command of a strong force for the suppression of the revolt, and like a wise commander and good strategist he entered the hills at Pathānkot so as to separate the enemies' forces and conquer them in detail. Though it is not stated, we may conclude that a force was sent westward towards Jammu, while he led the main army eastward as far as the Satluj. In the end all these chiefs submitted and accompanied Zain Khān to Court where they tendered their allegiance, presented valuable presents, and were pardoned. They were then dismissed and returned to their principalities.

It was probably about this time that Akbar initiated the practice of requiring hostages from the hill states to ensure the fidelity of the Chiefs. The hostage usually was a son, brother, uncle or near relative of the ruling chief, and he had to remain in attendance on the Emperor. We are told that in the beginning of Jahangir's reign there were 22 young princes as hostages from the hill States at the Mughal Court.

In A.H. 1003¹—A.D. 1594-5, another rebellion took place which is fully described in the *Ma'āsir-ul-Umarā* and the *Akbarnāma*. Two large forces seem to have been sent for its suppression. One of these was under the command of Mirza Rustam Qandāhari to whom the *pargana* of Paithān (Pathānkot), a portion of Nurpur State, was granted in *Jāgīr*. This force entered the hills at Pathānkot, and on its approach Rāja Bāsu took refuge in the strong fort of Maukot, which was besieged and captured in two months. On his surrender he was sent to Lahore, and on making his submission and renewing his allegiance he was pardoned and the State "was graciously confirmed to him" except the *pargana* of Paithān which, as already stated, was annexed to the Empire. Before leaving for Lahore he seems to have sent his son, Suraj Mal, to Jammu to meet the force advancing from there towards the Rāvi, which he joined at Sām̄ba.

The other imperial army² for the suppression of the revolt was placed under the command of Shaikh Farid, the Emperor's Bakhshi or Paymaster, and advanced against Jammu. The Rāja of the time is not named, but most likely Parasrām was still in power. The leader of the revolt was the Rāja of Jasrōta, called Bhabu, who is spoken of as the "leader of the rebels." We are not told what was the occasion of the rising, but may conjecture that the chiefs were impatient of control and took advantage of every opportunity to regain their freedom. The account is as follows:—"Armaments had several times been sent under Amirs of distinction to effect the subjugation of Jammu, Ramgarh and other places, but this difficult enterprise had never been satisfactorily accomplished. So on the 10th Muharram, A.H. 1003 (A.D. 1594), the Emperor sent Shaikh Farid, Bakhshi-ul-Mulk, with several other Amirs and a considerable force to effect the conquest. He had great confidence in the ability and resolution of the Bakhshi. The force marched to the Siwalik hills and

¹ *Māāsir-ul-Umarā*, Vol. ii, p. 367.

² *Akbarnāma*, Elliot's *History*, Vol. vi, pp. 125 to 129.

the Bakhshi resolved to begin by attacking Jammu, one of the strongest forts in that country, which had once been reduced, after considerable resistance, by Salim Shah Sur. The Rāja made signs of resistance and it was resolved to attack him before the army proceeded to occupy the territories of the rebels in other directions. Husain Beg and some other officers were accordingly sent against him. When the Rāja and the Zemindars heard of the approach of the imperial forces they were greatly alarmed and surrendered the fort of Jammu. After placing a garrison in the place the Bakhshi marched against the fort of Ramgarh which he took by assault, and placed in the custody of the men of Nawab Zain Khān Koka. Husain Khān now returned and joined the main force. Another force was now sent under Payinda Kakshal to receive the submission of such Rājas and Zemindars as were willing to pay their allegiance, and to coerce those who resisted. The army then proceeded towards Jastruna (Jasrōta) and Lakhanpur and the Rājas and Zemindars, who had long been independent submitted and paid their revenue."

After the suppression of the revolt things seem to have remained quiet in the Jammu hills for a long time, and we read of no more outbreaks. Parasrām Dev was followed by Krishan Dev about A.D. 1610, Azmat Dev, c. A.D. 1635, and Kripāl Dev, c. A.D. 1660, all of whom ruled in Bāhu.

There¹ is a reference to Kripāl Dev in the Chambā annals, probably between A.D. 1670-80. Khwāja Rezia Beg was then Viceroy of the Punjab, and he was in the habit of making inroads into the hills and seizing portions of territory from the hill chiefs. Kripāl Dev of Jammu, Chatar Singh of Chambā, Dhirāj Pāl of Basōhli and Rāj Singh of Guler, therefore, combined their forces against him and Jammu sent Pathān mercenaries who defeated the invaders and expelled them from the hills. According to the *vansāvali* Kripāl Dev was succeeded by Anant Dev and afterwards the Bāhuwāl Rājas seem to have retired or been expelled from Bāhu, but the family is still in existence and resides in Jammu territory.

Meanwhile the descendants of Samīl Dev continued to rule in Jammu. Samīl Dev was succeeded by Sangrām Dev, who is frequently mentioned in the *Tūzūk-i-Jahāngīrī*.² It is probable that Sangrām Dev of Jammu is the hill Rāja referred to by Jahāngīr about A.D. 1616-17, as having opposed Rāja Mān who had been appointed to succeed Shaikh Farīd Murtazā Khān in the government of the Punjab, and in the siege of Kangra Fort. On his arrival at Lahore, as we read, Rāja Mān heard that "Sangrām, one of the Zemindars (petty chiefs) of the hill country of the Punjab," had taken possession of part of his province. He therefore proceeded to drive him out. As Sangrām was unable to make a stand he retreated into the hills and Rāja Mān pursued him with a small force and seems to have fallen into an ambush. A fight took place and Rāja Mān was killed.

³The next mention of Rāja Sangrām Dev occurs in the *Wāqīāt-i-Jahāngīrī* in A.D. 1620, where it is recorded that "Sangrām Dev of Jammu" received orders from the

¹ Chamba Gaz., p. 94.

² *Tūzūk-i-Jahāngīrī*, Vol. ii, pp. 5, 88, 120, 138, 154, 171, 175, 193. ³ *Wāqīāt-i-Jahāngīrī*, Elliot's History, pp. 373-4.

Emperor, then probably in Kashmir, to send a contingent to co-operate with a force from Kashmir to suppress a revolt or popular outbreak in Kashtwār. In the following year he was sent to Kangra with Qāsim Khān, and was presented with a robe of honour, a horse and an elephant.

Sangrām Dev¹ may have ruled till about A.D. 1625, and he was succeeded by Bhupat Dev, whose signature occurs on a Persian *sanad* in the Chambā archives, given by a Mughal officer under the orders of the Viceroy of the Punjab, and dealing with a boundary dispute between Rāja Prithvi Singh of Chambā and Sangrām Pāl of Basōhli. It is dated 19th Safar, 1058 H.=15th March, 1648 A.D. and Bhupāt Dev is there called "Rāi Bhupāt Jamwāl," and he probably reigned till about A.D. 1650.

According to the vernacular history he was followed by Hari Dev, who may have been in power till about A.D. 1675, and was succeeded by Gajai Dev.

Gajai Dev, c. A.D. 1675.—It was probably during this reign that the Bāhuwāl Rājas either retired or were expelled from the portion of Jammu State over which they ruled, and the two portions were then reunited under one chief. Gajai Dev had two sons, Indar Dev and Dhruva or Dhruv Dev. The former having been accidentally killed by a fall from his horse, Dhruv Dev succeeded on his father's death in A.D. 1703.

Dhruv Dev, A.D. 1703.—Under the weak Emperors who followed Aurangzeb the Mughal Empire began to decline. The invasions of Nādir Shah and the Marāthas and the growing power of the Sikhs hastened on the downfall, which reached a crisis in the Punjab in 1752, with the cession of the province to Ahmed Shāh Durāni. The decline began soon after Dhruv Dev came to the *gaddi*, and during this critical and eventful period the increasing disorder on the plains must have been watched with keen interest by the hill chiefs.

It² was probably in the early part of Dhruv Dev's reign that two incidents recorded in the Chāmbā annals took place. At that time Udai Singh was Rāja of Chambā (1690–1720), and very friendly relations seem to have existed between him and Rāj Singh of Guler. Rāj Singh died leaving an infant son, Dalip Singh, to whom Udai held the relationship of guardian. Soon afterwards Guler was invaded by Jammu, assisted by Basohli and Bhadu. In her extremity the queen-mother appealed to Udai Singh for help, and with the aid of Siba, Kahlūr and Mandī, he drove out the invaders and established Dalip Singh on the *gaddi*.

This association of the three States of Jammu, Basōhli and Bhadu is interesting. As we have seen, this close relationship had been in existence from early times, and it became still closer from the reign of Dhruv Dev. With the State reunited and powerful Jammu began to extend her supremacy over the neighbouring States and probably most of those between the Chināb and the Rāvi were brought under her control, more or less, in the early part of the eighteenth century. The invasion of Guler to the east of the Rāvi was probably also an attempt in the same direction.

¹ Chamba Museum Cat., p. 53.

² Chamba Gaz., pp. 95–6.

Another incident referred to in the Chambā annals took place in Dhrub Dev's reign. Rāja Udai Singh of Chambā had aroused strong feeling against himself among the officials and they suspended him from power and put his cousin, Ugar Singh, in his place. Soon afterwards, however, they restored Udai Singh and Ugar Singh fled to Jammu, where he found an asylum and was hospitably treated by Rāja Dhrub Dev, till recalled to Chambā on Udai Singh's death. Dhrub Dev had four sons, Ranjīt Dev, Ghansār Dev, Surat Singh and Balwant Singh, and from Surat Singh is descended the junior branch of the Jamwāl royal family.

Ranjīt Dev, A. D. 1735.—Ranjīt Dev was perhaps the most notable chief who ever ruled in Jammu. Soon after his accession he incurred the suspicion of Zakariah Khān the Mughal Governor of the Punjab. On a report of his disloyal attitude reaching the Emperor's ears an order for his arrest was issued and the governor proceeded to Jammu in person to carry it into effect. Ranjīt Dev was accordingly seized and brought to Lahore where he remained in captivity for twelve years, his brother, Ghansār Dev, meanwhile acting as ruler of the State. He was finally released on the intervention of Adina Beg Khān, then governor of Jālandhar, on the promise to pay a ransom of two laks of rupees, only half of which seems to have been sent. By the time it reached Lahore the governor was dead and the money was made over to Adina Beg Khan who kept it. As Zakariah Khān died in A.D. 1747, this was probably the year in which Ranjīt Dev was set at liberty.

Soon afterwards Ahmad Shah Durāni invaded the Punjab and Ranjīt Dev seems to have lent him support, and received favours from him on the cession of the Province in A.D. 1752.

In 1762 Ahmad Shāh Durāni again invaded the Punjab, and his attention was turned to Kashmir where his Governor, Sukh Jewan, had for nine years carried on the administration without remitting any portion of the revenue to his master. Preparations for an invasion were made and with some difficulty Ranjīt Dev was prevailed upon to co-operate. A strong force was sent from Lahore which the Jammu Chief in person conducted over the Pir Panjāl into the valley and after some slight resistance the governor submitted and on being made prisoner he was blinded as a punishment.

With the cession of the Punjab to Ahmad Shāh Durāni Mughal supremacy over the hill States came to an end, after having been in existence for nearly 200 years. But the condition of anarchy resulting from the Marāthā invasions and the predatory bands of Sikhs rendered it impossible for the Afghans to fully establish their authority. The province remained nominally attached to the kingdom of Kabul, but as Mr. Barnes remarks, "The same vigour of character which had secured the territory was not displayed in the measures adopted to retain it. "There was indeed an Afghan Viceroy in Lahore, but Mughal officers are believed to have continued to maintain almost independent power in the various parts of the province. The hill chiefs were not slow to take advantage of the absence of all authority, and they asserted their independence and proceeded to resume all the territories of which they had been deprived under Mughal rule. This was comparatively easy, as Durāni

rule, weak even on the plains, was practically nominal in the hills to the east of the Jhelam and Chināb.

Ranjit Dev was a man of great ability, force of character and administrative talent and he soon began to make his power felt in the hills. Like the other hill chiefs he resumed independence on the cession of the Punjab, and also asserted his supremacy over the other hill States between the Chināb and the Rāvi. Indeed as we have seen it seems probable that Dhrub Dev, his father, had already acquired some control over these States as far east as Basohli.¹ Ranjit Dev even sought to bring Chambā under his sway, during the minority of Rāja Raj Singh of that State. The queen-mother was a Jammu princess, perhaps a sister of Ranjit Dev, and with her help as queen-regent, he had appointed one of his own officials as Wazir. On coming of age, Rāj Singh who disliked this official and probably suspected designs on the State, had him arrested and imprisoned. This was resented by Ranjit Dev, and he sent an army under Anrit Pāl of Basohli to invade Chambā. A large portion of Churāh, the northern province of the State was overrun. On hearing of this Rāj Singh who was then on the plains sent to the Rāmgarhia Sirdārs for help, and with their aid he drove out the invading force. This took place in 1775.

Ranjit Dev also extended his supremacy over the States of Kashtwār and Bhadravāh in the inner mountains, and even for some distance to the west of the Chināb.

² During Ranjit Dev's reign the town of Jammu prospered greatly. The confusion and disorder on the plains diverted trade to the hills and many wealthy merchants had sought an asylum or established branch firms for safety and security. To all alike, Hindu or Muhammadan, the Rāja extended a welcome and his capital grew and flourished.

As the ordinary routes of travel through the plains had become unsafe, merchants and other travellers proceeding to Kashmir and the north-west frontier adopted a route which entered the outer hills near Nāhan, passed through Bilāspur, Nadaun, Haripur (Guler), and Nurpur to Basohli on the Rāvi, and thence to Jammu. This was really an old route which was in use in the time of Alberuni (A.D. 1030), but which had probably fallen more or less into disuse in the settled times of Mughal rule. By this route Mr. Forster travelled in 1783, on his journey from India to England.

³ He remarks: "Previous to Nadir Shah's invasion of India the common road from Delhi to Kashmir lay through Sirhind, Lahore and 'Heerpur (in Kashmir),' the pass of which is fully described by Mr. Bernier under the name of Bimber. Since the inroad of the Persians, Afghans and the Marhattas, but especially since the period of the Sikh conquests, that track has been rendered unsafe to merchants and is now disused. This obstruction diverted the Kashmirian trade into the channel of Jambo which being shut up from the Punjab by a strong chain of mountains, difficult of access to cavalry, it has been preferred to the Lahore road, though the journey is tedious and the expenses of merchandise increased."

¹ Chamba Gaz., pp. 98-9.

² Cf. *Jammu and Kashmir*, p. 10.

³ Forster, *Travels*, pp. 282-3.

Many others besides merchants, such as artizans, also retired into the hills where they could pursue their various callings in security and peace.¹ Several political refugees in those troublous times also found an asylum in Jammu, and were treated by Ranjīt Dev with much distinction. He also enjoined his son, Brajrāj Dev, to continue to them the same courtesy, but this the latter failed to do. Among others were Malka Zamāni, a Delhi queen; and also one of the widows of Mīr Manu, Viceroy of Lahore in the reigns of Muhammad Shāh and Ahmad Shāh; Hari Singh, the son, with other members of the family of Rāja Kaura Mal, the Diwān or Minister to Mīr Manu, who was killed in 1752 near Shāhderah in battle with Ahmad Shāh Durāni; also Dalpat Rāi, the son of Lakpat Rāi, the Diwān or Minister of the Mughal Viceroy, Yahya Khān; with the remains of other families of the nobles of Delhi, or of the Viceregal Courts.

Mr. Forster² passed through Jammu in 1783 and has much to say in praise of Raja Rānjīt Dev, from which we give the following:—"Ranjīt Dev perceiving the benefits which would arise from the residence of Muhammadan merchants observed towards them a disinterested and honourable conduct. He protected and indulged his people, particularly the Muhammadans, to whom he allotted a certain quarter of the town, which was thence denominated Mughulpur, and that no reserve might appear in his treatment of them, a mosque was erected in the new colony, a liberty of disposition the more conspicuous and conferring the greater honour on his memory, as it is the only instance of the like tolerance in this part of India. He was so desirous also of acquiring their confidence and esteem that when he has been riding through their quarter during the time of prayer he never failed to stop his horse until the priest had concluded his ritual exclamations. The Hindus once complained that the public wells were defiled by the Muhammadans' vessels and desired that they might be restricted to the water of the river, but he abruptly dismissed the complaint, saying that water was a pure element designed for the general use of mankind and could not be polluted by the touch of any class of people. This made Jammu a place of extensive commercial resort where all descriptions of men experienced in their persons and property a full security."

³The latter years of Rānjīt Dev's reign were clouded by dissensions in his family between himself and the heir-apparent, Brajrāj Dev, probably arising out of the dissipated character of the latter. For this reason it is said, Ranjīt Dev, favoured the succession of his younger son, Dalel Singh. From quarrelling they fell to fighting, and this resulted in an appeal for help being made to the Sikhs by both sides. The Sikhs had begun their incursions into the hills some time before and in 1756 Jammu was invaded by Gujar Singh and in 1761-2 by Bhamma Singh and Hari Singh, all of the Bhangī *misl*, and on each occasion the town was plundered. From then the State was more or less in subjection to that *misl*, and paid tribute to Jhanda Singh, the then head of the *misl*. In 1774 Brajrāj Dev called Sirdār Charat Singh of the Sukarchakia *misl*, grandfather of Mahārāja Ranjit Singh, and Jai Singh of the Kanheya *misl*.

¹ Prinsep, *History*, Vol. I, p. 246.

² Forster, *Travels*, pp. 283-4-5.

³ Prinsep, *History of the Punjab*. Vol. i, pp. 237-40 also *History of the Punjab*, Lalif, p. 298.

Ranjit Dev, appealed for help to Jhanda Singh of the Bhangi *misl*, to whom he was tributary.

Brajrāj Dev wished to depose his father, and Charat Singh joined in this design the more readily that he entertained old feelings of enmity against Ranjit Dev. The united forces then marched into the hills and encamped on the banks of the Basantar river, some way east of Jammu.

Ranjit Dev had timely warning and collected a force to oppose the invasion, composed of his own troops, with auxiliaries from Chambā, Nurpur, Bashahr and Kāngra, in addition to the force of Jhanda Singh Bhangi.

The two armies lay encamped on opposite sides of the Basantar and in a skirmish between the Sikh auxiliaries, Charat Singh Sukarchakia was killed, by the bursting of his own matchlock. The skirmishing went on for some days and at one time it seemed as if the Bhangis would win. It was therefore determined by Jai Singh Kanheya and others to effect the assassination of Jhanda Singh, who was the mainstay of the Jammu Raja and the avowed enemy of the Sukerchakia and Kanheya *misls*. A sweeper in the Jammu camp was bribed to do the deed and effected his purpose by firing at and mortally wounding Jhanda Singh as he was walking unattended through the camp.

Another authority, Khushwaqt Rāi, states that Charat Singh was killed at Udhu Chak on the banks of the Basantar, after the two armies had been six months encamped on opposite sides of the stream. He also confirms the story of the assassination of Jhanda Singh, but states that the Chief was riding about with two or three orderlies at the time.

On the death of their Chief the Bhangis retired from the Jammu Camp, and the Sukerchakia and Kanheya Sikhs also abandoned the enterprize. Thus Ranjit Dev and his son were left to settle their quarrel between themselves. Before leaving the camp, Mahā Singh, son of Charat Singh, went through the ceremony of *dastar-badli* or exchange of turbans with Brajrāj Dev, which bound them in brotherhood for life.

Although Ranjit Dev was hard pressed by the Sikhs and by dissensions in his own family, he seems to have succeeded in retaining the suzerainty over many of the other hill States between the Rāvi and the Chināb, and it was probably in his reign that the popular saying arose: *Bāyan vich Jammu Sirdār hai*, meaning "among the twenty-two Jammu is head."¹ This saying is understood by some to refer to the twenty-two States, between the Satluj and the Chinab; eleven being to the east and eleven to the west of the Rāvi, but it may perhaps be more correctly referred to the States between the Rāvi and the Jhelam, twenty-two in number, which are now all included in the province of Jammu. How far Ranjit Dev had acquired a suzerainty over the States of the Chibhān, between the Chināb and the Jhelam, we do not know, but the *Tārīkhi-Punjab* states that Rajauri was then tributary to Jammu.

² In this connection the following note by Mr. Drew on the political condition and relations of Jammu in the reign of Ranjit Dev is interesting:—"A little after the middle of the last century we find that the power of the Jammu ruler, exercised either

¹ Sansār Chand of Kangra seems to have made a similar claim.

² *Jammu and Kashmir*, p. 9.

directly or by feudatory chiefs owing allegiance, extended eastwards to the Rāvi river or nearly so, westwards to some miles beyond the Chinab, southwards for some little way into the plains and northwards as far as the beginning of the middle mountains. The feudatory chiefs, those, for instance, of Akhnur, Dalpatpur, Kiramchi, etc., governed their own subjects, but to the ruler of Jammu they paid tribute and did military service. During a portion of the year they would be present at Jammu itself; attending the Court of the ruler and having separate ones themselves. At this day various spots in that town are remembered where each of these tributaries held his court on a minor scale. Doubtless there was some petty warfare, resulting sometimes in an extension and sometimes in a contraction of the power of the central ruler, but usually the chiefs were more occupied in sport than in serious fighting and the various families continued in nearly the same relative positions for great lengths of time."

This statement is confirmed by the Balōr Chronicle which tells that Basōhli was more or less dependent on Jammu from the time of Dhrub Dev, and as we have seen the invasion of Chamba in 1775 was carried out by Amrit Pāl of Basōhli under the orders of Ranjīt Dev.

Ranjīt Dev as we also know exercised control over the States of Kashtwār and Badhrawāh in the Chināb Valley.

Brajrāj Dev, A. D. 1781.—Ranjīt Dev died in 1781 and was succeeded by his son, Brajrāj Dev, who was debauched and dissolute. Though he had succeeded to the state he still cherished strong hatred against his brother, Dalel Singh, and sought to kill him. He first approached Zorāwar Singh, his own cousin, but met with a refusal; but Miān Mota, another cousin, was persuaded to undertake the perpetration of the deed. Soon afterwards Dalel Singh, accompanied by his son, Bhagwant Singh, set out to visit the shrine of Trikota Mai and Miān Mota followed him with a force, on the pretence of also doing the pilgrimage. On reaching the village of Charanpādika there was an encounter and Dalel Singh and his son were both killed. It is said that Bhagwant Singh, though only a boy, fought bravely, and slew several of his assailants before he was overcome. Jit Singh, second son of Dalel Singh, was not with his father and so escaped. This tragedy must have taken place previous to Mr. Forster's visit to Jammu in 1783, as he states that Brajrāj Dev had slain one brother and imprisoned another. Probably it was Jit Singh, the son of Dalel Singh, who was imprisoned and on making his escape he fled to the Sikhs to solicit their aid. Discontent soon arose in the State, affording an excuse for interference.¹ Another cause for this interference was that the Sikhs of the Bhangi *Misl* had annexed a portion of Jammu territory which Brajrāj Dev wished to recover. He therefore applied to Jai Singh and Hakikat Singh of the Kanheya *Misl* for help. After a pitched battle the territory was recovered, but the Kanheya Chiefs then deserted Brajrāj and went over to the Bhangis. Karianwala, the territory referred to, again passed to the Sikhs and Jammu was invaded. The Jammu Chief called to his assistance Mahā Singh of the Sukerchakia *Misl*, but was defeated and agreed to pay an annual tribute of Rs. 30,000 to Hakikat Singh Kanheya. Six months afterwards, the money not having been paid,

¹ *History of the Punjab*, Latif, pp. 342-3.

Hakikat Singh gained over Mahā Singh to his side and they determined to make an attack upon Jammu, which, as we have seen, was then one of the most flourishing and prosperous towns in the Punjab. It will be recalled that Mahā Singh had previously received Brajrāj into blood-brotherhood, by the ceremony of exchanging turbans, but the obligation he had then come under does not seem to have troubled the Sikh chieftain. Brajrāj Dev being in no condition for resistance, fled to the Trikota mountain, a famous place of pilgrimage in the hills to the north of Jammu. On Mahā Singh's approach the principal inhabitants of the capital went out to meet him with large presents, but this did not satisfy him and the place was plundered and sacked. The whole country around was also laid waste, which resulted in a destructive famine throughout the State. An enormous amount of booty of all kinds was carried away, amounting according to one authority to two crores of rupees.¹

² The invasion of Jammu seems to have been going on while Forster was there, and the country was being plundered and laid waste. Forster has the following reference: "It appears that Jumbo continued to increase its power and commerce until the year 1770 (1781) the period of Ranzeid Dev's death, when one of his sons, the present chief (Brajrāj Dev), contrary to the intention and express will of his father, seized on the government, put to death one of his brothers, the intended successor, and imprisoned another, who having made his escape, sought the protection of the Sicques. Pleased in having obtained so favourable a pretext for entering Jumbo, which they attempted in vain during the administration of Ranzeid Dev, the Sicques promised to espouse the fugitive's cause with vigour. A small sum had been annually exacted by them from Jumbo, but in a much less proportion than what was levied in the adjacent territories. The Sicques, indeed, aware of the respectable state of the Jumbo force, and the ability of the chief, were contented with the name of tribute.

"The most valuable division of the Jumbo districts lay in the plain country, forming part of the Northern Punjab, which under pretence of affording assistance to the persons who lately sought their protection, a body of Sicques have laid waste. They are now prosecuting a vigorous war against the present chief, who through the defection of many of his people, driven by oppressions to the party of his brother, became unable to make any effectual stand; and, that his illfortune might be complete, he called in to his aid a party of Sicque mercenaries commanded by Maha Singh, a powerful officer in that quarter, who has firmly established his authority at Jumbo, and has erected a fort at the south entrance of the principal pass leading into the Punjab. For defraying the expense incurred by the Sicque troops the Jumbo Chief has made rigorous demands on the native inhabitants of the city and is now throwing an eye on the foreign merchants, who dreading his disposition and necessities have taken a general alarm."

According to Forster the State at that time included the whole mountain area northward to the river Chinab where it bordered with Kashtwār and Bhadrawah,

¹ Prinsep, *History of the Punjab*, Vol. 1, pp. 245-6-7.

² Forster, *Travels*, Vol. i. pp. 286 ff.

then under Chamba. Chanēhni and Bhoti were dependent and tributary. To the east the States of Mankot, Basōhli and Bhadu were also dependent, though Jasrota seems still to have been separate, and Sāmba had long been incorporated in the State. The revenue was then about five lakhs of rupees. After leaving Jammu, Forster continued his journey northward by Chanēhni, and over the Ladha range to the Chināb where he entered Kashtwār territory. He then crossed the Banihāl Pass into Kashmir.

Mahā Singh on retiring from Jammu went to Amritsar with his booty to pay his respects to Jai Singh Kanheya, but was very coldly received by the old chieftain, who did not approve of his raid upon Jammu. He was dismissed by Jai Singh with a taunt which stirred up fierce anger and a strong desire for revenge. At that time Jai Singh held the Kāngra Fort, with the supremacy over the hill States of the Kāngra group, from which Raja Sansār Chand of Kangra wished to expel him. When therefore Maha Singh allied himself with Jassa Singh Rāmgarhia, an old enemy of Jai Singh's, he was also joined by Sansār Chand, and the allied forces advanced to Batāla, where they were opposed by Gurbakhsh Singh, son of Jai Singh. The latter was killed in the battle and his army defeated and dispersed. As a result the Kangra Fort and the supremacy over the hill states between the Satluj and the Rāvi passed soon afterwards into the hands of Sansār Chand.

In 1786-7, Jammu was again invaded by the Bhangi Sikhs and Brajrāj Dev was killed in battle. He was succeeded by his son, Sampuran Dev, a minor, only one year old.

Sampuran Dev, A.D. 1787. The Rāja being a minor the administration was in the hands of Miān Mota, eldest son of Surat Singh, the next youngest brother of Ranjit Dev.

From Brajrāj Dev's reign the state was completely subject and tributary to the Sikhs, the sum payable yearly being Rs. 30,000. At the same time it would appear that the Durānis also claimed a shadowy supremacy over the hill States. Sampuran Dev's name occurs in a *Sanad* to Raja Jit Singh of Chambā from Shāh Zamān of Kabul, dated in January 1797, in which Jit Singh is enjoined "to perform the services of the Diwāni (Civil Justice and Revenue) in conjunction with Sampuran Dev of Jammu."¹

Sampuran Dev died in 1797 at the age of about 12 years, and was succeeded by Jit Singh, son of Dalel Singh, to whom reference has already been made.

Jit Singh, A.D. 1797. In 1800-1, Mahārāja Ranjit Singh obtained the sovereignty of the Punjab and in the same year he advanced to Jammu, but retired on the Rāja's tendering his submission and presenting the customary tribute. From this time the State became entirely subject to Lahore and there is no further mention of it in the records till 1809-10, when a Sikh force was sent into the hills to suppress an outbreak headed by one Miān Dedu. This man was a member of a branch of the ruling family, but the cause of the outbreak is obscure. He seems to have

¹ Chamba Museum Cat., p. 72, c. 46.

been a brave and fearless man and he had gathered around him a band of men like himself who lived by plunder. For years he was the terror of the Jammu hills and his name still lives in local tradition. To the poor he was kind and generous and his hostility seems to have been directed chiefly against the Sikhs. He was in fact a freebooter and many interesting stories of his exploits have been preserved. To Ranjit Singh he evidently bore no good will. It is related that soon after the conquest of Kāshmir in 1819 baskets of the luscious fruits of the valley were on their way down to Lahore through the hills, and fell into his hands. Miān Dedu had the baskets emptied of their contents and filled them with cowdung instead, and then closed them up and sent them on. One can imagine Ranjit Singh's anger and disgust on finding how he had been fooled. Miān Dedu was finally killed in 1820 in an engagement with a force sent against him. In 1812 Jammu was assigned in *Jāgīr* to Prince Kharak Singh, son of the Maharāja, and Rāja Jit Singh was then probably deposed from his position as ruler, but Lepel Griffin gives 1816 as the date of the final subversion of the State and its annexation to the Sikh Kingdom. Jit Singh had probably died previous to this and his two sons, Raghbir Dev and Devī Singh, were conveyed to British territory and after the annexation of the Punjab they were assigned a *Jāgīr* at Khrota near Dinanagar in the Gurdaspur District, where their descendants still reside.

The later history of Jammu is linked with the names of three brothers, forming a Junior Branch of the Jamwāl family, and descended from Surat Singh, the third brother of Ranjit Dev. These were:—Gulāb Singh, Dhiān Singh and Suchēt Singh. The Sikh Court was at that time the resort of all aspirants for fame, fortune and advancement, and having few prospects in Jammu, Gulāb Singh retired to Lahore about 1810-12, and entered the Sikh army. He had previously been in the service of the Rājas of Rajauri and Kashtwār. Being a young man of ability and address as well as handsome in person he soon attracted the attention of Ranjit Singh and was advanced to a higher command. He then called his two brothers from Jammu and they too enrolled themselves in the Sikh army.

Maharaja Gulāb Singh's character has been portrayed in different colours by those who have written of him. M. Jacquemont, who visited him in his hill principality in 1831, described him as about forty, very handsome, a lion in courage, but with the plainest, mildest and most elegant manners. Prinsep and other writers of the time draw a darker picture. Perhaps on the whole we may accept Mr. Drew's estimate as fair and just without being extreme. It is as follows:—"Gulāb Singh had some qualities which mitigated the effects of an administration worked on the principles above denoted. He was always accessible and was patient and ready to listen to complaints. He was much given to looking into details so that the smallest thing might be brought before him and have his consideration. With the customary offering of a rupee as *nazar* any one could get his ear, even in a crowd one would catch his eye by holding up a rupee and crying out, "*Mahārāj, arz hai*" that is

¹ *Jammu and Kashmir*, p. 15. There is a doubt as to which of the brothers went first to Lahore. Prinsep says it was Dhiān Singh.

"Your Highness, a petition." He would pounce down on the money and having appropriated it would patiently hear out the petitioner. Once, a man after this fashion making a complaint, when the Mahārāja was taking the rupee closed his hand on it and said, "No, first hear what I have to say." Even this did not go beyond his patience, he waited till the man had told his tale and opened his hand, then taking the money he gave orders about the case."

"The rise from low station to high position did not spoil him, that is, he did not become stuck up with pride, nor did he often stand greatly on his dignity, indeed he was ordinarily familiar and free with all classes and was distinguished by that quality which in a ruler, otherwise respected, goes so far to conciliate the natives of India, that which they call *bhalmansāi*, which may be translated "bonhomie." This is the more noteworthy as those faults he was free from, are the ones most generally contracted by people of his caste who raise themselves in social rank."

¹ The story of Raja Dhiān Singh's advancement, as told by Princep, is as follows :— "While Ranjīt Singh was reviewing his troops he observed by the side of his elephant a common lancer breaking in a vicious horse. The beauty of the young man (then about twenty-five) as well as his skill and bold carriage struck him and the replies made to his questions confirmed his good opinion. Ranjīt took Dhiān into his household, made him first porter to the palace, then *deorhiwāla* (lord of the privy chamber) and ultimately Prime Minister, in which capacity he amassed enormous wealth, became master of a large mountainous country on the borders of Kashmir, studded with hill forts, maintaining an army of 25,000 men and a fine artillery. He has been described as a fine-looking man and though slightly lame, of noble presence, rather above the usual height, with quick and intelligent eye, lofty, handsome forehead and aquiline features, modest and unassuming in his speech and deportment, polite and affable in his manners, he nevertheless cherished a deep and rancorous hatred towards Europeans. He not only acquired Ranjīt's confidence, but possessed great influence over the Sikh nation. At the darbār he stood, or sat upon the ground, behind his master, while others, though his inferiors, occupied chairs."

Rāja Suchēt Singh, the third brother, was a courtier and a gallant soldier, whose life was spent mostly in the field. He had little predilection for diplomacy and political affairs in which he seldom intermeddled. He also enjoyed Ranjīt Singh's favour and became wealthy and powerful, but did not rise to the same eminence as his brothers.

Gulāb Singh having gained the favour of the Mahārāja rose rapidly and obtained the command of a troop. He was employed chiefly in suppressing risings in the hills around Jammu, and west of the Chināb. In 1819 a Sikh force was organized against the Rāja of Rajauri, the command of which was conferred on Gulāb Singh. He succeeded in overrunning the country and capturing the Rāja, whom he brought in a prisoner. In the following year Kashtwār was acquired by Gulāb Singh for the Sikhs, and the Rāja, who had been invited down to Doda within his own territory,

¹ Prinsep, *History of the Punjab*, Vol. II, pp. 202-3-4.

was made a prisoner and sent on to Lahore. He had given mortal offence to Ranjīt Singh by affording an asylum to Shāh Shuja, the ex-Amīr of Kabūl, after his escape from Lahore, in 1815, an act which could not be forgiven.¹ Gulāb Singh had served under both of these Rājas before going to Lahore, but the times had changed and the servant had now become master.¹

For these and other similar services the principality of Jammu was conferred upon him as a fief about 1820, and in 1822 he was made a Rāja and entrusted with the government of the Jammu hills.

About the same time the title of "Rāja" was bestowed on Dhiān Singh and Suchet Singh and to the former was granted the principality of Punch, from which the old line of Rājas had recently been expelled. Suchet Singh received the State of Bandhrālta or Rāmnagar which had also recently come into the hands of the Sikhs.

While Gulāb Singh and Suchet Singh were thus actively engaged in military operations in the hills, Dhiān Singh spent all his time at Court in the discharge of his official duties and also in advancing and safeguarding the interests of the family. In 1818 he had as already stated been appointed to the office of *deorhiwāla* or chamberlain, a position of great importance, as it rested chiefly with him to grant admission to the Maharaja's presence.

From this time his rise was steady and rapid, with an increasing measure of political influence which was utilized to advance the interests of the family. In 1828 he became prime minister of the Sikh kingdom, an office which he continued to hold till his death in 1843.

About the same time (1828) Hira Singh, his eldest son then a boy of twelve years, was also created a Rāja, and soon afterwards (1834), the principality of Jasrōta was granted him. He had been introduced at Court and the Mahārāja had taken a great fancy to him, seldom suffering him out of his sight and delighting in honouring all his caprices.

Ranjit Singh was desirous of arranging a suitable matrimonial alliance for his favourite, and at the instigation of Rāja Dhiān Singh, a proposal was made to Anirūdh Chand of Kāngra, son of Rāja Sansār Chand, then on a visit to Lahore, to give one of his sisters in marriage.

The Katoch Chief viewed the proposal with abhorrence. By immemorial custom a Raja's daughter can marry only a hereditary Rāja or an heir-apparent, and Dhiān Singh bore the title only by favour of his master. Anirūdh Chand dissembled and asked permission to return to Nadaun to arrange for the wedding. Some time passed, but on the suit being pressed and no escape possible he took his family and all his belongings and fled across the Satluj into the British territory, preferring to sacrifice his kingdom rather than accept an alliance which he regarded as a degradation to his family.

With the rise of the three Jammu brothers to power the smaller States between the Rāvi and the Chināb lost all autonomy, and became completely subject. Kasht-

¹ Cf. Vigne, *Travels*, Vol. 1, pp. 181-2.

wār and Mānkot were the first to fall in 1820. The Mankotia Raja seems to have submitted quietly to his fate, but the Rāja of Kashtwār went to Lahore and appealed to Ranjit Singh. All was in vain and three years later he was poisoned by his own servant.

About 1822 Bandhrālta and Chanēhni were subverted and annexed. The former seems to have been yielded up by its chief without any protest. In the case of Chanehni the Raja went to Lahore, and on appealing to the Mahārāja he was granted permission to reside in his own state in the enjoyment of a *jāgīr*. The smaller States around Jammu, such as Rihāsi, Sāmba and Dalpatpur, must have been annexed at an earlier date—Akhnur was subdued in 1812.

Bandhrālta was granted in fief to Rāja Suchēt Singh soon after the old line of Rājas was expelled. Jasrōta managed to maintain its existence as a State till 1834, Basōhli till 1836, and Bhadu till about 1841. Lakhanpur had probably been annexed by the Mughals in Akbar's reign, and afterwards was held by Jasrōta and Basōhli in turn; and finally towards the end of the 17th century it was seized by Nurpur. With the annexation of that State in 1816 it came directly under the Sikhs. Bhoti or Kirmchi was annexed in 1836. To the west of the Chināb, the State of Punch had been overthrown in 1819, and was granted in fief to Rāja Dhiān Singh about 1822. ¹ The last ruling Rāja of Bhimbar, including Naushahra, named Sultāu Khān, made a brave resistance against the Sikhs in 1810-12, but was overpowered and imprisoned for seven years in Lahore. He was then set at liberty and assisted Ranjit Singh in the invasion of Kāshmīr in 1819, and was afterwards killed in Jammu. His nephew succeeded to the Chiefship, but was dispossessed by Rāja Gulāb Singh in 1840, and retired to British territory in 1847 on a pension. The présent head of the family is Senior Viceregal Darbari in the Gujrat District. Members of the family have served Government with great distinction, both in the army and in civil employ.

The Rajauri Chiefs continued to rule their State in subjection to the Sikhs till 1841, but on the cession of the alpine Punjab to Mahārāja Gulāb Singh, the reigning chief elected to reside in British territory on a pension, his State having been annexed to Jammu. The head of this family resides at Rihlu in the Kangra District and a junior Branch at Wazirābād. Many members of the family are in Government service.

² Khariālī on the Jehlam was invaded and conquered in 1810 and a *jāgīr* of Rs. 4,000 was assigned to the ruling family in Jammu, a smaller property being afterwards granted in British territory. The family resides in the Gujrat District, and many members of it are in the Indian Army. Kotila was annexed in 1815.

From about 1825, the three Jammu princes seem to have dominated the hill tracts between the Rāvi and the Jehlam. Rāja Gulāb Singh exercised the chief authority, being virtually governor of the hills, and the central tracts around Jammu and in the Chināb valley were all under his control. From Bandhrālta (Rāmnagar) Rāja Suchēt Singh ruled over the country to the east of Jammu, including Sāmba, Chanehni, Mankōt (Rāmkot) and Bhadu. Jasrōta and Basōhli were in the fief of

¹ Cf. Vigne, *Travels*, Vol. I, p. 239.

² This State was also called Khari Khariālī.

Rāja Hira Singh, the eldest son of Rāja Dhiān Singh. Rāja Dhiān Singh himself seems to have controlled the entire tract between the Chinab and the Jehlam.

Dhiān Singh and Hira Singh resided chiefly at the Sikh Court and Suchēt Singh was engaged in military expeditions. In consequence of this and under a compact with his brothers, Gulāb Singh had the management of all the family possessions and exercised the chief authority. He thus came to be considered, after Ranjīt Singh, the greatest chief in the Punjab. Nominally these conquests and annexations were made in the name of the Sikhs and as extensions of the kingdom of Lahore, but in reality Gulāb Singh was practically independent.

Having become *de facto* ruler of all the hill country between the Rāvi and the Jehlam he sought to still further extend his power to the north. Various free lances had been attracted to his court in the hope of employment, and amongst them was Zorāwar Singh Kahluria, a *sartora* or illegitimate son of the Rāja of Kahlur (Bilāspur). He was taken into service and appointed to the charge of Kashtwār and the countries to the east of Kashmir. Zorāwar Singh was imbued with the spirit of his master, to whom he was absolutely faithful, and it was probably on his suggestion that the conquest of the Indus Valley was undertaken.

It is said that Rāja Gulāb Singh first made private enquiries as to the attitude of the East India Company in the matter, and was told that no objection would be made. In fact the Government at that time probably knew little about Ladākh and were not politically interested in its fate. The Sikh kingdom lay between it and British territory, of which the Satluj was then the boundary, and Mr. Moorcroft was almost the only European who had visited the country. At that time Ladākh was ruled by a Tibetan king residing in Leh, where the old palace may still be seen. Lower down the Indus Valley was the kingdom of Baltistan, with the capital at Skardo.

As ¹ Kashmir was held by the Sikhs the Dogra Army could not advance by that route, and it was therefore decided to start from Kashtwār. Accordingly in 1834 a force of 10,000 men was placed under the command of Zorāwar Singh, which ascended the Maru-Wārdwan Valley and crossed the passes of the Western Himālaya into Suru. The Dogras were opposed at many points beyond Suru by the Ladākhis, but unsuccessfully, and advanced to Leh, and ultimately the king of Ladākh was deposed and the country annexed.

Pādar,² a small province of Chamba, in the Chinab valley, was also annexed about the same time (1836) and added to Jammu.

In 1840-41 Baltistan ³ was in a similar way invaded and conquered, the Rāja, Ahmad Shah, being sent as a prisoner to Kashtwār, where he is said to have died.

⁴ In 1841 Zorāwar Singh conceived the bold design of conquering Eastern Tibet, and in this he would probably have been successful if the expedition had started at

¹ Francke, *History of Western Tibet*, pp. 137 to 153.

² Chamba Gazetteer, p. 105.

³ Vigne, *Travels*, Vol. II, p. 195 et seq. also *History of Western Tibet*, p. 154.

⁴ *History of Western Tibet*, Francke, pp. 161, 2, 3, 4.

the proper time of year. At that time, as we know, the conquest of Tibet was much talked about in Lahore, and a force was sent into the Kangra hills to prepare the way for an advance through Kulū, by capturing the strong fortress of Kamlahgarh in Mandi. This may possibly have led Gulāb Singh to hurry on his own expedition. The Dogra army was composed of 10,000 men and it assembled at Leh. In those lofty regions, at 14,000 feet and upwards above sea-level, there are only three or four months in summer that are suitable for mountain warfare, and the Dogra army did not leave Leh till October, when the favourable season is nearly over. At so late a time of year it was madness to attempt such an enterprise.

The Tibetans fell back before the invaders, well knowing that every day's delay was in their favour. Soon the winter set in with snow and intense cold, to which they were accustomed, but which the Dogras could not bear up against. They became benumbed and helpless. At length on 10th December the Tibetan army gave battle and in two days' fighting all was over. The battle took place on a plain 15,000 feet above the sea. The cold was extreme and hail and snow had fallen during the night. The Dogras suffered severely and many died from cold. On 12th December Zorāwar Singh was wounded in the right shoulder, but he changed his sword to the left hand and fought on. At last a rush was made by the Tibetans on the Dogra trenches and Zorāwar Singh was killed by a spear-thrust in the breast. Their leader being dead, the Dogra army broke up and fled, but only about a thousand reached Leh. The rest were either taken prisoners or died from exposure. We have heard it said that the upper part of Zorāwar Singh's skull is still used as a bowl in one of the Tibetan Monasteries. The prisoners were on the whole kindly treated, and after a time set at liberty. This was the last great military enterprise undertaken by Gulāb Singh, for he was soon afterwards confronted with events of the gravest character nearer home.

Mahārāja Ranjīt Singh died in 1839, and when his strong personality was removed the Sikh kingdom soon began to fall into disorder. All power gradually passed into the hands of the army which was personified under the name of *Khālsā*. Kharak Singh, son of the great Mahārāja, was deposed after a reign of only a few months and died a year later, in November 1840. His only son, Nau Nihāl Singh, who had been on bad terms with his father, was killed along with Udham Singh, eldest son of Gulāb Singh, on his way back from his father's funeral, by a mass of masonry falling on him as he passed under one of the arched gateways of the Lahore fort.

Sher Singh, a reputed son of Ranjīt Singh, was then raised to the throne, but was assassinated on 15th September 1843, and a few hours after Rāja Dhiān Singh, the minister, met the same fate. He and Sher Singh had conspired against each other and their common enemies, the Sindhianwala Sirdars, destroyed them both. Dalip Singh, another reputed son of Mahārāja Ranjīt Singh, was then installed as Mahārāja, with Rāja Hira Singh, son of the murdered Minister, as prime minister.

There¹ was however a party in the kingdom who encouraged Rāja Suchēt

¹ A History of the Sikhs. Cunningham, p. 259, also cf. History of the Punjab, Latif, pp. 525-6.

Singh to aspire to the office of minister, and he also had the support of a section of the *Khālsā*. This caused intense feeling between him and his nephew, Hira Singh.

On the invitation of those who favoured his claim, Suchēt Singh came down from the hills to Lahore on 26th March 1844. His friends, however, all failed him and next morning he found himself, with only forty-five followers, opposed to a large portion of the Sikh army, under Hira Singh, numbering 20,000 men and 56 guns.

Even then his dauntless courage did not forsake him, and refusing to flee, he and his brave band of heroes charged, sword in hand, into the midst of their foes, and perished to a man. Hira Singh is said to have shed tears on viewing his uncle's body, and well he might for his own end was also near. On hearing of his death Suchēt Singh's Rānis in Rāmnagar placed his turban before them on the pyre and became *sati*. He died childless and his fief was merged in Jammu. He had done much to improve the town of Rāmnagar by the erection of new bazars and also a baronial palace for himself which is still in good order.

In December 1844 a conspiracy was hatched against Rāja Hira Singh, and the army was won over against him. He fled from Lahore along with Pandit Jalla, his chief adviser, and Sohan Singh, second son of Rāja Gulāb Singh; but they were soon overtaken and slain. Hira Singh also died without a male heir and was succeeded in Punch by his younger brother, Jawāhir Singh; while his fiefs of Jasrōta and Basōhli became a part of Jammu State.

Jasrōta Fort had been used as a place of deposit for all the valuables of the family, and on hearing of the death of Hira Singh, Jawāhir Singh at once set out for the purpose of transferring everything to Jammu.

This he partly succeeded in doing.

A force of 10,000 men was then sent by the leaders of the *Khālsā* to capture Jammu, in the hope of recovering a large amount of the plunder. Gulāb Singh, however, removed all the valuables to a strong fort in the interior of the mountains, probably Rihāsi, and then entrenched himself at Jammu. On the arrival of the Sikh army he negotiated both with the commander and directly with the troops, and in this way succeeded in buying them off with the promise of a large sum of money. To this they agreed and a party of troops was afterwards sent to receive the payment. But on their way down to Lahore they were set upon by a company of hillmen who retook all the treasure and almost destroyed the force.

An attack was then made by the Sikhs on Gulāb Singh's force, which was repulsed, and many of the Sikh soldiers entered his service. The remainder of the Sikh force retreated to Lahore, pursued by the Dogras. There an accommodation was arrived at and peace was restored.

This was the last occasion on which a hostile army advanced against Jammu.

The Sikh army had now arrogated to itself supreme power in the State. The highest officers held their appointments only at the will of the *Khālsā*, which made known its decisions through delegates, five in number from each corps. There was

¹ *History of the Punjab*, Latif, pp. 529-30-31.

no one of sufficient influence to exercise any effective control, and the soldiery were restrained solely by frequent largesses, which only tended to make them the more rapacious. The treasury was empty and the resources of the kingdom were well nigh exhausted.

The queen-mother who had been appointed regent, along with her advisers, fully realised the danger and took steps to meet it. These were of a desperate character, in keeping with the condition of affairs for which they were designed as a remedy. With the connivance of the minister, Rāja Lāl Singh, and other officials, the Rānī planned to hurl the *Khālsā* against the British, in the hope that after its destruction a more stable form of government might be secured.

False reports were circulated that the British Government was preparing for an invasion of the Punjab, and the fact that British troops were then being moved towards the frontier on the Satluj, as a precautionary measure, helped to lend colour to these reports. Forged letters from Sikh officers on the southern frontier were read to the soldiers, containing complaints of British high-handedness and aggression, and everything was done to inflame their passions and stimulate their martial ardour.

This was not difficult to do. Trained under European officers, chiefly French and Italian, in the time of Ranjit Singh, the *Khālsā* had been transformed from a rabble into a well-disciplined army, whose prowess had already been proved on many a hard-fought field. The sepoy believed themselves to be more than a match for the British, and boasted of the spoils which they hoped to secure from the conquest of India.

On 17th November 1845 a final meeting of the army delegates was convened, at which the proposal to invade British territory was deliberately made. It was received with acclamation by the soldiers and accepted by the Sikh Government, and preparations were at once begun for war.

By 13th December 1845 the Sikh army had crossed the Satluj, then the boundary, and in four fierce and sanguinary battles they well sustained their national renown. How near they were to achieving a great success is recorded on the page of history. At the battle of Sobraon, on 10th February 1846, they were finally defeated with great slaughter, and the victors, led by the Governor-General and the Commander-in-Chief, then advanced to Lahore to dictate terms of peace.

While these events were in progress Rāja Gulāb Singh kept aloof in Jammu, but on the defeat of the Sikh army, he came down to Lahore to play a leading part in the negotiations, as the chief representative of the Sikh Government.

The British Government demanded the cession in perpetuity of the Jālandhar Doāb, that is, the country between the Satluj and the Biās, and one million and a half sterling as war indemnity. The cession of territory was at once agreed to, but the Sikh Government, being unable to pay the whole indemnity, agreed to cede the hilly and mountainous country between the Biās and the Indus as the equivalent of one million, and promised to give the balance in cash.

This treaty was concluded on 9th March 1846, and on the 11th of the same month a supplementary treaty was signed, providing for the rights of the dispossessed

chiefs and others within the ceded territories. It was further agreed that in consideration of the services rendered by Rāja Gulāb Singh, in restoring friendly relations between the two powers, he should be recognized in independent sovereignty of such territories in the hills as might be made over to him.

Accordingly a separate treaty¹ was concluded on 16th March 1846 between the British Government and Rāja Gulāb Singh, transferring to him in perpetual possession all the hilly and mountainous country between the Rāvi and the Indus, including Chambā and excluding Lahul, on his stipulating to pay £75,000 to the Government. He was also to tender as yearly tribute, one horse, twelve shawl goats, and three pairs of Kashmir shawls, in acknowledgment of the supremacy of the British Government, to which he was in future to owe allegiance.

The extensive territories thus transferred to Rāja Gulāb Singh included the whole of the outer hills between the Rāvi and the Indus, the valley of Kashmir, also Ladākh or Western Tibet with Gilgit, Baltistān and the Indus Valley down to Chilas.

In making over these territories the Government imposed upon Rāja Gulāb Singh the obligations which had already been accepted as regards the rights of the dispossessed Hill Chiefs. In fulfilment of these obligations an agreement was made between Rāja Gulab Singh and the Chiefs, under the guarantee of the British Government, by which cash allowances, amounting to Rs. 62,300 per annum, were assigned in perpetuity to the dispossessed chiefs of the Dugar group of States, between the Rāvi and the Jhelum. They were at the same time given the option of remaining in or leaving Jammu territory and most of them chose the latter alternative. Those who did so were the Rājas of Rajauri, Bhimbar and Punch, west of the Chināb, and of Jaserōta, Mankot, Rāmnagar, Basohli, Bhadu and Kashtwār, between the Rāvi and the Chināb. The British Government then became responsible for the payment of their annuities, and to provide for these, certain lands belonging to Rāja Gulāb Singh near Pathānkot and on the Biās, valued at Rs. 42,800, were ceded by him in perpetuity. The chiefs who elected to remain in Jammu territory were to receive their allowances direct from the Jammu State. The Kaka Bamba Chiefs of the upper Jhelum Valley, below Kashmir, also came to a private arrangement with Rāja Gulāb Singh and were confirmed in their *jāgīrs*, under subjection to Jammu. Regret has often been expressed that Kashmir was thus lost by our own act, when it was wholly within our grasp. It is easy to be wise after the event, but at the time of transfer there was no one who imagined that within three years the Punjab would become a British Province. On the contrary the transfer of the hill tracts to Rāja Gulāb Singh was regarded at the time as a masterly stroke of policy; at once weakening the Sikh kingdom and setting up another power, friendly and subordinate to the British Government, on the most vulnerable frontier of the Empire.

¹That the transfer was regarded in this light is clear from the following letter, addressed by the Governor-General to Queen Victoria, and dated 18th February 1846:

¹ *Treaties, Engagements and Sanads*, 1863, Vol. II, also cf. *A History of the Sikhs*. By Cunningham, edited by Garrett, 1915, pp. 308-9 and 317-18-19-20.

² *Letters of Queen Victoria*, Vol. II, pp. 73-4.

"The territory which it is proposed should be ceded in perpetuity to Your Majesty is a fine district between the Rivers Satluj and Biās, throwing our frontier forward, within 30 miles of British territory in front of Loodiana, which relatively with Ferozepore is so weak, that it appeared desirable to the Governor-General to improve our frontier on its weakest side, to curb the Sikhs by an easy approach towards Amritsar across the Biās river, instead of the Satluj, to round off our hill possessions near Simla, to weaken the Sikh State which has proved itself to be too strong, and to show to all Asia that although the British Government has not deemed it expedient to annex this immense country of the Punjab, making the Indus the British boundary, it has punished the treachery and violence of the Sikh nation, and exhibited its power in a manner which cannot be misunderstood. For the same political and military reason the Governor-General hopes to be able before the negotiations are closed, to make arrangements by which Cashmere may be added to the possessions of Gulāb Singh, declaring the Rajpoot Hill States with Cashmere independent of the Sikhs of the plains. The Sikhs declare their inability to pay the indemnity of one million and a half, and will probably offer Cashmere as an equivalent. In this case if Gholab Singh pays the money demanded for the expenses of the war, the district of Cashmere will be ceded by the British to him and the Rajah become one of the Princes of Hindustan."

In Kashmīr the transfer was not carried out without difficulty as the Sikh Governor refused to yield up his trust and a force had to be sent against him.

Soon¹ afterwards the treaty was modified as regards the boundary on the Rāvi. This river divides Chambā State into two portions, and a question arose as to whether the whole State was included in the transfer or only the portion to the west of the Rāvi. The Rāja of Chambā also objected to being subject to Jammu. Ultimately an arrangement was come to whereby Chambā surrendered all claim to Bhadrawāh, for which it held a *sanad* from Mahārāja Ranjit Singh, in lieu of the territory to the west of the Rāvi, and Government exchanged Lakhanpur and Chandgraon, then a portion of Nurpur, for the eastern portion. The State was thus freed entirely from Jammu and came directly under British control.

There² was also a change on the Indus. At the time of the transfer the Hazāra Chiefs were all in revolt against the Sikhs and they refused to yield submission to Rāja Gulāb Singh. Becoming weary of attempts to subdue them Gulāb Singh, in the beginning of 1847, approached the Sikh Darbār in Lahore with a request to be relieved of Hazāra, and expressed his willingness to accept in exchange territory of half the value, after deducting *jāgīrs*, anywhere else nearer Jammu. His request was acceded to and Hazāra again came under Sikh rule, the *ilaqas* of Manāwar and Garhi being given in exchange.

But it was not for long.

In 1848 the Second Sikh War began, and the indecisive battle of Chilianwala, on 13th January 1849, claimed by both sides as a victory, was followed on 21st February

¹ Chamba Gaz., p. 108.

² Hazara Gaz., pp. 134-5-6.

by that of Gujrat, which crushed the Sikh power for ever. Hazāra then passed under British rule by the annexation of the Punjab.

One other change has yet to be recorded. On the death of Rāja Hira Singh in 1844, his younger brother, Jawāhir Singh, became Rāja of Punc. Owing, however, to the fact that the State was not recognized as independent in the treaty, it became subject to Jammu. This subordinate position was unacceptable to Jawāhir Singh and it, with other things, gave rise to strong feeling between him and his uncle, Mahārāja Gulāb Singh, which lasted for many years. At length, in 1859, after Mahārāja Gulāb Singh's death, a compromise was arranged, and Jawāhir Singh abdicated in favour of his brother, Rāja Moti Singh, and retired from the hills beyond Ambala, on condition of receiving annually one lakh of rupees as an allowance. Rāja Moti Singh died in 1897 and was succeeded by his son, Rāja Baldeo Singh, who died in 1918, and was followed by his son, Rāja Sukhdev Sing.

In 1891, the States of Hunza, Nagar and Yasin, north of Gilgit, were conquered, and the northern frontier of the State was thus carried to the Hindu-Kush, where it meets that of Russia, while on the northern slopes of the Karakoram it marches with China. On Mahārāja Gulāb Singh's death in 1857, he was succeeded by his son, Mahārāja Ranbir Singh, who died in 1885 and was followed by Mahārāja Sir Partāp Singh, G.C.S.I., G.C.I.E., the present ruler.

OFFSHOOTS FROM JAMMU STATE.

The Jammu royal family gave off numerous branches in past times which founded and ruled over separate and feudatory States, and with these we now proceed to deal in so far as the historical material at our disposal will allow. Unfortunately that material is very scanty in the case of all of these States. For our information we are chiefly indebted to the *Tārīkh-i-Rajputan, Mulk-i-Punjab*, by Thākur Kālm Singh Balaoria, who has been at great pains in tracing the various branches of the Jamwāl clan. These are about ten in number, all of them grouped around the parent stem, viz. Jasrōta, Mankōt, Lakhanpur, Trikot, Sāmba, Akhnūr, Rihāsi and Dalpatpur. Bhoti and Bhau were also probably offshoots from Jammu at an early period.

Some of these States, as ¹ Akhnūr, Rihāsi, ² Dalpatpur and Trikot, seem always to have been fiefs, whose chiefs were only Mians,—that is of royal descent in the second degree, and never assumed the title of 'Rāja'; the others enjoyed more of a regal status.

Cunningham included Akhnūr and Rihāsi among the Muhammadan States of the Central Group, but this is a mistake. They are now included among the Hindu States of that group, and the list should be readjusted accordingly. As already stated these subordinate States were all more or less dependent on Jammu, and were under obligation for tribute and military service. The chiefs were also bound to present themselves at the Court of their lord paramount, and Mr. Drew tells us that, during a

¹ Vide *Where Three Empires Meet*. By Knight, 1897.

² The Akhnur Mians are descended from Raja Hari Deb, c. A.D. 1675.

³ The Dalpatpur Mians are descended from Rāja Sangram Deb, c. A.D. 1625.

portion of the year, they were present at Jammu attending the Court and holding separate ones themselves. Various spots in the town are still remembered, where each of these tributary chiefs held his court on a minor scale. This relationship was certainly in existence from about the middle of the eighteenth century, in the reign of Ranjīt Dev, and may have been from an earlier period in the case of some of the States. Jās-rōta seems to have enjoyed the greatest measure of independence.

MĀNKOT STATE.

Mānkot, now called Rāmkot, is situated in the Dansāl dun, about half-way between Dansāl and Basōhli. As a State it was bounded on the north by Bandhrālta, on the east by Bhadu and Balōr, on the south by the Karaidhār range separating it from Sāmba and Jās-rōta, and on the west by Jammu.

One reference to Mānkot is found in the Muhammadan histories.

The ruling family is an offshoot from Jammu, and the clan name is Mankotia. They claim descent from Rāja Bhoj Dev of Jammu.

Rāja Bhoj Dev ruled about A.D. 1150 and on his death his eldest son, Bharurak Dev, who was feeble-minded, was regarded as unfit for rule in those troublous times, and was set aside in favour of his younger brother, and settled down in the Dansāl dun. His descendant in the fifth generation, named Mānak Dev, conquered some villages near the present town of Rāmkot, probably from the petty chiefs, called Rānas, and built a fort which he named after himself, and made it the capital of the new State. The original name was probably Mānakkot, which in time became corrupted to Mānkot or Mankot. This may have been about A.D. 1300. The change of name to Rāmkot took place in recent times. The State was always small and more or less dependent on Jammu. The early Rājas were: Bīr Dev, Kripāl Dev and Ahl Dev.

There were twenty-three Rājas in all from the foundation of the State to its extinction in 1820, giving an average reign of about twenty-five years to each. The names of the later Rājas were:—Mānak Dev, Udai Dev, Nagar Dev, Uttam Dev, Harī Chānd Dev, Ajmal Dev, Kalās Dev, Bīram Dev, Sarwar Dev, and Pratāp Dev. Unfortunately only one of these names is known to history, viz. that of Pratāp Dev.¹ In the time of Akbar he is referred to in the *Ma'āsir-ul-Umarā* as "Rai Partāp of Mankot," in connection with the revolt of A.D. 1588-9 and was one of the thirteen hill chiefs who accompanied Zain Khān Koka to court to make their submission and present valuable presents.

In A.D. 1594-5 another² serious outbreak took place led by the Rāja of Jās-rōta and though Mankot is not mentioned in the reference in the *Akbarnāmah*, yet there can be little doubt that it too was involved, and Rai Partāp may still have been in power. The outbreak was suppressed by a Mughal army under Shaikh Farīd, which marched from Jammu to Jaswān overrunning the country and reducing the hill chiefs to obedience. From this time onwards for nearly 200 years we can find no reference in any record to Mankot, and we may conclude that the history of the State was

¹ *Ma'āsir-ul-Umarā*, Vol. II, p. 367.

² *Akbar Nāmāh*. Elliot's History, Vol. VI, pp. 125 to 129.

uneventful. The Rājas who followed Rai Pratāp were Arjan Dev, Sital Dev, Mahipat Dev, Dhota Dev, Tredi Singh, Ajmat Dev; Dadel Singh, Chatar Singh, Aparab Singh. Like other hill States it probably came under the control of Ranjit Dev of Jammu in the latter half of the eighteenth century, more directly than it had previously been. How far the Sikhs succeeded in entering the State is uncertain, as it was in the interior of the hills and so more out of reach of their marauding bands.

In 1783 Mr. Forster passed through Mankot. Travelling as he did in the disguise of a Muhammadan merchant he nowhere came in contact with any of the hill chiefs. He gives no details of his visit beyond the fact that 'a chief dependent on Jammu' resided there.

The State came under Mahārāja Ranjit Singh's control in 1809, and was annexed to the Sikh kingdom in 1820, and the ruling family then retired to Kutlehr in Kangra. A few years later it was conferred as a fief on Rāja Suchēt Singh of Jammu along with Bandhrālta, Sāmba and probably Bhadu; and on his death in 1844 the territory was merged in Jammu.

After the First Sikh War and the transfer of the hills to Rāja Gulāb Singh, a pension was assigned to the Mankotia family and they fixed their residence at Salāngari in the Kāngra District. The last ruling chief of the line to exercise any power was Raja Aparab Singh. In later times Raja Balbīr Singh, the then head of the family, was an officer in the 13th Bengal Cavalry, and rendered distinguished service in the Afghan War and also in Egypt.

JASRŌTA STATE.

Jasrōta State was situated in the outer Sawālaks, to the west of the Rāvi and to the south of the Karaidhār Range. It was bounded on the north by that range, separating it from Basōhli, Bhadu and Mankot: on the east by the Rāvi, on the south by the plains, and on the west by Sāmba. The capital, also called Jasrōta, is on the southern outskirts of the Karaidhār. Under its own Rājas the place was in a prosperous condition and continued to be so till after the death of Rāja Hira Singh in 1844. It then lost its importance and fell into decay.

Owing to the fertility of the tract, being so close to the plains, Jasrōta under its native rulers was a powerful State, which vied with Jammu in importance down to the time of its extinction in 1836.

As we have already stated the Jammu royal family gave off many offshoots which in past times ruled over separate and more or less independent principalities, and of these Jasrōta seems to have been the oldest. Till the thirteenth century the parent State remained undivided, though we may assume that its rule was of a loose character in tracts distant from the centre of power, where the petty chiefs named Rāna or Thākur still held sway. About that time Rāja Bhoj Dev ruled in Jammu. He had four sons of whom the eldest was the ancestor of the Mankotia family, the second son became Rāja of Jammu, and the third, named Karan Dev, was assigned a *jāgīr* in the outer hills, where Jasrōta now stands, or probably conquered a small tract from the Rānas. There he settled and became the head of a new State of which one of his successors made Jasrota the capital. The town had previously been founded

by Jas Dev, the Rāja of Jammu, and grandson of Bhoj Dev. From their capital the ruling family adopted the clan name of Jasrōtia, in accordance with the custom of the hill States.

Jasrōta is not mentioned in Sanskrit literature, but it is twice referred to in the Muhammadan histories of the time of Akbar. It seems always to have been more or less in touch with Jammu, and in the two rebellions, of which we possess a record in the *Akbar-Nāmah* and the *Ma'āsir-ul-Umarā*, the two States acted in concert.

We may assume that the State was founded about the beginning of the thirteenth century, and there were, according to the vernacular history, twenty-seven chiefs down to 1834. Of the early history of the State we know nothing but the names of the Rājas, who held power. These were Karan Dev, Bīr Dev, Kālu Dev, Amīl Dev, Balār Dev, Kalās Dev and Pratāp Dev. In Pratāp Dev's reign some trouble seems to have arisen between the Rāja and his younger brother Sangrām Dev, which resulted in the division of the territory into two parts, and the founding of a new State. The capital of the new State was at Lakhanpur and the river Ujh, a tributary of the Rāvi, was fixed as the boundary on the west. A fort was erected at Lakhanpur as the residence of the Rāja, and the State took its name from its capital. Another fort was erected at Thain on a cliff overlooking the Rāvi, and as the Rājas seem to have resided frequently there, the State is sometimes referred to as Thain in the contemporaneous records. The ruins of these two forts may still be seen.

After Pratāp Dev followed Jatār Dev, Atar or Atal Dev, Sultān Dev, Sagat Dev, Daulat Dev and Bhabu Dev. Of these Chiefs we have no records till the reign of Bhabu Dev, who figures prominently in the rebellions of A.D. 1588-9 and 1594-5 in the time of Akbar, to which reference has already been made.

The whole of the Hill States had been subdued and made tributary to the Mughals early in Akbar's reign, but the hill chiefs, so long accustomed to independence, were restless under a foreign yoke, and the two rebellions referred to seem to have been a concerted and united attempt to regain their freedom. In the 35th year of Akbar, A.D. 1588-9, a revolt took place in which almost all the States from Jammu to Jaswān were involved. It was led by Rāja Bidhi Chand of Kāngra, who had succeeded to the throne in A.D. 1585. A strong force under Zain Khān Koka, Akbar's foster-brother, was sent to suppress the revolt. He entered the hills at Paithan (Pathānkot) and advanced eastward to the Satluj. A force was also doubtless detached towards the west, for we are told that all the dwellers in those territories became submissive, and when the Mughal Commander had successfully concluded the campaign he was accompanied to court by thirteen of the hill chiefs, bearing valuable presents, who tendered their submission to the Emperor. Among these we find the name of "Rai Bhabu Buzurg of Jasrōta."¹ That the confederation was a powerful one is shown by the fact that they had an aggregate of 10,000 horsemen and more than one lakh of footmen.

The subjection, however, was not complete and in the 41st year of Akbar

¹ *Ma'āsir-ul-Umarā*. Vol. II, p. 367.

another revolt of a still more formidable character took place, led by Rāja Bhabu of Jasrōta. On this occasion also many of the States, both east and west of the Rāvi, seem to have been involved. A Mughal army under Mirza Rustam Qandahāri was first sent to operate against the eastern States, especially Nurpur, then ruled by Rāja Bāsu, who had been implicated in the previous rebellion. He was besieged in the fort of Maukot for three months, and on his surrender was sent to Lahore; but before leaving he seems to have deputed his son, Suraj Mal, to wait upon Shaikh Farid, the Commander of another army, which had advanced about the same time against Jammu.

After the capture of Jammu and other forts the Mughal army advanced eastward by Sāmba, where Balibhadar, the Rāja of Lakhanpur, and Bhabu, the Rāja of Jasrōta, came in and surrendered. The latter is spoken of as the "leader of the rebels and the great promoter of the strife." Suraj Mal, son of Rāja Bāsu, also came in and tendered his submission. The army then advanced towards Jasrōta where it was fiercely opposed by the sons and relatives of Bhabu, and there was much fighting.

The¹ following reference is from the *Akbarnāmah*: "On reaching Sāmba, Bhabu the Rāja of Jasruna (Jasrōta) and Balidar (Balibhadar the Zamindār of Lakhanpur) came in. This Bhabu had been the leader of the rebels and the great promoter of the strife. Next day Suraj Singh (Suraj Mal), son of Bāsu, the Rāja of Mau (Nurpur), came in and made his allegiance and he was placed in charge of Husain Beg Shaikh Umari, until it should be determined by the Emperor how the *Parganas* of Sāmba and Jasrūna should be disposed of. Two *kos* from Sāmba a fort was built and Muhammad Khān Turkomān was sent forward to take charge of Lakhanpur."

"The army next proceeded to the village of Aliya where Bhabu was and there encamped. This is a strong place surrounded on all sides by jungle so dense that it was difficult to pass through it. Hither the rebels and fugitives fled and hid, deeming themselves safe from all pursuit. Shaikh Farid stayed for some days at that village, and gave orders for clearing away the jungle by the axe and by fire. The soldiers were engaged in the work for several days, but were unable to clear away more than a road of twenty or thirty yards wide. Several of the old trees that were fit for building purposes were cut down and sent to Lahore, for use in the Government buildings. Bhabu before mentioned had been the chief and most active of the rebels, and he had done an immense deal of harm. A royal order had been given that no effort should be spared to capture him. Now that he was in the hands of the army, it was determined to send him to the Emperor in charge of Ali Muhammad.

² "When the army reached Jasruna (Jasrōta)—the native place of Bhabu—his sons and brethren and friends gathered together and took up a strong position at a small fort on a hill. This hill was covered with jungle from top to bottom, with only one narrow way along which one or two horsemen might pass. On each side of this road there was a wall with loopholes through which muskets could be fired, and arrows shot upon strangers and foes, to prevent their approach."

¹ *Akbarnamah*. Elliot's History, Vol. VI, pp. 126, 7, 8.

² Elliot's History, Vol. VI, pp. 126, 7, 8.

"At the bottom of the hill on the level ground there was a cultivated tract in which there was a fort with moats. Shaikh Farid, when he perceived these hostile preparations, determined to capture the place and punish the rebels. He first sent forward Husain Beg to attack the lower fort. By great exertion the moat was filled, the gates burst open and the fort was taken. Several of the assailants were killed by wounds from gun shots and arrows. Then the troops entered the jungle to attack the upper fort. The enemy hotly disputed the passage through the jungle with their muskets and bows. But the valiant soldiers returned the fire and pressed on till they reached the gate. Then they set fire to the place, and the rebels fled for refuge into the jungle. All the buildings and crops were burnt.

"Husain Beg halted here and sent intelligence of his success to Shaikh Farid. An answer was returned directing him to fortify the place and stay there the night or to leave a detachment and himself rejoin the main force. It was late in the day, the army was two *kos* distant, the way through the jungle was narrow and difficult and the returning force might be attacked at great disadvantage, so Husain Beg resolved to rest for the night and to make his way back in the morning. All night long the enemy harassed them from all parts of the jungle with arrows, but according to the plan agreed upon, each man sat behind his breastwork (*morchal*) with his shield over his head, never moving or making a noise. The night was thus passed mid a constant rain of arrows, but in the morning the forces made their way through the jungle and effected their junction safely. Husain Beg obtained great praise for his gallantry, and rewards in *ināms*, money and robes were bestowed upon the officers and soldiers"

The whole reference of which we have quoted a portion is of great interest. The Mughal army on its march from Jammu evidently kept to the outer valleys of the Swālakhs by Sāmba, Jasrōta and Lakhanpur, though detachments probably penetrated farther into the interior. No mention is made of the States in these inner valleys, viz. Bhoti, Chanēhni, Bandhrāta, Mānkot, Balōr and Bhadu, though they too were doubtless all involved in the rebellion. We are told that Lakhanpur was made over in *jāgīr* to one of the Mughal officers. Possibly the Rāja was removed from power and the State annexed. The crossing of the Rāvi must have taken place near Mādhapur or Shāhpur Kandi.

On reaching Maukot in Nurpur Suraj Mal, son of Rāja Bāsu, who was with the force, his father being still at Lahore, was told that he ought to present a suitable *nazarāna* in acknowledgment of the country having been restored. Maukot was then visited by the Imperial Commanders, and after the duties of hospitality had been discharged the tribute was presented, consisting of valuable horses and fine clothes. From there the Mughal army marched to Guler and Jaswān, and the revolt being at an end, Shaikh Farid was recalled to court, and reached Lahore, travelling express, in three days and received great honours from the Emperor.

After the final subjection of the hill States by Akbar the States of the Jammu or Dugar area, between the Chīnāb and the Rāvi, seem to have settled down into quiet submission and we read of no more revolts among them in the histories of the

time. When revolts in the Kangra area occurred, as in the case of Kangra and Nurpur, in the time of Jahāngīr and Shāhjahān, we read that the Chiefs of the Jammu hills were summoned to help in restoring order.

The Rājās who came after Bhabu Dev were Bhoj Dev, Fateh Dev, Tāj Dev, Shib Dev, Jag Dev, Sikh Dev and Dhrub Dev, but of the events of their time we possess no records.

After them followed Kiral Dev and Ratan Dev of whom the latter was contemporaneous with Ranjit Dev of Jammu (A.D. 1750).

We may assume that on the decline of Mughal power in the first half of the eighteenth century and the cession of the Punjab to Ahmad Shāh Durānī, Jasrōta, like Basōhli and other States, came more or less under the supremacy of Jammu, especially in the reign of Ranjit Dev of that State. In the latter part of the century the Sikhs began their incursions into the outer hills, often it is to be feared on the invitation of the hill chiefs themselves, to act as mercenaries in their mutual quarrels. Such invitations we know were given by Chamba, Basōhli and Jammu, and, as Mr. Forster remarks, "after having performed the service for which they were called, they became pleased with the new situation and refused to withdraw." They were called to Chamba in 1774 and to Basōhli in 1783, and Jasrōta may have been invaded about the same time or even earlier as it lay so much nearer the plains. Most probably the Sirdars of the Kanhiya Misl, who held Pathankot, were the first to enter the State.

During that period the Rājās of Jasrōta were Bhāg Singh, Ajab or Ajīb Singh, and Lāl Singh, down to the early part of the nineteenth century. In 1800-1, Ranjit Singh became Mahārāja of the Punjab and in 1808, he reduced the fort of Pathānkot and then marched on Jasrōta, where the ruling chief tendered his allegiance and became tributary, after paying a large *nazarāna*. Soon afterwards with the surrender of Kangra Fort the supremacy of the whole of the hill States came into his hands. Desa Singh Majithia was then appointed Nāzim or Governor of the hills, and Jasrōta with the neighbouring States of Basōhli, Bhadu and Mankot came under his control.

At that time Ranbir Singh was Rāja of Jasrōta and on his death without male issue he was succeeded by Bhuri Singh, his brother, who was the last ruling chief of the Jamwāl line. He was entirely subject to the Sikhs and the extinction of the principality was now near at hand.

In 1828, Hira Singh, the eldest son of the Sikh Minister, Rāja Dhiān Singh, was advanced to the status of a Rāja by Ranjit Singh, though then only twelve years old, and in 1834 the State of Jasrōta was conferred upon him as a fief, and the ancient line was expelled from the territory. The family now reside at Khānpur near Nagrōta in Jammu and the pension is paid by Government. The clan name is Jasrotia.

LAKHANPUR STATE.

Lakhanpur was originally a portion of Jasrōta State, from which it was severed in the beginning of the fourteenth century. It was bounded on the north by the Karai-

dhār Range separating it from Basōhli, on the east by the Rāvi, on the south by the plains and on the west by the Ujh river, a tributary of the Rāvi.

Kalās Dev of Jasrōta who ruled about A. D. 1320 had two sons, Partāp Dev and Sangrām Dev, and, after their father's death, Sangrām Dev claimed half the State. This was surrendered to him, including all the territory between the Ujh and the Rāvi, with the capital at Lakhanpur, hence the name of the State. The alternative name was Thain as found in some of the records, from the name of a strong fort on a lofty cliff overlooking the right bank of the Rāvi, where the Rājas seem often to have resided. The State is twice referred to in the Muhammadan histories. The clan name is Lakhanpuria.

The *Vansāvalī* of the family does not seem to be available, and few of the names of the ruling chiefs after Sangrām Dev are known. One of them was Balabhadar, called Balidar, in the *Ma'āsir-ul-Umarā*, who was involved in the rebellion of A.D. 1588-9 in the reign of Akbar, already referred to in the history of Jasrōta. He is probably also the "Rāja of Lakhanpur" referred to in connection with the rebellion of A.D. 1594-5, as having come in and surrendered to Shaikh Farīd at Sām̄ba, and who also received the same Mughal Commander on his arrival at Lakhanpur. The State was then placed under a Mughal Amīr and a garrison was left in the fort. The reference in the Akbar-Namāh is as follows:— "Having left Husain Beg there (Jasrōta) with a garrison, the army proceeded towards Lakhanpur. The Rāja came out to meet it. The *pargānah* was given to Muhammad Khan Turkomān, and a sufficient garrison was placed in the fort. Then the army crossed the Rāvi by a ford and proceeded to the *pargānah* of Pathān; next day it marched to Mu (Maukot), a *pargānah* under the authority of Bāsu (of Nurpur)". The ford was probably one of those still used near Shāhpur Kandi.

From the above reference we are perhaps to understand that the State was overthrown and the territory annexed, for no further mention is found in any of the records. How long the Mughals held possession we do not know, but at a later period Lakhanpur seems to have become a bone of contention among the three neighbouring States of Jasrōta, Nurpur and Basōhli. Possibly what happened was that on the decline of Mughal power the tract was seized by Jasrōta, but it seems to have been for a time in the possession of Basōhli. It finally fell to Nurpur in the latter part of the eighteenth century. At the time of settlement, after the first Sikh War, Lakhanpur became British territory as having been a part of Nurpur State.

After the first Sikh War the hill tracts between the Rāvi and the Indus, including Chamba, were made over to Rāja Gulāb Singh of Jammu, by the treaty of 16th March, 1846. The Rāja of Chamba, however, represented his unwillingness to be placed under Jammu and an arrangement was made whereby Lakhanpur was ceded to Gulāb Singh in lieu of Chamba Cis-Rāvi, and is now a part of the Jasrōta District in Jammu territory.

The small chiefship of Trīkōt is said to have been granted in *jaḡīr* to one of the

¹ Elliot's History, Vol. VI, p. 128.

sons of Jhojar Dev, son of Saido, one of the early Rājas of Lakhapur and is still in the possession of the family, and from Malho, another son, were descended the Rājas of Sāmba as will be related.

SĀMBA STATE.

Sāmba State was an offshoot from Lakhapur and may have been founded about A.D. 1400. Its boundaries are uncertain as it was overturned at an early period. It was situated to the east of Jammu and between that State and Jasrōta, with the capital at the town of Sāmba.

Being practically on the plains the tract was very fertile.

Sāmba was originally in the possession of a local tribe, named Ghotar, of Rajput descent, now common zamindars, and under a chief of that tribe. Into this family married Malho or Malh Dev, a grandson of Rāja Sangrām Dev, the founder of Lakhapur State, who after his marriage took up his residence at Sāmba. After a time he succeeded, with the help of a Muhammadan force, in dispossessing the Ghotar family, and made himself master of the tract, with Sāmba as the capital. The clan name is Sambiāl or Samiāl.

It seems doubtful if the family ever had the title of 'Raja' and they appear to have lost all power at an early date in the reign of Akbar, probably in the rebellion of A.D. 1588-9.

On the occasion of the revolt of A.D. 1588-9, Sāmba is not referred to, but in that of A.D. 1594-5, the Mughal army, we are told, advanced from Jammu to Sāmba, and there Bhabu, the Rāja of Jasrōta and Balibhadar, the Rāja of Lakhapur came in and surrendered. No mention is made of a Rāja of Sāmba, but the disposal of the *parganas* of Sāmba and Jasruna (Jasrōta) was referred to the Emperor, and two *kos* from Sāmba a fort was built. The restoration of the State seems to have been promised at a later time, in the reign of Shahjahān, but the promise was not fulfilled. It finally came under the control of Jammu in the reign of Dhrub Dev, or later.

The Sambiāl royal clan is one of the largest in the hills, and members of it are found not only in Sāmba but throughout the hills and on the plains. Traditionally there are said to have been twenty-two *Mandis*, or residential quarters, of the branches of the clan in Sāmba territory, and to account for these some have said that the founder, Malh Dev, had twenty-two sons. At present there are only eleven such *mandis*, and of these three are offshoots of older *māndis*.

It is probable that from the time of Ranjit Dev of Jammu (A.D. 1735-81) Sāmba was practically a part of the Jammu State, and it continued to be so till the expulsion of the senior branch of the Jammu family about 1812. A few years later, on the transfer of the hill tracts to the junior branch of the Jammu family in fief by Mahārāja Ranjit Singh about 1822, Sāmba with other States fell to the share of Rāja Suchet Singh. He is said to have built a palace in the town, where he often resided, and on his death in 1844 some of his *Rānis* there became *Sati*.

Sāmba is now a Tahsil in Jammu territory.

BHĀU STATE.

Bhau State must not be confounded with Bāhu, the original capital of Jammu State. The origin of the Bhau family is obscure, but it may have been an early offshoot from Jammu, as supposed by Thākur Kāhn Singh. The story told is that at a very early period a Rāja of Jammu was invited to become Rāja of Kāshmir by the zamindars, who suffered much from the exactions of the local petty chiefs, corresponding to the Rānas and Thākurs elsewhere. Having acceded to their request for help, he sent his eldest son with an army, who conquered the petty chiefs and afterwards became Rāja of Kāshmir. One of his descendants had the name of Bhau Dev, and from him the family took their distinctive cognomen of Bhau, which is the clan name.

Two generations later the Bhau family were expelled from Kāshmir and retired to the outer hills, where they took up their abode at a place called Sahāranpur in Jammu territory. At a still later date the head of the family removed to Kalēth, near the Chināb, which he occupied and made it the capital of a small independent State. The fort of Kalēth was built by a later chief.

There seem to have been frequent conflicts between the State and Jammu, which was then beginning to assert supremacy over the surrounding principalities.

The State, however, was able to maintain its independence, till invaded by the Sikhs in the early part of the nineteenth century, when it became tributary to Ranjit Singh.

Finally, some time after 1820 Rāja Gulāb Singh overturned and annexed the State, and granted a *Jāgīr* to the ruling chief, in Rihāsi, where the family still resides. There were in all 31 chiefs, bearing the title of ' Rai ' from the time of the emigration from Kāshmir till the extinction of the State. Allowing an average of twenty years the State may have been founded about the thirteenth century. The exploits of one of the later chiefs are commemorated in song by the hill bards.

BHOTI STATE.

Bhoti State seems to have been an ancient principality embracing most of the tract now included in the Bhoti *ilāqā*, a part of the Udhampur tahsil of Jammu. The capital was at Krimchi about four miles north of Udhampur, and to the south of the Ladha range. The site of the former town is now waste, but there are ruins which testify to the fact that a town once stood on the spot. This is also in keeping with local tradition which ascribes the founding of the town to one Kechlak. There are also three or four large and ancient temples which are believed to date from the time when the place was inhabited. They bear signs of great antiquity. The largest of them is still in a fair state of preservation. The interior of these temples, where the idols are, is now two feet lower than the ground outside, showing an immense accumulation of debris in past times. The present village of Krimchi stands on the other side of the Delok nāla near the fort which is on a hillock, but is now in ruins. Inside the fort is a large "green" and the ruins of the ancient palace where was the residence of the Rājas.

The founder of the State is said to have been named Kechak and from him the line is called locally the Kechaks, but who he was and whence he came is involved in uncertainty. Local tradition seems to point to the family having originally come from Kāshmir. There were 34 Rājas in all, and allowing twenty years to a reign we may conclude that the State was founded about the twelfth century. The family is of the Surajbansi race and by some is traced back to one Daya Karan, son of a Jammu Chief, whose descendants are said to have ruled Kāshmir, and from whom another family, the Bhan Rajputs, trace their origin. This, however, is all conjecture and as the *vansāvalī* is not forthcoming the question must be left unanswered.

Bhoti State is not referred to in any records, and may always have been more or less dependent on Jammu, as it certainly was at a later period. Of the history of the State we are ignorant and there seem to be no sources of information available. It probably came entirely under the control of Jammu in the early part of the eighteenth century.

Bhoti came under the control of the Sikhs about the same time as Jammu, and on the transfer of the hill tracts to Rāja Gulāb Singh and his two brothers, it fell completely under the former to whom a tribute of Rs. 2,000 was paid. About 1834 the State was finally overthrown and annexed.

Mr. Drew has the following reference: "Kiramchi and the tract of country near and round it used to be under a Rāja or a Miān of the Pathiāl (Bhatiāl) tribe of Rajputs, who was tributary to Jammu, paying to it yearly 2,000 rupees and giving the services of some ten horsemen. About the year 1834, Gulāb Singh, having made up his mind to possess the place, refused the tribute and sent a force to besiege the fort. After some time they took it and the country was annexed. What now remains of the fort is a well built wall of sandstone and a dry tank. It is on a rocky mound in a commanding position behind the town."

LITERATURE.

- Zafarnāmah*, Elliot's History.
- Malfuzāt-i-Timūri*, Elliot's History.
- Akbarnāmah*, do.
- Tūzūk-i-Jahāngīrī*.
- Ferishta, *History*.
- Ma'āsir-ul-Umarā*.
- History of the Punjab*, Latif.
- History of the Punjab*, Princep.
- Jammu and Kashmir*, Drew.
- Forster, *Travels*.
- Vigne, *Travels*.
- Chamba Gazetteer.
- Antiquities of Chamba State*, Vogel.
- Rājatarangīni*.
- Punjab Ethnography.

Alberuni, *India*.

History of Western Tibet, Francke.

A History of the Sikhs, Cunningham and Garrett.

Tārīkh-i-Rājagān, Mulk-i-Punjab, Kāhn Singh.

History of Bhadu State.

J. HUTCHISON AND J. PH. VOGEL.

Bhadu State was bounded on the north and east by Balōr, on the south by the Karaidhār range separating it from Jasrōta, and on the west by Mānkot, now called Rāmkot. The capital was at Bhadu or Padhu (map Padooā), on the Bhini river, a tributary of the Ujh, and the name is said to have been corrupted from "Pahāru," meaning a "hillock," from the low hill on which the town is built. From this name the royal family derived their distinctive cognomen of Bhadwāl, in keeping with the custom of almost all the royal lines in the hills, each of whom took its title either from the name of the State or of its capital.

The historical material for the History of Bhadu is very scanty, consisting chiefly of the *Vansāvalī*, which contains only a list of names of the Rājās who ruled the State with a few additional notes. Some supplementary details are found in the *Tawārīkh-i-Rājagān-i-Mulk-i-Panjāb* by Thākur Kāhu Singh Balaoria, and also in the Balōr *Vansāvalī*. The State was always small and is seldom referred to in contemporary history.

According to the vernacular history it included only thirty-six villages at the time of its foundation, and being surrounded by more powerful states, few accessions of territory can have taken place in later years. It is not directly mentioned in the Muhammadan histories, but there can be little doubt that it was involved in the rebellions of A.D. 1588-9 and 1594-5 in the reign of Akbar,¹ when strong military expeditions were sent into the hills to quell the revolts. Among the States of the thirteen hill chiefs who accompanied Zain Khān Koka to Court with valuable presents in A.D. 1589, there is one name, Kot Bharta, which may possibly be meant for Bhadu. Serious clerical errors are often found in Persian histories, and Bharta may quite well have been Bhadu in the original copy, or possibly the name is meant for Sambharta,² which may then have been the capital of the state. The association of the name in such close relationship with Balōr, Jasrōta and other States seems to be conclusive that Bharta was in near proximity to them. The Rājā of the time was not named Daulat, but the person referred to may have been only a State official, as the omission of the title "Rai" seems to imply; indeed it is noticeable that this is the only name in the list with which the title is not associated. Cunningham seems to have identified Bhadu with a hill district called Baddivāsa referred to in the Rājatarangini,³ but this identification cannot be sustained as the district in question was evidently in Parnotsa or Punch.

¹ Vide, J.P.H.S., Vol. IV, No. 2, p. 86.

² J.P.H.S., Vol. IV, No. 2, p. 79.

³ Anc. Geog. of India, p. 135, and Rājatarang. VI, 318.

It is probable that the original nucleus of Bhadu State was Sumaṭa or Sumarṭa, (map Sambarta), a tract to the west of Balōr, and primarily a part of that State. This tract had been occupied some time earlier by Sōm Pāl, younger brother of Raja Mān Sakya, one of the early Rajas of Balōr, who may have reigned in the latter part of the ninth century, and from him it was named Sumaṭa or Sumarṭa.

¹ The people of Sumaṭa were called Sumarīa and they are referred to under the name of Saumaṭika in two copper plate deeds in Chambā of the middle of the eleventh century, but in connection with events that happened in the early part of the tenth century. At that period Chambā was invaded by a race called *Kīra* in the State Chronicle, who were, it is said, "assisted by the lord of Durgara (Jammū) and the Saumaṭikas."

The Sumarīa Rajputs were famous for their martial qualities and many of them are still to be found in the neighbourhood of Sambarta, as the district is now called.

In later times Sumarṭa seems to have been a bone of contention between Bhadu, Mānkot and Balōr, and may often have changed hands; at the time of the overthrow of Mānkot State it was within that territory.

Bhadu as already indicated was an offshoot from Balōr (Basōhlī) and included a small portion of territory to the south of that State with the capital at Bhadu near the left bank of the Bhini Stream, the same on which Balōr is situated farther to the north. At a very early period the progenitor of the line came from Mayapuri (Hardwār) and founded the kingdom of Kulū.

At a later date, as the Bhadu *Vansāvalī* tells us, probably about A.D. 750, a cadet of the Kulū family, named Bhog Pāl, surrendered his kingdom to his younger brother, Som Pāl, and found his way to the west of the Rāvi where he conquered Balōr (Vallāpura) and founded that State. The Kulū *Vansāvalī* is silent on the subject, but in it we find a Raja named Som Pāl, who may have reigned about the time referred to, but of this we cannot be certain. It seems not unlikely, however, that the founder of Balōr State really was a cadet of the Kulū family, though the Balor *Vansāvalī* makes him the head of the parent family, which ruled Mayapuri.²

From the Balauria branch there were three offshoots, Bhadu, Bhadrawāh and Batal, the last named being probably the Vartula of the Rājataranginī, situated in the lower Chināb Valley. The tradition of a common origin from Mayapuri has been preserved in all these families.

The Balōr State seems to have continued in its undivided form down to the reign of Trailokya Deva (A.D. 1028-41).

³ According to the *Vansāvalī* Trailokya Deva was succeeded by his son, Kalas Pāl, and he again by Tung or Tunga Pāl. In the Rājataranginī, however, Kalas Pāl is called "Kalasa, the son of Tukka, lord of Vallāpura." We must assume that the Rājataranginī is correct, and that the names of Kalasa and Tukka have been reversed in copying the *Vansāvalī*, *Tukka* and *Tunga* probably refer to the same person, who was the elder son of Trailokya Deva, and succeeded to the *gaddi*. There was also a

¹ Chamba Gaz., p. 76 and *Antiquities of Chamba State*, pp. 98-99.

² J.P.H.S., Vol. IV, No. 2, pp. 77-8.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 82.

younger son of Trailokya, named Tosh or Tokh Pāl, to whom was assigned the district of Hatetar in *jāgīr* during his father's lifetime.

With this, however, he was not satisfied, and soon after his father's death he laid claim to half the State and occupied some of the territory adjoining his *jāgīr*. On hearing of the outbreak Tung Pāl, who seems to have resided at Basōhli, collected his force and advanced against his brother, who was supported by the Sumaria Rajputs. After some fighting Tokh Pāl was defeated and fled to Lahore, then in the hands of the Muhammadans.

It is said that he made a vow not to shave his head or his beard, and to eat only one meal a day and that with the left hand, till he had captured Balōr. With a force obtained from the Nawab of Lahore, Tokh Pāl then returned, and marching by way of the Bhini Nāla by night he surprised and captured Balōr after a short struggle. He then seated himself on the Chaugān and had his beard and head trimmed. The Muhammadan troops then began to sack the town, and robbed the temple of Harihar Mahādev of the silver and gold vessels, and destroyed some figures. On seeing this Tokh Pāl became alarmed for the consequences to himself, from the wrath of the god whose temple had thus been desecrated.

Meantime news of the invasion reached Tung Pāl and he came with an army; but was unable to withstand the forces opposed to him and agreed to make peace. It was then arranged by the Muhammadan commander that one-third of the State should be made over to Tokh Pāl, leaving the remainder in Tung Pāl's hands. The Muhammadan force then retired.

Tokh Pāl, however, had a dream in which he was told that his kingdom would last only a short time on account of the desecration of the Harihar temple. Being much alarmed he rose at once and went to Balōr where he paid his devotions at the shrine of the god and besought forgiveness. After some nights spent in supplication he had a vision that the rule of his house would endure for twenty-two generations only.

He then went to Basōhli to beg his brother's forgiveness and the two were fully reconciled. Tokh Pāl founded the capital of the State on a small hill called *pahāru* and this word gradually became corrupted to Bhadu, from which as already stated the clan name of Bhadwāl is formed. With these data at our disposal it is easy to fix an approximate date for the foundation of the State with a near approach to certainty.¹ From the Chambā inscriptions we know that Trailokya Deva, the father of Tunga or Tukka and of Tosh or Tokh Pāl reigned between A.D. 1028 and 1041, and that his grandson, Kalas Pāl—the Kalaśa of the Rājataranginī—was in power about A.D. 1055, when Ananta Deva of Kashmir invaded the Balōr State.

Tung or Tuk Pāl must, therefore, have ruled between A.D. 1041 and 1055, and it was during his reign, say A.D. 1045-50, that Bhadu State was founded.

From that time till the extinction of the State about A.D. 1840, a period of nearly 800 years, there are said to have been only twenty-two Rajas, including the founder,

in keeping with the announcement made by Harihar Mahādev to Tokh Pāl, that only twenty-two Rajas would rule the State. This would give an average of nearly 40 years to each reign which is improbable. There were 32 Rajas in Balōr in the same length of time, and we must therefore conclude that the *Vansāvalī* has been made to fulfil the prophecy. Tokh Pāl was succeeded by Bikram Pāl but we have no records of his reign.

Bikram Pāl had two sons, Daulat Pāl and Nardhan Pāl. The elder was of a religious disposition and in his father's lifetime became a *brahmchāri* and took up his abode in a *takya* or hut on a plain in Hatetar, where he engaged in devotional austerities. On his father's death he declined to accept his position as heir and gave the *rājtilak* or mark of investiture to his brother. Daulat Pāl continued his austerities till his death and is regarded as the Kul Dev or family god of the Bhadrwāl Rajas.

Nardhan Pāl on becoming Raja built a temple, a tank and a dharmśāla near his brother's hut, and appointed *sadabhart* or free distribution of food. Nothing special appears to have occurred during this reign, and the two principalities of Balōr and Bhadu seem to have existed side by side at peace with each other.

Gwār Pāl succeeded on his father's death. He had three sons, of whom the eldest followed in the rule of the State, and the other two founded branches of the family which still exist.

Dharam Pāl the next Raja, like his predecessors, seems to have had an uneventful reign. We are probably to assume that Bhadu and Balōr being so closely related to each other by family ties acted together in the wars of the time, especially with Chambā and other neighbouring states. The next Rajas were Uttam Pāl, Dakhan Pāl, Anirudh Pāl, and Nikodar Pāl. The last had three sons of whom the two younger founded collateral branches, one of these resides at Raipur in Basōhli and the other at Sandhāra in Chambā.

The succeeding Rajas were, Karidhan Pāl, Anant Pāl and Jeran Pāl, of whom nothing is known.

Abhimān Pāl the next ruler of the State is said to have been a contemporary of Bhūpat Pāl of Basōhli A.D. 1598–1635, which seems probable. The Balōr *Vansāvalī* tells us that Bhūpat Pāl invaded Bhadu and Bhadravāh, both ruled by branches of his own family, and made them tributary. This relationship, however, was not maintained for long, and after a few years Bhadu regained independence.

Mān Pāl followed and was in turn succeeded by his son, Chatar Pāl. The latter had two sons of whom the younger founded a branch of the family still residing in Basōhli.

Udaya Pāl the next Raja must have ruled about A.D. 1723 as there is a *patta* or title deed of his on paper extant bearing the date Vik. 1780=A.D. 1723. He was succeeded by Puran Pāl in whose reign Bhadu was annexed to Basōhli by Jit Pāl of that State. This must have occurred after A.D. 1736, the year of Jit Pāl's accession. It is probable, however, that the state was only made tributary, and it continued so during the following reign under Hast Pāl who seems to have ruled only for a short time.

Prithvī Pāl 'A.D. 1736 was a contemporary of Amrit Pāl of Basōhli and they were of the same age.

On his accession Amrit Pāl freed Bhadu from tribute and treated Prithvī Pāl with generosity. The Basōhli *Vansāvalī*, however, states that Bhadu was still under Basōhli. It says, "Amrit Pāl obtained Bhadu by the favour of Ranjīt Dev" of Jammū and this note is significant of the political position of both states at that period.

On the decline of Mughal power in the Panjab the Jammū chief, like the Katoch Raja of Kangra, was not slow to take advantage of the opportunity to regain his freedom and consolidate his power at the expense of his neighbours. Till then Jammū was only a small principality, surrounded by many other states of much the same size, such as Chanēhni, Bandrālta and Jāsrota. Under Dhrub Dev, who ruled from about 1703 to 1750 Jammū began to assert supremacy over the other states, and Ranji Dev, his son, extended his power over the outer hills from the Chināb to the Rāvi, making the other states more or less dependent and tributary. Even Kāshṭwār, far in the interior of the mountains, as well as Chambā to the east of the Rāvi, was brought under his control. Before the middle of the century Basōhli had become entirely dependent on Jammū, and the *Vansāvalī* states that Jit Pāl, father of Amrit Pāl (A.D. 1736-57) "used to assist Drub Dev" in his military expeditions. Bhadu must have shared in this dependent relationship and we may assume that soon after A.D. 1750, on the accession of Ranjīt Dev, the Jammū supremacy was fully established over both States. In 1774 Amrit Pāl of Basōhli, with the assistance of Jammū and probably Bhadu, invaded Chambā and seized two districts lying near the border, named Bhalai and Jundh, which had for many centuries been a bone of contention between the two states. On Ranjīt Dev's death in 1781, the Chambā chief seems to have appealed to his son and successor, Brijrāj Dev, as lord paramount, for a restoration of the districts. By him a *sanad*, still extant, was issued in 1781 for the surrender of the tracts, and on the refusal of the Basōhli Raja to comply, Rāj Singh of Chambā, in 1782, invaded and conquered Basōhli and recovered the districts by force. The transfer was then confirmed by another *sanad* from Brijrāj Dev in 1783.¹

² Meanwhile the Raja of Basōhli had called in the Sikhs to help in repelling the invading force, and having fulfilled their mission they refused to depart, and Basōhli and Bhadu thus came under their control. Mr. Forster who passed through Basōhli in 1783 remarks:—"A bordering chief (Chambā) had invaded the Bissouly districts, plundered the inhabitants and burnt their villages, before any opposition was made. The Sicques were called in to repel the enemy and defend the fort of Bissouly, but after performing the required service they became pleased with their new situation and refused to relinquish it."

From this time Bhadu like Basōhli became subject to the Sikhs.

Mr. Forster was probably the first European who ever visited Bhadu or Buddoo as he calls it. The whole country from Basōhli where Forster crossed the Rāvi almost

¹ J.P.H.S., Vol. IV, No. 2, p. 94.

² Forster, *Travels*, Vol. I, pp. 270-1-2.

to Bhadu had been devastated in the recent invasion by Chambā and at Basōhli he was recommended to make a quick progress through the country, avoiding the track of the Sikhs, hence the detour by Bhadu instead of following the direct road to Sambarta.

¹ He has some interesting remarks on the desolating results of the invasion. He says:—"The journey of this evening (from Basōhli) solitary and dreary, gave a wrong bent to every spring of the imagination which sullenly refused to receive one cheerful or pleasing idea. If such did begin to shoot forth the prospect of a deserted village, a desolate country, immediately destroyed it and introduced in its stead those pregnant with the horrors of war. An obliging housekeeper in the village of Plassee accommodated me this evening more agreeably than I could have expected. His tenement was composed of materials that had resisted the late conflagration of the country and he had with his family the quiet possession of it."

On the following day Forster reached Bhadu which he speaks of as "the residence of a petty chief tributary to Jammū," confirming other evidence regarding this tributary relationship. Of Bhadu itself he unfortunately gives us no information, and he spent only one night in the place and the following day reached Mānkot.

Later on in his narrative we find the following reference to the political relationship then existing between Jammū as suzerain and Bhadu and Chanehnī. "Though the districts of Buddoo and Chinanee do not at this day form immediate appendages of Jumbo, they are so intimately dependent on its policy that to avoid prolixity I will throw their limits into one description. This united territory, is bounded on the north by the river Chinam which divides it from Kishtewar: on the east by independent Hindu districts: on the south by Bissouly and on the west by the Punjab."

Prithvī Pāl probably had a long reign and was succeeded by his son, Jai Singh, who seems to have ruled till some time later than 1820. In his reign the State came completely under the control of Mahārāja Ranjīt Singh, probably about 1808-9, but the Rājā continued to rule under the burden of a yearly tribute. He was, however, the last chief of Bhadu to exercise any real power.

Soon after 1820 all authority in the hills between the Rāvi and the Jehlam passed into the hands of Rājā Gulāb Singh of Jammū and his two brothers, Rājā Dhiān Singh and Rājā Suchet Singh. They, too, were under Sikh supremacy, but their allegiance was purely nominal. Gulāb Singh ruled in Jammū and extended his power over many of the surrounding States, especially towards the north. Dhiān Singh, from his principality of Punch, controlled the hill tracts between the Jehlam and the Chināb, and Suchet Singh, to whom Bhandrālta (Rāmnagar) had been granted in fief, brought under his sway all the States to the east, including Mānkot (Rāmkoṭ) and Bhadu. The remaining States of Jasrōta and Basōhli were made over to Hira Singh, eldest son of Rājā Dhiān Singh, to whom Ranjīt Singh was dotingly attached, and who was made a Rājā in 1728.

¹ Forster, *Travels*, Vol. I, p. 270-1.

¹ Vigne states that when he passed through the country in February, 1839, Basōhli also was under Suchet Singh. This, however, was probably a mistake, as the State had been conferred on Rājā Hīrā Singh, and Suchet Singh's boundary was a few miles west of the town. He was probably unaware of the existence of Bhadu as a separate State.

In any case we may assume that from about 1835 Bhadu came entirely under the control of the Dogrās. In 1844 both Suchet Singh and Hīrā Singh were killed and their States were annexed to Jammū and came under the rule of Rājā Gulāb Singh.

On the conclusion of the first Sikh war in the spring of 1846, the hill tracts between the Rāvī and the Indus were transferred by the Treaty of 16th March, 1846, to Rājā Gulāb Singh, and the dispossessed chiefs were given the option of remaining in their territory and drawing the pension assigned them from Jammū, or of removing into British territory.

Jai Singh had died some time previous to this, and his son, Autār Singh, elected to abandon the State, and took up his residence at Tilokpur near Kotla in Kangra District, where the family still reside, in receipt of a pension of Rs. 3,000 annually.

¹ Vigne, *Travels*, Vol. I, p. 172.

History of Spiti.

J. HUTCHISON AND J. PH. VOGEL.

¹Spiti contains the whole basin of the Spiti river, including that of its main affluent the Pin, down almost to its confluence with the Satluj with an area of about 2931 sq. miles. Spiti may also have included at least the Bashahr and Kulū Pandrābis Kothis on the right bank of the Satluj in early times, even if it was not for some time the paramount power in that ill-defined Upper Satluj tract, known as Gugē. Communication from Pin to Outer Sarāj *via* the Bhabeh and Rupin Passes, along the right side of the Satluj, was not difficult, and the modern Rāmpūr-Simla Road was not necessarily the line followed in early times. If this supposition is correct it confirms the attribution of the Nirmand copper plate to a Spiti Rājā. Spiti has always been inhabited by Tibetans, and the western dialect of the Tibetan language is spoken.

²In very early times Spiti (pronounced Piti) was probably ruled by a Hindū dynasty of Rājās bearing the surname or suffix of "Sena." Captain Harcourt states in his historical notes that coins of this dynasty have been found in the valley but this has not been verified. ³In the possession of the Paraśu Rām Temple at Nirmand in Outer Sarāj is a copper plate deed granted by a Rājā Samudra Sena, and assigned on palaeographic grounds to the seventh century. Now this is just about the period when references to Spiti are found in the Kulū annals, and two Rājās of Spiti are mentioned by name bearing the Sena suffix. One of these, named Rajendar Sen, is said to have invaded Kulū and made it tributary, in the reign of Rājā Rudar Pāl °A.D. 600-650. Kulū remained tributary to Spiti for two reigns till Parsidh Pāl gained a victory over Spiti in a battle near the Rotang Pass and thus secured the freedom of his country. Spiti and Chambā were probably allies in this invasion, which was made through Lahul, as also in the subsequent war in which Parsidh Pāl was the victor. Spiti must at that period have been possessed of considerable resources, and it seems not improbable that the copper plate referred to may have been granted by one of the earlier Rājās, bearing the name of Samudra Sena. Soon after the defeat by Parsidh Pāl, Spiti was invaded by the Tibetans, and the pre-Buddhist Hindū dynasty was then probably overthrown. In this war Ladākh was aided by Sansār Pāl of Kulū, and he received three villages in Spiti for his assistance, while the sons of Chet Sen the Spiti Rājā were assigned a *jāgīr*.

As already stated the second Ladākh kingdom was founded about A.D. 975-1000 by Skyid lde nyima gon, great-grandson of Langadarma, king of Lhāsa, and before his death he divided his dominions among his three sons, the youngest, Lde tsug

¹ Spiti—Pronounced Piti, means "the middle country."

² J.P.H.S. Vol. VII, No. 2, p. 145.

³ *Vide* J.P.H.S. Vol. VII, No. 1, pp. 5-6.

gon receiving Zangskar, Lahul and Spiti, in vassalage to his eldest brother at Leh. We may therefore conclude that Spiti had been under Tibetan rule from the overthrow of the Hindū dynasty down to that time, and it probably remained a part of Ladākh after the consolidation of that kingdom under Lha Chen Utpala (°A.D. 1125-50) who conquered Lahul and Kulū and made them tributary.

¹ It is difficult to follow Spiti history, with the data at our disposal, but it seems clear that Spiti was still under Ladākh in the reign of Jamyang Namgyāl (A.D. 1560-90) and probably became independent on the conquest of Ladākh by the Bāltis during this reign, but it was recovered by Sengge Namgyāl (A.D. 1590-1620). On his death, it passed to his youngest son, Dehog Namgyāl (A.D. 1620-40), but still under vassalage to Ladākh. In the reign of Delegs Namgyāl, son of Deldan, and grandson of Sengge Namgyāl (A.D. 1640-80), there was war between Lhāsa and Ladākh, the former being assisted by the Mongolians, who had conquered Eastern Tibet. Ladākh appealed to the Mughals in Kashmir for help and an army was sent which defeated the Tibetans at Bāsgo, and they retreated as far as the Pang-gong Lake, but returned on the retirement of the Mughals and imposed terms on Delegs. These included the surrender of Gugē and other provinces, probably including Spiti. Delegs, however, is said to have contracted a marriage with the daughter of the Tibetan Commander and received back Spiti in dowry. This event if authentic, must have occurred about A.D. 1680, and from this time Spiti was under Ladākh. As a result of the Mughals being called in, the wool-trade of Western Tibet came under the control of Kashmir. Some time after 1680, Spiti was invaded by Rājā Mān Singh of Kulū, who exacted tribute, and established a loose authority over the country which still remained under Ladākh. The two forts, the ruins of which may still be seen at Sumdo at the foot of the Bhabeh and Rupin Passes near the Pin river, are known as the Lyungti Khar (Kulū forts), and may possibly have been built by Rājā Mān Singh, but Sir L. Dane thinks they may have been associated with Rājā Jagat Singh. It is probable that tribute was paid both to Ladākh and Kulū, but from its remote and inaccessible situation Spiti was left very much to itself. An official was sent from Leh as Governor but he generally went away after harvest time and left the administration to be carried on by the Wazir and other hereditary officers, who again were controlled by the headmen (gadpo) of groups of villages. The same state of things existed in 1821 when Mr. Trebeck, travelling companion to Mr. Moorcroft visited Spiti, and excepting the Khalun or Wazir, affairs are managed in the same manner at the present time.

Spiti seems always to have been at the mercy of its neighbours, especially Ladākh, Bashahr and Kulū. The people are not warlike and when an invasion occurred, as was frequently the case, they abandoned everything and fled to the higher mountain slopes, where they remained till the invaders retired. Three such invasions are recorded in our documents. The first is referred to the latter half of the seventeenth century when a foray was made from Ladākh. The usual course

¹ *Western Tibet*, Francke, pp. 92 and 101.

was followed at the outset, but the Ladākhis settled down in the valley for the winter and the Spiti men then took counsel among themselves to overcome the invaders by treachery. This they did by making professions of friendship and then invited the intruders to a feast. Being numerous they were purposely distributed all through the villages. As *chang* or strong liquor is an invariable accompaniment of all such entertainments, the Ladākhis were soon rendered helpless, and were then attacked and killed. A few fled to Dankhar fort and were cast down the cliffs, and others escaped to the mountains and perished.

¹ Mr. Trebeck gives an account of a dispute about the wool-trade, which had been made over the Kunzum Pass by a body of armed men from Kulū in 1819, a short time before, evidently sent by the Kulū Wazir, Sobha Rām, and led by a connection of his. Mr. Gerard also states that about A.D. 1776 the fort of Dankhar was held by the Bashahrīs for two years.

From Mr. Trebeck's account it is clear that in 1821, Spiti was still under Ladākh, but the people probably paid tribute as blackmail to all the neighbouring states.

After the conquest of Ladākh by the Dogras under Zorāwar Singh, Gulāb Singh's ablest general, one Rahīm Khān was in 1841 placed in charge of Spiti, and his son-in-law Ghulām Khān occupied himself in plundering the monasteries and destroying the idols. On the advance into Eastern Tibet in December of the same year, Ghulām Khān accompanied the force, under Zorāwar Singh and was taken prisoner, and conveyed to Lhāsa where he was slowly tortured to death. Zorāwar Singh also perished with almost the whole of his army.

After the annexation of Kulū by the Sikhs in 1841, a force was sent into Spiti. As usual the people fled to the uplands on its approach, leaving their houses and monasteries to be plundered. The burnt condition of the mural paintings in the temple of the Pīn Monastery is said to have been due to the incendiarism of the Sikhs, but may have been the work of Ghulām Khān. No attempt, however, was made to annex the country which remained a province of Ladākh. In 1846, the whole Alpine Panjāb from the Rāvi to the Indus, including Ladākh and Spiti, was transferred in perpetual sovereignty to Gulāb Singh of Jammū, but in the same year Spiti was exchanged for other territory and added to Kulū, with the object of securing a road to the wool districts of Chang Thang in Tibet proper. In the Autumn of 1846, General (then Captain) Cunningham and Mr. Vans Agnew fixed the boundary between Spiti and Ladākh and Eastern Tibet; the mountainous and uninhabited territory to the east of the Bāralācha and north of the Parang Passes being attached to Spiti. The boundary runs from near the Bāralācha Pass, crosses the Lingti plain, and passes eastward to the south of the Tsomoriri Lake, and thence to the Indus, where it touches Tibet proper.

¹ Moorcroft, *Travels*, Vol. II, p. 64.

History of Lahul.

J. HUTCHISON AND J. PH. VOGEL.

Note.—We are indebted to Mr. H. L. Shuttleworth for valuable help in preparing the papers on Lahul and Spiti.

Lahul includes the valleys of the Chandrā and Bhāga rivers to their junction, and also the main Chandrābhāga Valley as far as Rauli, seven miles north of Tindi in Chambā territory. The lower portion, from the Chakmā or Thiroṭ Nāla to Rauli, is called Chambā-Lahul, and the upper portion as far as the sources of the Chandrābhāga on the Bāralācha Pass, is British Lahul, and was formerly a part of Kulū state. The high uninhabited plain of Lingti and its surrounding ranges, to the north-east of the Bāralācha Pass, which drain into the Indus, is also politically a part of Lahul, though geographically and otherwise closely connected with the countries to the north-east. Lahul is thus situated where the three kingdoms of Kulū, Chambā and Ladākh meet, and from the most ancient times it has been under the control of one or more of these kingdoms.

The people of Lahul are a mixed race, and recent linguistic research has shown that in remote times (c.B.C. 2000) the country must have been inhabited by an aboriginal tribe analogous to the Mundaris, who are now found only in Bengal and Central India. This tribe must have borrowed in very early times from the vocabulary of their Tibetan neighbours on the north-east and east, who must have constantly come in contact with them as nomad graziers, traders or invaders. Survivals of the same ethnological stock are to be found in the Kanāwar Koṭhi of Rūpi Wazīri in Kulu, in the isolated Kulū village of Malāna and in the Bashahr tract on the Satluj. At a later period Tibetan tribes came from the north and east; as the Tibetan-speaking villages near Koksar seem from their language to have been populated by settlers from the east, that is, from Spiti or Tibet, and not from Rupshū and Ladākh. Aryans and semi-Aryans also came from the west and south, and the Lahulas at the present time are the ultimate product of the amalgamation of these different races. Their peculiar languages, three in number, are found to have strong affinities with the languages of the Mundaris, but are not related to the Aryan languages of India, and only in vocabulary distantly related to Tibetan, which is the vernacular of the Upper Chandrā and Bhāga Valleys, around Koksar and Kolang, and also the written language in most of the country. It seems probable therefore that at a distant time the whole hill tracts from Kanawar in Bashahr to Lahul, including much of Kulū were inhabited by tribes related to the Mundaris.

During the Kulū supremacy a considerable influx of Kulū blood probably entered the veins of the Lahulis, especially in the Pattan or Manchāt and Chambā-Lahul.

Buddhism seems to have been first introduced into Lahul in the eighth century, probably by Padma Sambhava, the famous missionary from Udyana, who passed through Mandi, and first preached the doctrines of Buddha in Tibet. It was then probably that some of the Buddhist shrines in Lahul, such as Triloknāth and Guru Ghantāl were founded. Previous to this, snake, demon and phallic worship was the prevalent religion, as in other parts of the hills, and there can be little doubt that Triloknāth was originally a Shiva shrine, and place of pilgrimage. Lamaism came in at a later time. The Triloknāth temple book attributes the setting up of the white marble image to Lunduk of Uggan or Udyana, probably Padma Sambhava. The Guru Ghantāl white marble head is of the same workmanship as the Triloknāth image, and both are of the same Boddhisatva.

The first historical mention of Lahul is found in the travels of Hiuen Tsiang A.D. 635, where it is described as a country named *Lo-u-lo* lying to the north of *K'u-lu-to*, probably *northern Ladākh*, then including the country around the Indus.

But the Tibetan *Li-yul* has also been identified by Rockhill, with Khotan (Beals Buddhist Records of the Western World, p. xviii). If this is correct Hiuen Tsiang's placing of *Lo-u-lo* at 1800 or 1900 *li* (360 or 380 miles) north of Kulū might be intelligible, though an under-estimate. The first Lahul village is only 44 miles from Kulū town. Probably Hiuen Tsiang has confused the two countries of *Li-yul* (Khotan) and *Lo-u-lo* (Lahul) in his estimate of distances, admittedly derived from hearsay in modern Bāltistān. The name has been identified with the Tibetan words *Lho-Yul*, meaning "Southern country." At that early period Upper Ladākh was probably under the rule of a dynasty with the capital at Leh, and the name *Lho-Yul* may have been applied by them to their southern province. The Lahuli name of the country at the present time is *Gārzha*.

It seems probable that this loose connection with Ladākh may have existed from a remote period. At the same time Lahul was probably also more or less under Chambā and Kulū, from the early centuries of the Christian era. There are indications in the records of these countries that Chambā may have held the main valley almost as far up as the junction of the Chandrā and Bhāga rivers, while Kulū had some influence in the Chandrā and Bhāga Valleys, and in the wars of these early times between these two states, the Chambā armies probably advanced by way of the Kuktī Pass and Lahul. At that time Brahmaur (Brahmapūra) was the capital of the Chambā State which was then confined to the Upper Rāvi Valley, the lower valley being still in the possession of local petty chiefs, called Rānās and Thākurs.

In the Kulū annals it is stated that Lahul was conquered by Chambā at a time which we may take to be about A.D. 600, but was recovered in the following reign, after a battle at the foot of the Rotang Pass. These traditions and records are more or less legendary, yet they confirm the assumption that Lahul was more or less under Kulū and Chambā in early times.

The real rulers of Lahul at that early period were no doubt the ancient petty chiefs called "Jo" or "Cho," corresponding to the Rānās and Thākurs elsewhere, all

of whom were of Tibetan origin, and the only symbol of subjection was the yearly tribute. This they may have paid to Ladākh and also to Chambā and Kulū; just as they did at a later period to the two latter states. There were ancient baronial families with the usual forts at Ghushāl, Kārdang, Dārcha, and elsewhere, besides the three present *jāgīrdārs*, or *Ṭhākur* families, which will be alluded to later. A Rānā is said to have lived in Loth, and there were probably others lower down the main valley.

Early traditions in Lahul tell of an invasion by a race of foreigners from the north, believed to have been Yārkandis, who are said to have held the country for ten or twelve years. Old tombs discovered are thought to belong to that period, during which the Lahulas retired to the high mountain slopes. Captain Harcourt conjectured that this invasion may have taken place in the time of Changiz Khān, but it was probably at a much earlier period. Similar traditions exist in Chambā, which was invaded by the same race of people, (there) also called Yārkandis, who captured Brahmapūra—the former capital, killed the Rājā in battle, and held possession of the Upper Rāvi Valley for ten or fifteen years. They are said to have been ultimately driven out by a combined force from Suket and Kulu. This must have been about A.D. 780–80.¹ Possibly the Yetha are referred to, who between 400 and 500 A.D. conquered Gandhāra and India as far south as Tīrhūt, according to the Chinese pilgrim, Sung Yun.

About A.D. 1000 the later Tibetan kingdom of Ladākh was founded by Skyid lde nyima gon, great-grandson of Langdarma, the king of Lhāsa, who persecuted the Buddhists and was in the end assassinated by a Buddhist monk. Being driven out of Eastern Tibet, Nyima gon fled to Western Tibet, called *Nagaris*,² which he completely conquered. He had three sons, among whom he divided his kingdom, but the younger brothers were to be under vassalage to the eldest brother, Lha chen palgyi gon received Ladākh proper, from the Zojā Pass, north of Kashmir to Rutog; Trashi gon, the second son, received Purang and Gugē, in the Upper Satluj Valley; and Lde tsug gon, the youngest, was given the southern provinces, including Zangskar, Lahul and Spiti.

Possibly a small portion only of Lahul was under Tibetan rule, as it seems probable that from the tenth or eleventh century at least, if not from a much earlier period as stated, the main Chandrābhāga Valley was included in Chambā territory. Many traditions exist in Lahul pointing to this conclusion, and the people of Gushāl, on the left bank near the junction of the Chandrā and Bhāga rivers, say they once owned a copper plate deed granted by a Chambā Rājā, which was taken from them after the country was annexed to Kulū.

On the right bank these traditions are not so clear, owing probably to the fact that being more open to invasion the tract must often have changed hands. The Chandrā Valley we may assume to have been under Kulū, leaving only the Bhāga

¹ Chamba Gaz., p. 71.

² The W. Tibetan province under the Gartok Garpon is still called Nari Khorsum (Nari=Ngbris—g and s not pronounced) Nari—dependent, Khor—district (Ramsay).

Valley to Ladākh, and even this does not seem to have remained long in Tibetan hands.

¹ About A.D. 1125-50 Lha Chen Utpala, king of Ladākh invaded Kulū, presumably through Lahul, and exacted from the Rājā a treaty, in which he promised to pay tribute in *dzos* (half-bred Yaks) and iron. As there are no *dzos* in Kulū they must have gone from Lahul, which must, therefore, have been a province of Kulū. This treaty remained in force till the seventeenth century.

The Ladākh chronicles record another invasion of Kulū, which must have taken place through Lahul about A.D. 1530-35, probably in the reign of Sidh Singh or Bahādur Singh of Kulū and Tsewang Namgyāl is said to have made the Chiefs of Kulū "felt the weight of his arm." This invasion is referred to in the chronicles of Lahul, and was probably the result of an attempt on the part of the Kulū Chief to throw off the Tibetan hold on the country.

² Another account referred to by Captain Harcourt, makes Lahul a province of the kingdom of Gugē in Western Tibet and part of Kanawar about this time. Recent research, however, has shown that this is incorrect, Gugē never held territory in the Chandrābhāga Valley though Spiti was at one time part of the kingdom, and when the country was conquered by Sengge Namgyāl, king of Ladākh (A.D. 1596-1620), Spiti and Zangskar were made over to his younger son, but no mention is made of Lahul. This is confirmed by the finding of many references to Sengge Namgyāl in Spiti inscriptions but none in Lahul.

³ About the middle of the seventeenth century Ladākh was invaded by Eastern Tibet, then under Mongolia, and being worsted in the struggle the king, Delegs Namgyal (1640-1680) called in the aid of the Mughals from Kashmīr. With their help the invaders were defeated at Bāsgo and driven back. There is literary evidence of this invasion both in Spiti and Lahul, as the invasion of the Tso-po (Mongols) under Galdan Chang. He burnt the Tangyud Gumpa in Spiti, stormed Kolang fort in Lahul and crossed the Bhāga, but on his way towards Kulū he lost most of his army near Gondla from avalanches. The plain where this occurred is still known as Roh-lang-tang. Bones are still found there. On the retreat of the Mongols the Rājā of Kulū, Bidhi Singh (A.D. 1672) seized the opportunity to bring Lahul entirely under his sway. He also advanced down the Main Valley and annexed the country from Chambā as far as Thirot, the present boundary. A tradition recorded in Tibetan at the Triloknāth shrine also runs that a Kulū Rājā reached Triloknāth and tried to carry off the idol, but was defeated in the attempt as the stone became so heavy that it could not be moved. There is a mark on the right leg of the image which is said to have resulted from a sword blow by a Kulū soldier at the time. One account states that Manchāt was acquired from Chambā as dowry with a Chambā princess. This is highly improbable as territory is never given on such occasions, and there is no record of such a marriage having ever taken place.

At the time of Bidhi Singh's advance one of the noble families,—or Jos—of

¹ *Western Tibet*, Francké, pp. 65 and 86.

² *Kooloo, Lahoul and Spiti*, Harcourt, 1871, p. 424.

³ *Western Tibet*, Francke, pp. 106 et seq.

Lahul—that of Barbog—resisted and was deprived of all power; the other two submitted, and received *jāgīrs* and also the title of *Thākur* as in Kulū. Though all of Tibetan origin they began under Hindū influence to call themselves Rājputs and to claim that their ancestors entered Lahul from Bangāhal. All except Barbog altered their chronicles to support this claim. They marry into the Kulū Thākur and even into the Kulū Rājput royal families.

The Tinan Chronicle—that of Gondhla in the Chandrā Valley still gives the name “Iron Castle” in Tibet as the place whence the original ancestor of the family came, and his name, *Rāna Pāl*, only half conceals the common Tibetan name of Dpal. Barbog and also the Gumrang family in the Bhāga Valley still marry into the house of ex-kings of Ladākh, residing at Stog near Leh.

From about A.D. 1670 onwards Tibetan influence came to an end in Lahul, and about A.D. 1700 Rājā Mān Singh of Kulū further strengthened his hold on the country by marching to the north of the Bāralācha Pass, and fixing the boundary with Ladākh, probably at Lingtī where it still is. He built the Gondla Fort and married a daughter of the Gondla family. Again about 1800, in the time of Rājā Pritam Singh, a Lahul contingent assisted in the war with Mandi at Bajaura, where they fought under the banner of the Gyephant Lha—the spirit of the great peak that looks down the Kulū Valley. An account of this event is to be seen in the Moravian Mission at Kyelang, written both in Pahari and Urdu.

¹ When William Moorcroft passed through Lahul in 1820, he found four villages in the Chandrā Valley still paying tribute to Ladākh. This, however, may have continued to be done simply to preserve the peace of the border and the trade connections. These payments were continued till stopped by Government in 1862.

On the subjection of Kulū by the Sikhs in 1840-41, Lahul also was taken over and ruled by them in the usual extortionate manner, but with the cession of the Doāb in 1846 both Kulū and Lahul became British territory and an era of peace and prosperity began for the country, which has continued down to the present day. The people look more and more to India year by year, and the Thākurs have adopted Hindū customs and connections. Lower Lahul remains under Chambā and has also shared in the general prosperity. Most of it is under the Rānā of Triloknāth whose ancestors have been in power from time immemorial, probably long before the Chambā Rājās obtained control over the valley. The family being Rājput intermarries with Rānā families in the Rāvi and Biās Valleys in Chambā.

The Moravian Mission with its headquarters at Kyelang established in 1853, has been in many respects a medium of great material advantage to Lahul. Though German in origin the Mission is international in character, and almost all the Missionaries are now English or Swiss, while the Mission funds come exclusively from England, where there is an indigenous branch of the Moravian Church. Some of the Missionaries have done valuable historical, archaeological and linguistic work, especially the Rev. A. D. H. Francke, to whom we are indebted for many of the details in this history.

¹ Moorcroft, *Travels*, p. 198.

Notes on the History of Chanehni State.

J. HUTCHISON AND J. PH. VOGEL.

Note.—The historical material for our papers on many of the smaller states is very scanty, but it seems advisable to put it on record.

Chanehni State was bounded on the north by the Chināb river, on the east by Bhadrawāh, on the south by the Gaddian Dhār and Bandhrālta, and on the west by the Birhon Nāla and Bhoti. It included two main portions, separated by the Ladha kā Dhār—one in the Upper Tawi Valley and the other in the Chināb Valley.

The ancient name of the country was Himmat or Hiunta—meaning “the snow country,” hence the clan name of Himtāl or Hiuntāl, adopted by the former rulers. The latter name is often contracted to Hantāl.

The ruling family which is still in possession of a portion of their territory is of Chandarbansī race and is descended from the ancient royal line of Chanderī in Bandhel-Khand. The tradition runs that probably about the middle of the eighth century the Rājā of Chanderī named Harihar Chand, leaving one of his sons in the ancestral State came on pilgrimage to Jwālamukhī with his other four sons, named Bīr Chand, Ghamīr Chand, Kabīr Chand and Sabīr Chand. On the way he saw Jhandbhari, now in the Hoshiārpur District, conquered the place and settled there. Some time later his eldest, son, Bīr Chand, founded the State of Kahlūr or Bilāspūr, and in a similar manner Kabīr Chand established himself in Kumāūn, while another son, Sabīr Chand is said to have been killed while engaged in a game of tent pegging, by a fall from his horse. Soon after Bilāspūr was founded a petty chief of Megh caste came there from the district of Himmat to solicit help of the Rājā against some of the petty chiefs around him of Rājput caste, who looked down on him because he was a Megh, and probably sought to dispossess him. From this it is evident that in the Jammū hills also as elsewhere the Rājput States were preceded by a Thakurain period or government by petty chiefs called Rānās and Thākurs, some of them Rājputs and others of lower castes. Rājā Bīr Chand being unable to go himself deputed his next younger brother, Ghamīr Chand, to proceed with an army to the help of the Megh Thākur, who resided at a place called Mantalai or Old Himmat, some distance to the south-east of the present town of Chanehni. On arrival Ghamīr Chand fought with and overcame the Rānās and Thākurs, and the Megh Thākur then made over all his own territory also and became a subject. Thus the Chanehni State was founded.

It is interesting to note that the *Vansāvalis* of Bilāspūr and Chanehni fully corroborate popular tradition, for they ascribe the foundation of both states to a common ancestor, who came from Chanderī. At a later period Hindūr or Nālagarh

State was founded by a cadet of the Bilāspur family, so that all three states are from a common origin.

As regards the antiquity of the State, there were forty-five chiefs from its foundation to its overthrow in 1822, and allowing an average reign of twenty-two years to each, we may conclude that the State was founded in the early part of the ninth century. The capital was at a place originally called Chaka on the right bank of the Tawi river, which was probably re-named Chanderī and the name gradually became corrupted to Chanehni.

We unfortunately possess very little material for the subsequent history of the State except the *Vansāvalī* containing the names of the Rājās who ruled over it. It is not referred to in the Muhammadan records, nor in any contemporary documents which have come into our hands. That its history was similar to that of other hill States seems probable, and it may have been in close association with Jammū from a comparatively early period. It certainly was so from the time of Dhrub Dev of Jammū A.D. 1703-35—and we find the Chanehni Rajas leading their own contingents in the wars of aggression undertaken by the Jammū chiefs.

That Chanehni was under subjection to the Mughals from the time of Akbar is also more than probable, and it may have been involved in the two outbreaks of A.D. 1588-9 and 1594-5, though not mentioned among the states whose Rājās tendered their allegiance and presented presents to the Emperor.

Some curious legends are associated with Chanehni. To the south-east of the capital at a distance of ten miles, and near the ancient nucleus of Mantalai is a famous *tirtha* or place of pilgrimage, called Sudh Mahādev. It is said that in olden times a Rākash or demon abode there, named Sarlu, which was very troublesome to the Devtās. They, therefore, appealed to Shiva and he hurled his trident at the demon with such force that it not only killed him, but pierced the earth through and through and made its appearance in Pātāla, or the lower regions. This iron trident may still be seen in the temple of Sudh Mahādev, standing six feet high above the ground, with a diameter of six inches. On one occasion a Rājā of Chanehni, named Rām Chand, thirty-second in descent from Ghamir Chand, was encamped at Sudh Mahādev and wanted to test the truth of the legend. He, therefore, ordered his people to dig up the trident and the digging was continued for two days. On the third night the Raja had a vision that on the following morning a piece of iron would fall from the top of the trident and a Sāligrām would appear out of it. Of this piece of iron he was commanded to make a sword and he was also enjoined to worship daily the Sāligrāma, which should appear. He was also told that the sword would possess this special property that it would foretell victory or defeat in time of war. If placed under all the other arms, and it came above them of itself then victory was assured, otherwise defeat would befall the State. The Rājā was also ordered to build a temple for an image of Shiva which would appear the following day.

Next morning, as foretold in the vision, a piece of iron fell from the top of the trident and an idol emerged from it which is known as Lakshmi Damodar. A villager also came with the news that while ploughing in his field he saw an idol buried

there. The Rājā then commanded to stop the digging and had a sword made from the piece of iron, and he also erected a temple for the idol found, which is known to this day as Sudh Mahādev. It is situated on the eastern border of the State, some ten miles east of Chanehni. A fire in the temple, which was first kindled by a *jogi* named Sarūp Nāth, is kept continually burning and the ashes of the *dhoni* are never removed, as it is regarded as inauspicious to do so.

The sword thus acquired remained in the possession of the Chanehni family for many generations and by the "miracle of the sword" the Rājās were able to foretell victory or defeat in battle. Their services were much in demand on this account among the neighbouring states.

About A.D. 1760 Shamshēr Chand succeeded to the *gaddi* of Chanehni. Ahmad Shāh Durrāni then ruled the Panjab, which had been ceded to him by the Emperor of Delhi in 1752. Sukh Jewan was his Governor of Kashmir, and being in revolt a force was sent against him by Ahmad Shāh about 1764 with a contingent from Ranjit Dev of Jammū, and Shamsher Chand was called upon to accompany the force, with his contingent. The expedition was successful and Sukh Jewan was defeated and captured. As a reward for his assistance a *jāgīr* was granted in Kashmir to the Chanehni chief, which was in the possession of the State till the conquest of the valley by the Sikhs in 1819.

Another expedition is also recorded in which the Chanehni chief bore a part. On the cession of the Panjab to Ahmad Shāh Durrāni the hill chiefs all resumed their independence and seized by force any territory of which they had been deprived under Mughal rule. The Kāngra State seems to have suffered most in this respect, and large portions of the territory had been either annexed to the empire or granted in *jāgīr* to neighbouring States. The *ilāqa* of Pathiyār near Pālampūr in the Kāngra Valley had in this way been granted to the Rājā of Chāmbā and was recovered by Rājā Ghamand Chand of Kāngra. As the *ilāqa* had been in the possession of Chāmbā for several generations it was claimed as State territory, and the Rājā being a minor the queen-mother a sister of Ranjit Dev of Jammū appealed to her brother for help in recapturing the fort, which was at once forthcoming.

Ranjit Dev then summoned contingents from the other States dependent on Jammū. These were:—Shamshēr Chand of Chanehni; Azam Chand of Mānkoṭ; Amrit Pāl of Basohli; Ratan Dev of Jāsrota and Jai Singh of Bandhrālta. The command of the army was entrusted to Brijrāj Dev, son of Ranjit Dev, and on arrival at Nurpur it was joined by Prithwi Singh of that State, and in Kāngra by Gobind Chand of Datārpur and Rāj Singh of Chāmbā. Rājā Ghamand Chand was encamped at Kalesari and seeing such a muster of the opposing forces, he fled without offering battle and the Pathiyār Fort was surrendered and the *ilāqa* restored to Chāmbā.¹

Rājā Shamsher Chand is said to have come to a sad end on his way back from this expedition. The wonderful sword seems to have been credited with the victory

¹ Cf. Chamba Gaz. p. 98.

and Prithwi Singh of Nūrpūr was keen on securing it. He secretly followed Shamsheer Chand and fell upon him unawares at a place called Dadand near Jandrah while engaged in worshipping the Sāligrāma. On being told of the approach of the Nūrpūr Army and probably knowing the purpose with which it was pursuing him, Shamsheer Chand resorted to the sword for an omen of success or failure. On its failing to rise as usual above the other arms he knew that his end had come and continued his *puja* till despatched by the enemy.

The Rājā of Nūrpūr thus secured the sword which was placed in one of the temples at his capital, but has now been lost. It is said to have passed into the hands of Amrit Pāl of Basohli.

The Chanehni State attained its widest limits during the reign of Shamsheer Chand. Shamsheer Chand was succeeded by Kishor Chand and he in turn by Tegh Chand, who died without male heirs, leaving only a daughter whom her mother sought to be recognized as ruler. This claim was opposed by Dayāl Chand, son of Jahagar Chand, a younger son of Shamsheer Chand. The *rānī*'s claim was supported by Bāsu, a son of Badan Chand, who was also a younger son of Shamsheer Chand by another *rānī*. The result was a contest in which Bāsu was killed, and Dayāl Chand then succeeded to the *guddī*. While this strife was going on the Rājā of Bhoti State laid siege to Chorgalla Fort, on the Ladha Dhar. The fort was garrisoned with only thirty Rājput̃s and no relief could be sent.

They held out as long as possible but at last had to face the alternative of surrender or death. They finally determined to die rather than surrender, and throwing open the gates they charged into the midst of the enemy and slew many of them. The rest taken by surprise fled from the field. This gave rise to the popular saying, "One Hintāl is worth seven Bhutiāls."

It must have been about this time (1783) that Mr. Forster, the traveller passed through Chanehni, on his way from Janunū to Kashmir.¹ He has only a short note as follows:—

"Near Nagrota commence the districts of Chinanee, a dependant of Jumbo with one lac of rupees. Chinanee is a neat and populous town, situate on the brow of a hill, at the foot of which on the eastern side runs a rapid stream passing to the left." He does not seem to have been aware that this stream was the Tawī, which he crossed at Jammū. By that time the Sikhs had begun their inroads into the hills, though they may not have reached Chanehni till a later time, but it is probable that the State became entirely subject to Ranjīt Singh early in his reign.

The three Jammū princes, Gulāb Singh, Dhiān Singh and Suchēt Singh were then rising into power. They were all advanced to the status and dignity of "Rājā," about 1820–22, and Bandhraita was assigned to Suchet Singh as a fief after the ancient line of rulers had been deposed and expelled from the State. Foreseeing danger, Dayāl Chand ordered the fort of Shivgarh, on the eastern frontier, to be made ready for defence. He had assisted Rājā Gulāb Singh in the attack on Kashtwār, as Vigne tells

¹ Forster remarks that he had to pay a rupee for crossing the river Chināb probably at Ramban, into Kashtwār territory, by a swing bridge. Forster, *Travels*, Vol. I. pp. 341–59.

us, but this did not save him from a similar fate. Rājā Suchet Singh had gone on pilgrimage to Sudh Mahādev and on his way back he annexed Marothi, a village on the eastern border of Chanehni. Rājā Dayāl Singh becoming alarmed made preparations for defence, and Suchet Singh on learning this invaded the State from Rāmnagar, with the help of a Sikh force to which the Chanehni Rājā could offer no resistance. Having transferred his family and valuables, with a large number of women and children of the town, to the strong fort of Shivgarh among the mountains, he hurried off to Lahore, and succeeded in gaining the favour of the Mahārājā. Meanwhile Suchet Singh sacked the town of Chanehni and set the palace on fire.

When Rājā Dayāl Chand returned from Lahore with a *farmān*, in the name of Rājā Gulāb Singh, for the restoration of the State, with permission to reside in his own home, he was detained in Jammū for some months. At length on reaching his capital he found that the State had been divided into four parts. *Ilāqa* Kotla and Nagulta, on the left bank of the river Tawi, had been taken by Rājā Suchet Singh. The Batoti and Udampur *ilāqas* had been annexed to Jammū, and Rudhār on the eastern border was given to Rājā Dhiān Singh. Only Chanehni proper with Malwāna *ilāqa* was left to Dayāl Chand. Later on, however, Rājā Dhiān Singh restored the Rudhār *ilāqa*, which still forms a portion of the *jāgīr* held by the Chanehni Rājās, who continue to reside in their ancient capital in subjection to Jammū.

Mr. Vigne passed through Chanehni in 1839, but does not seem to have met the Rājā. He has the following note on the town, "Chinini is a large and neat village, overlooked by the old palace, if it deserve such a name, of its legitimate Rajah. The river Tawi has its sources in the mountains to the eastward of it, and comes rattling down the ravine which conducts its stream to the fort of the eminence on which the village is built. The territories of the Chinini Rajah extended from Dodhera on the northward, and southward to the village of Bari."

More fortunate than most of the other hill chiefs of the Dugar group, the Rājās of Chanehni still have their residence in their ancient capital, and own a large part of their former patrimony, where they continue to exercise almost full authority. The present chief, Rājā Kedār Chand holds the powers of a first-class magistrate within his *jāgīr* and all the financial and political work is carried out under his orders. He is nearly related by marriage to the Jammū royal family.

Notes on the History of Bandhrālta State.

J. HUTCHISON AND J. PH. VOGEL.

This State is now called Rāmnagar, but the name came into use only after the tract was annexed to Jammū about a hundred years ago. As a State, Bandhrālta was situated to the south of Chanehni and it was bounded on the east by Bhadrawāh, on the south by Mānkoṭ, and on the west by Balwālta or Udchampūr. The capital was originally called Nagar, as being the only town in the principality, and the ruling family took their clan name of Bandhīrāl from the name of the tract.

The ancestor of the family and founder of the State was a cadet of the royal house of Chambā, and from the *Vansāvalī* of that State we learn that Bandhrālta must have been founded about A.D. 1000-20. The *Vansāvalī* contains only twenty-one names down to the extinction of the State in 1822, giving an average of nearly forty years to each, which is very improbable. We must, therefore, conclude that many names have been omitted in copying. During the same period there are thirtynine names in the Chambā roll of Rājās.

In the case of Bandhrālta also we find a tradition of a Thakurian period in ancient times, and much the same reason is given for the invasion of the tract, as in the case of other States, *viz.* tyranny and oppression of their subjects by the Rānās and Thākurs. As a result some of the Zemindars went to Chambā to ask help. Vichettar Varman (A.D. 980-1000) was then in power, and unable to go himself he sent his younger brother, who vanquished the Rānās, and made himself ruler. A tradition is also current which throws light on the methods employed to get rid of troublesome opponents. It is to the effect that the Rājā and the local Rānā both availed themselves of the services of the same barber, who was bribed to cut the Rānā's throat while shaving him. In this way a powerful rival was removed, seventy-two petty chiefs are said to have been overcome by one means or another, and the Rājā then assumed the name Bahattar to mark the fact.

The State is not referred to in any Muhammadan histories. It was always small, and the revenue seldom exceeded a lakh of rupees. Of its subsequent history we know almost nothing as no records seem to be available. That it was in close touch with Jammū seems certain, at least from the beginning of the eighteenth century, and it was as we know called upon to supply contingents for the wars of that time in which Jammū was involved.

With the rise of the Sikh power in the Panjāb, Bandhrālta came under their control like the other hill States, and in 1822 when Suchēt Singh of Jammū was created a Rājā the tract was made over to him in fief. The ancient line was then deposed but allowed to remain for a time. This, however, was soon found to be

awkward as an attempt was made to recover the territory and they were finally exiled from the State. They first retired to Kāngra where they resided for some time under the protection of Rājā Sansār Chand, but afterwards went to Tehri Garhwāl and finally settled at Shāhzādpur in the Ambala District.

The last Rājā to exercise ruling power was Bhūp Dhar Dev, who died at Shāhzādpūr. He had been assigned a pension of Rs. 3,000 by Government, which is still paid to the family.

¹ Rājā Suchet Singh took much interest in Rāmnagar which received its new name after coming under his control. He built a palace outside the town where he used to reside, and also a fort on the Chaugān which is still held by a garrison. On his death in Lahore in 1844, his *rānīs* became *satīs*, and the spot is still marked by a garden. As he died childless the fief reverted to Jammū. At a later time it was granted as a *jāgīr* to Rājā Rām Singh, second brother of the present Mahārājā, and on his demise without a male heir it again became merged in the Jammū State.

¹ Vide *Jammu and Kashmir*, Drew. p. 86, also Vigne, *Travels*, Vol. I, pp. 187, 8—9, and 190.

Some aspects of Slavery.

V. LAKSHMAN SARUP M.A. ; D. PHIL. (Oxon.)

Sources of information with regard to Slavery in India and elsewhere.

- Manu : IV. 180, 185, 153-256.
VIII. 66, 70, 363, 415-417.
IX. 55.
S.B.E. Vol. XXV.
- Mahābhārata : XII. 244, 14-15 ; 19-20.
Yājñavalkya smṛti : (I. 158) ; II. 70-71 ; 182-184 ;
(I. 166) 290-291.
- Viṣṇu Smṛti : LVII. 16.
VIII. 2, 3.
- Gautamiya Dharmaśāstra : XVII. 5-6 ; XXVIII. 13, 33.
S.B.E. Vol. III.
- Āpastambīya Dharmaśūtra : II 6. 13. 11.
S.B.E. Vol. II.
- Baudhāyana „ I. 19. 13.
- Nārada smṛti : V. 2-43
S.B.E. Vol. XXXIII.
- Bṛhaspati Smṛti : XVI. 7.
S.B.E. Vol. XXXIII.
- Kauṭīliyam arthaśāstram : II. 1.
III. 13.
IV. 12.
(Mysore ed. pp. 47, 181-184, 230.)
- Eng. Trans. II. 1 ; III. 13 ; IV. 12.
(Mysore ed. pp. 53, 230-233, 291.)
- Śukra Nīti-sāra : ch. II.
(S.B.H. pp. 98-99)
- Vyavahāramayūkha : Athābhyaupetyāśuśrūṣā.
Mandlik ; edition, Bormli, 1880, pp. 78-80.
Eng. trans. by Mandlik : pp. 124-127.
- Mandlik, *Hindu Law*.
Vīramitrodaya-vyavahārādhyāya.
I. 123, 125, 126, 127.
- Mitākṣarā on Yājñavalkya. II. 182-184.
- The Nirukta : 3. 4.
- Plato : Republic. III. 387.
V. 469.
VIII. 549, 563. IX. 578-579.
- Jowett : Dialogues of Plato

- 3rd. ed. Vol. III, pp. 69, 165, 253, 271,
288, 289.
- Plato : The Laws. II. 669, 674.
VI. 776-778.
VII. 793-794.
IX. 868, 872, 879, 881, 882.
XI. 914, 916, 930, 936.
- Jowett : Dialogues of Plato.
3rd. ed. Vol. V, pp. 49, 54, 158-160, 174,
252, 256, 264, 266, 267, 300,
302, 319, 325.
- Aristotle : Politics. 1253 b.—1255 b.
I. 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 13; III. 4, 6; V. 11.; VI. 4; VII. 10.
- Jowett's Eng. trans. Vol. 1, pp. 5-12.
- Plutarch, Lives : Part I, ch. III, sec. 5.
- Twelve Tables : IV. 2.
- Sohm, Institutes of Roman Law, pp. 482, 486.
Eng. trans. by Ledlie.
- Leage, Roman Private Law, pp. 77-78.
- Gaius, Institutes of Roman Law, I. 13-54.
Poste, English translation, 4th. ed. pp. 20-37.
- Njals saga : Eng. trans. by G. W. Dasent.
- The time of the events recorded in the Icelandic Saga is supposed to be almost about 1100 A.D.
- The chronicle itself was written a century later.
- Ch. 2. Hrut woos Unna : Sale of a daughter.
- Code of Hammurabi : Eng. trans. by W. W. Davies c. 2700 B.C. represents the laws of the Babylonians, discovered at Susa near the Persian Gulf by M. de Morgan in 1902.
- No. 117—sale of a son, or daughter, or wife. Cf. also sections : 278-281.
- King Æthelbirth's Doms : Ancient laws and Institutes of England by Benjamin Thorpe. They comprise the laws enacted under the Anglo-Saxon Kings from Æthelbirth to Cnut, laws of Edward the Confessor and William the Conqueror ascribed to Henry I.
- Sec. 77, p. 518.
- Pollock and Maitland History of English Law : ii. 436, Church admits the right of a father to sell a son under seven into slavery. 17th. century.
- Sale of children prohibited in the empire by Diocletian which led to infanticide and therefore was re-allowed by Constantine.
- Genesis. xxxi. 14, 15.
- Douglas : Society in China, p. 202.
- She-King. Part II, Bk. IV, ode. 5, stanzas 8-9.

MARRIAGE BY CAPTURE AND PURCHASE.

Whether the daughter has a legal right to inherit patrimony or not, forms a topic of discussion in N. 3. 4—6. Yāska maintains that she has as much right to become the heir of her father as the son, for both are the representatives of the self of a man and continue his line. His opponents, however take a different view. ¹A passage is quoted from the Maitrāyaṇi Samhitā : “ therefore they cast away a woman

¹ MS. 4. 6. 4 : 4. 7. 9.

as soon as she is born but not a man." A remark follows: "women are given away, sold, and abandoned but not men." It is however this passage with which we are immediately concerned. It throws great light on the status of women during the time of Yāska. Durga interprets the passage as follows: "A woman is given away to another man (as a wife); or sold for a bridal fee A maiden is abandoned by her relatives in the self-selection of a husband (*svayam-vare*) saying, let the strongest take thee or select anyone who pleases thy fancy as thy husband." Durga seems to give a rather narrow explanation of the passage of the *Nirukta* by confining the terms, "giving away," "selling," and "abandoning" to marriage only. But the Brāhmaṇa quotation just preceding the passage in question shows that "abandoning" was not limited to marriage alone, but was also practised at birth. As a matter of fact, infanticide was not unknown in Ancient India, and infanticide of female children prevailed among the Rajputs not very long ago, when the British Government put an end to all such practices. If Durga is right, the passage indicates that in addition to ordinary marriage, marriage by capture and by purchase were quite common in Yāska's time. It will show, moreover, that only three kinds of marriages were then recognized. These were the prototypes which, in course of time, gave rise to the eight kinds of marriages, just as the only two kinds of sons known to Yāska, i.e. the legitimate son and the son of an appointed daughter, developed later on into 13 kinds. This also shows that marriage by capture had gone out of use by the time of the codification of the *smṛtis*, for it is not recognized among the eight legal marriages, and the *Gandharva* and the *Rākṣasa* form of marriages which seemed to have preserved in one form or other some elements of the marriage by capture were permitted to the warriors only and not commended for the twice-born. Marriage by purchase survived longer, the terrible word "purchase" having been eliminated and the purchase-money having been reduced to a nominal bridal-fee, not for the benefit of the father, but of the bride herself.

In primitive society, however, marriage by capture was the universal rule. Gradually it became extinct and from its ashes marriage by purchase sprang into life. But the memories of men cannot be altogether effaced, so some symbolic ceremonies to keep alive the tradition of primitive practices came to be substituted. With the advance of civilisation, the commercial side of the marriage contract became repugnant to the minds of men and fell into disuse. With regard to this process of evolution, the order of words used in the *Nirukta* passage is significant and seems to point to the successive stages of development in the marital relation of man and woman. "Women are given away, sold and abandoned—" i.e. each preceding form being here the direct descendant of the following one. It has been said above that the practice of marriage by capture and purchase was universal. The following examples will make my point clear.

Among the Babylonians, women were sold and cast away. Thus we read the following in a¹ contract made between Arad-Samas and his two wives Jetani, and

¹ Lit. "abandoning", i.e. *atisarga*.

² See Manu IX. 141—191.

³ *Vikraya*.

⁴ See Manu III. 20—35.

⁵ Hobhouse: *Evolution of the Morals*, p. 182.

Taramaka: If either wife says to Arad-Samas, "you are not my husband," she is to be branded and sold for money; if they both do it, . . . They are to be thrown into the river. If Arad-Samas repudiates either of them, he is to pay a mina of silver.

Again, a ¹ contract of the 13th year of Nebuchadrassar, in which a wife is bought for 1½ gold minas, has been preserved.

In the days of the old kingdom, ²Pharaoh boasted of having carried off the wives of other men and cited these exploits as proof of his truly royal nature.

The Chinese ceremonial of marriage has preserved the ancient survivals of marriage by capture. To marry a wife is written "to take a woman," while the symbol used for man is different. The ideogram for slave is a compound of "woman" and "hand", implying possession.

The practice of throwing away female children in China is further indicated by the following quotation:—

* Daughters shall be born to him;
They will be put to sleep on the ground;
They will be clothed with wrappers;
They will have titles to play with.
It will be theirs neither to do wrong nor to do good.
Only about the spirits and the food will they have to think,
And to cause no sorrow to their parents.

Among the Jews, marriage by purchase was legal. If a man was rich, he could get a wife by paying money for her, if poor, the purchase-money could be paid off by personal service. Thus Laban and his mother receive precious things for Rebecca. This occasionally gave rise to complaint. Rachel and Leah complain. "Is there yet any portion . . . for us in our father's house? Are we not counted of him strangers? for he hath sold us and hath also quite devoured our money." ³ The head of the family exercised almost absolute powers over the family members, thus Judah proposes to burn Tamar, his daughter-in-law for unchastity.

In Mohammed's time, Arabian society was based on the matriarchal system and polyandry was common, yet woman was regarded as a chattel. "Women are the whips of Satan, says an Arab proverb.

Marriage by capture and by purchase prevailed in Greece in the Homeric period. Women were carried off as bond-slaves. *Briseis* was a recognized portion of the spoil. ⁴ If a bridegroom could not take the bride in a raid, he bought her for a goodly number of cattle. A father could sell his daughter or brothers their sisters. But Solon forbade the sale of a daughter except for unchastity.

The Roman form of marriage called *coemptio* preserves the memory of a real purchase of the wife by the husband. The marriage was concluded by means of a *mancipatio*, i.e. the intending husband purchasing the daughter from the person in whose "hand" she was. According to the primitive law of the Germanic tribes, a father had absolute control over his wife and children. He could expose them, sell

¹ Hobhouse: *Evolution of Morals*, p. 182.

³ Douglas, *Society in China* p. 202.

⁵ Genesis xxxi. 14, 15.

² op. cit., p. 185.

⁴ *She-King* Part II, Bk. IV, ode 5, stanza 9.

⁶ *Odyssey* XXII. 468. Eng. trans. by Butcher and Lang.

them, and even dispose of the person of his wife, who was acquired by purchase from her relatives without any reference to the wishes of the would-be bride herself.

¹ Cnut forbade the sale of a woman to a man whom she disliked.

A ² case of the sale of a wife at Cologne in the 11th century is also recorded.

Njals Saga chronicles a transaction made between a father and his would-be son-in-law about the purchase of his daughter. ³ So after they had talked much of this and that, at last Hauskuld said, "I have a bargain to speak to thee about; Hrut wishes to become thy son-in-law, and buy thy daughter, and I, for my part, will not be sparing in the matter."

Dooms of King Æthelbirth: ⁴ "If a man carry off a maiden by force, let him pay 1. shillings to the owner, and afterwards buy [the object of] his will of the owner." And, "If a man buy a maiden with cattle, let the bargain stand, if it be without guile"

Durga's interpretation, however, is not right. The "giving away," "selling" and "abandoning" of women was not confined to the occasion of marriage only as is shown by the Brāhmana quotation, nor to the female sex alone as the following sentence in the context indicates, "some say that men are also given away, sold and abandoned, as for instance, in the case of śunaḥ śepa." This shows that boys and girls were sold or thrown away, apart from the occasion of marriage. This is further corroborated by the fact that the boy who is given and who is bought (*dattaka* and *krīta*) are included among the 12 kinds of sons recognised by Hindu law. That is to say, it was a common practice for a childless man to buy a boy and to adopt him as his son. Such transactions of the sale and purchase of boys would have been frequent, for as childlessness was dreaded by the ancient Indians more than death, such purchases were recognised as valid by law. And in a state of society composed of diverse elements representing different stages of civilisation, things seldom remain in their pristine purity. So it was with the ancient Indians. Sometimes under the pressure of circumstances with poverty and starvation staring them in the face, and sometimes under the influence of greed, passion, or wilfulness, parents sold their children and thus swelled the numbers of slaves. But slavery again is not peculiar to ancient India alone; in ancient times, it prevailed all over the world. The following examples will make this manifest. The code of Hammurabi enacts: "If a man incur a debt and sell his wife, son, or daughter for money, or bind them out to forced labour, three years shall they work in the house of their task-master; in the fourth year they shall be free." ⁵

The Hebrew law is as follows: "If thy brother, an Hebrew man, or an Hebrew woman be sold unto thee and serve thee six years: then in the seventh year thou shalt let him go free from thee." ⁶

¹ Pollock and Maitland: "History of English Law" ii. 364.

² Viollet, p. 502.

³ Njals saga. ch. 2. Hrut woos Unna. Eng. tryns. by Dasent p. 124.

⁴ Sections 77 and 82.

⁵ Sec. 117. There are rules to regulate the sale and purchase of male and female slaves at home or in foreign countries, see, sections: 278—288.

⁶ Deut. xxv. 12; cf. also Exodus xxi. 2.

In Greece slavery prevailed to such an extent that "no house was regarded as complete without slaves."¹ Even Plato could not conceive of his Republic as without them. Although he² accords a more humane treatment to slaves, yet they must be kept in a subordinate position, must always be addressed with the voice of command, must not be allowed to drink or to participate in convivial and festive parties, and must not be allowed to indulge in music, etc.

Plutarch refers to it as follows:³ "All the people were indebted to the rich; and either they tilled their land for their creditors . . . or else they engaged their bodies for the debt, and might be seized, and either sent into slavery at home, or sold to strangers . . .". The Sanskrit term for 'slave' is *dāsa*.⁴ It is used in this sense in the R̥gveda and at least in one passage of an Upaniṣad. In the *smṛtis* mentioned above (p. 1) and the *Arthāśāstra* of Kautilya, the word has become a technical expression and is exclusively used to denote a slave as contrasted with other servants or hired labourers who are respectively called *Karmakāra* and *Bhṛtaka*.

The origin of slavery may be traced in the conquests of the Aryans over the aborigines who represented a lower stage of organization, culture, and refinement. They were easily subjected, and being inferior in civilisation to the Aryans, naturally occupied the lowest place in society. Thus all the ancient law-givers are unanimous in declaring that a śūdra may be rightly reduced to slavery. Manu says:⁵ "But a śūdra, whether bought or unbought, he may compel to do servile work; for he was created by the self-existent (Svayambhū) to be the slave of a Brāhmaṇa."

"A śūdra, though emancipated by his master, is not released from servitude; since that is innate in him; who can set him free from it? Inferiority is the plea which Aristotle brings forward in justification of slavery. In answer to the objection⁷ that the rule of a master over slaves is contrary to nature, the distinction between slave and freeman exists by law only, and not by nature; and is therefore unjust," he says,⁸ "There is no difficulty in answering this question, on grounds both of reason and of fact. For that some should rule, and others be ruled is a thing, not only necessary, but expedient; from the hour of their birth, some are marked out for subjection, others for rule." Further, . . .⁹ "he who is by nature not his own but another's and yet a man, is by nature a slave . . ." And also,¹⁰ " . . . lower sort are by nature slaves . . . and he who participates in reason enough to apprehend, but not to have reason, is a slave by nature."

¹¹ "It is clear, then, that some men are by nature free, and others slaves, and that for these latter slavery is both expedient and right."

¹ Aristotle: *Politics*, ch. 1.

² See. Above, Plato's *Republic* and *Laws* (pp. 2 and 3).

³ Plutarch's *Lives*, Part 1, ch. III. sec., 5.

⁴ The Vedic passages in which the word *dāsa* is used in the sense of "slave" are collected in the *Vedic Index*; see Macdonell and Keith, *Vedic Index* under *dāsa*.

⁵ Manu, VIII. 413.

⁶ Manu, VIII. 414.

⁷ Aristotle, *Politics*. 1253. b. Jowett, Eng. trans., p. 6.

⁸ Op. cit., 1254. a. and p. 7.

⁹ Op. cit., 1254. b. and p. 8.

¹⁰ Op. cit., 1255. a. p. 9.

¹¹ Op. cit., 1255. a. p. 9.

That slavery first originated in the subjection of a different race is shown by the fact that there is less disapproval and condemnation of the practice of reducing the people of another race to slavery than one's own. Plato does not approve of making slaves of the Greeks.

¹ "First of all, in regard to slavery? Do you think it right that Hellenes should enslave Hellenic states, or allow others to enslave them, if they can help? Should not their custom be to spare them" Also:

² Ath. "I am not surprised. Megillus for the state of the Helots among the Lacedaemonians is of all Hellenic forms of slavery the most controverted and disputed about, There is less dispute about the slavery which exists among the Heraclots, who have subjected the Mariandynians, and about the Thessalian Penestae."

In India, it took the form of the prohibition of enslaving the men and women of the Brāhmaṇa caste and of hired labourers in the *Kṣātra* and the *Vaiśya* castes Kātyāyana ³ says:—

"Slavery should be known (as limited) to the three castes only; a Brāhmaṇa can never become a slave. Among the castes, slavery should be practised in each lower caste but not vice versa."

"But he who purchases and who sells a Brāhmaṇa woman should be punished by the King who should annul the deed."

"But even a man of the same caste should not reduce a Brāhmaṇa to slavery."

Manu however does not recognise slavery for the *Kṣatriya* and the *Vaiśya* castes.⁴

The most reprehensible slavery was that of a free-born man who voluntarily sold himself into bondage.

Nārada ⁵ says: 'That wretch who, being independent, sells himself, is the vilest of slaves. He cannot be released from bondage.'

⁶ 'He, who being free, sells himself (into bondage) is the lowest of men. He is the most reprehensible of all slaves. He is never emancipated from slavery.'

KINDS OF SLAVES.

Manu mentions seven kinds of slaves: ⁷ "There are slaves of seven kinds, (viz.) (1) he who is made a captive under a standard; (2) he who serves for his daily food; (3) he who is born in the house; (4) he who is bought; (5) he who is given; (6) he who is inherited from ancestors; and (7) he who is enslaved by way of punishment.'

The list is expanded in the Nārada Smṛti which mentions 15 kinds of slaves part from servants and hired labourers as follows:—

⁸ "All others do dirty work are slaves, of whom there are fifteen kinds: (1) one

¹ Plato: Republic V. 469. Jowett, *Dialogues of Plato*, iii. 165.

² Plato, *Laws* VI. 77b. Jowett, *Dialogues of Plato* V. 158.

³ Quoted in the *vyavaharamyukha* see above p. 1.

⁴ See Manu, VIII. 411—412. Cf. Viṣṇu: He who employs one of the highest caste in slavish work shall be fined in the highest amercement. V. M. p. 126.

⁵ Nārada Smṛti V. 37. S.B.E. XXXIII. 137.

⁶ Manu, VIII 411. S.B.E. XXV. 326.

⁷ Quoted in the *vyavahara Myukha* see above p. 1.

⁸ Nārada V. 25—28.

born at (his master's) house; (2) one purchased; (3) one received (by gift); (4) one obtained by inheritance; (5) one maintained during a general famine; (6) one pledged by his rightful owner; (7) one released from a heavy debt; (8) one made captive in a fight; (9) one won through a wager; (10) one who has come forward declaring, 'I am thine'; (11) an apostate from asceticism; (12) one enslaved for a stipulated period; (13) one who has become a slave in order to get a maintenance; (14) one enslaved on account of his connection with a female slave; (15) and one self-sold.

Manu's seven divisions correspond to Nārada's 8, 13, 1, 2, 3, 4, and 11 respectively. Nārada's list is the most exhaustive and is copied by all the later lawgivers, i.e. *vyavahāra-myūkhā*, *Vīramitrodaya*, *Vivādatāṇḍava*, and the *Mitākṣarā*.

The various kinds of slaves in Greece and Rome may be enumerated as follows: (1) slaves by birth; (2) prisoners made captive in war; (3) children sold by freemen; (4) barbarian or foreign slaves; (5) slaves made by piracy or kidnapping; (6) and insolvent debtors. The first, second, third and sixth in the list correspond to Nārada's 1, 8, 2, and 7.

DUTIES OF SLAVES.

Slaves were employed to do the menial work in a household or that which would be regarded as impure by other servants and hired labourers. Manu says, "As his character is, as the work is which he desires to perform, and as the manner is in which he means to serve, even so (a voluntary slave) must offer himself."

Nārada is more explicit with regard to the nature of work to be done by slaves. He says:—

² Know that there are two sorts of occupations; pure work and impure work. Impure work is that done by slaves. Pure work is that done by labourers." 5

"Sweeping the gateway, the privy, the road, and the place for rubbish; shampooing the secret parts of the body, gathering and putting away the leavings of food, ordure, and urine. 6

And lastly, rubbing the master's limbs when desired. . . ." 7

STATUS OF SLAVES.

A slave could not become a witness in a court of law. Manu says,

"³ A King cannot be made a witness nor one wholly dependent, nor one of bad fame, nor a Dasyu"

But a slave was allowed to give evidence for ⁴ slaves and in some ⁶ cases for the twice-born as well. For instance, Manu says,

"⁶ On failure (of qualified witnesses, evidence) may be given (in such cases) by a woman, by a infant, by an aged man, by a pupil, by a relative, by a slave, or by a hired servant."

A slave could not own property. Manu lays down. "⁷ A wife, a son, and a

¹ Manu IV, 254; S.B.E. XXV, 168.

² Nārada V; 5-7; S.B.E. XXXIII, 131-132.

³ Manu VIII, 65-66; S.B.E. XXV, 265. 'One wholly dependent is explained as a slave by birth' by five commentators of Manu.

⁴ See Manu VIII, 68.

⁵ Manu VIII, 69.

⁶ Manu VIII, 70.

⁷ VIII, 416. Cf. Nārada. V. 41.

slave, these three are declared to have no property; the wealth which they earn is (acquired) for him to whom they belong."

Nārada has a similar rule also.

Kaṭīlyā allows a slave to own property: "A slave shall be entitled to enjoy not only whatever he has earned without prejudice to his master's task, but also the inheritance he has received from his father."¹ "The property of a slave shall pass into the hands of his kinsmen; on failure of kinsmen, his master shall take it."²

TREATMENT OF SLAVES.

Manu forbids quarrels with slaves. He says, "³ with his father and his mother, with female relatives, with a brother, with his son and his wife, with his daughter and with his slaves, let him not have quarrels." He enjoins a kindly treatment for the slaves, "⁴ One's slaves are as one's shadows, one's daughter as the highest object of tenderness; hence if one is offended by (any one of) these, one must bear it without resentment." Plato accords a different treatment to slaves who ⁵ought to be addressed only in the language of command. Although ⁶they have been often better than brethren, or sons, ⁷they are untrustworthy as a class and ⁸must receive virtue from their master. The ⁹uneducated man is apt to be rough with slaves while the educated is too proud for that. But he adds: ¹⁰And the right treatment of slaves is to behave properly to them, and to do to them, if possible, even more justice than to those who are our equals. . . . And he who in regard to the natures and actions of his slaves is undefiled by impiety and injustice, will best sow the seeds of virtue in them. . . ."

Manu allows a Brāhmaṇa even to eat the food of his slave. He says, "¹¹ His labourer in tillage, a friend of his family, his cow-herd, his slave, and his barber are, among the Śūdras, those whose food he may eat. . . ."

But a ¹²Brāhmaṇa is permitted to seize the goods of his slave who is disqualified to own property.

Kaṭīlyā lays down more stringent rules about the treatment of slaves. He says, "¹³ Those who do not consider the claims of their slaves and hired servants will be taught moderation (*vinayam*) by the King."

Female slaves were not left without any protection by law. Manu forbids the ¹⁴holding of secret conversations with female slaves and female ascetics, violation of the rule being punishable by a fine which, however, is not specified. Kaṭīlyā is more definite. He ¹⁵imposes a fine of 24 paṇas together with a gift of an adequate nuptial fee and ornaments for having intercourse with the daughter of a male or a

¹ Arth. Śā. III, 13, p. 182; Eng. Trans. p. 232

² Arth. Śā. III, 13, p. 183.

³ Manu IV, 180.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 185.

⁵ *Laws* VI, 777 cf. Aristotle 'wherefore they are mistaken who forbid us to converse with slaves and say that we should employ command only . . . ' *Politics* I, IV.

⁶ *Laws* VI, 776.

⁷ *Loc. Cit.*

⁸ *Op. Cit.* 777.

⁹ *Republic* VIII, 549.

¹⁰ Plato *Laws*, VI, 777.

¹¹ Manu IV, 253.

¹² Manu VIII, 417.

¹³ Arthaśāstra II, 1, p. 47; Eng. Trans., p. 53.

¹⁴ Manu VIII, 363.

¹⁵ Arthaśāstra IV, 12, p. 230; Eng. Trans., p. 291.

female slave ; and a fine of 12 paṇas in addition to a gift of clothes and ornaments for defiling a woman held in slavery on account of a certain ransom due from her. ¹ Kātyāyana quoted in the *Vyavahāramyūka* says, “ If a man has connection with his female slave and she gives birth to a child in consequence, then, in consideration of the seed, she should be emancipated together with the child . . . But a free woman, who marries a slave, becomes a slave as well.” He does not recognise the absolute powers of the master in disposing of his slaves. For he says ² “ He who not being in distress and able (to provide) wishes to sell a devoted female slave (resisting the sale) by her cries, should be fined in the lowest amercement.” The fine is specified as 200 paṇas by *Vīramitrodaya* (l. 127).

Kauṭilya ³ imposes a fine of the first amercement on the man who sells, or mortgages, or employs in mean avocations (*nīce karmanī*) a slave who is less than eight years old and has no relatives, whether or not he may be a born slave, or inherited, or purchased, or obtained in any other way. The same punishment is meted out to him who sells or mortgages at home or abroad a pregnant female slave without providing for her confinement. The purchasers and abettors are likewise to be punished in both cases. ⁴ Employment of a slave to remove the dead, ordure, urine, and the leavings of food, keeping him naked, infliction of injury or assault ; and the violation of female slaves will forfeit the purchase money. ⁵ Robbing a slave of his money is to be punished by *ardha-daṇḍa*.

EMANCIPATION OF SLAVES.

Slaves may be divided into two groups : (1) Those who cannot be emancipated ; (2) Those who can be emancipated. According to ⁶ Manu all Śūdrā slaves come under the first category. They cannot be emancipated, since servitude is innate in their nature. But according to ⁷ Kauṭilya, ⁸ Nārada ⁹ Yājñavalkya, and others, several kinds of slaves can be emancipated. All are, however, unanimous in declaring that a free-born man who voluntarily sells himself into bondage and one apostate from the order of *sannyāsa* are the most abhorred of mankind and can never be emancipated. Of the other slaves, Nārada ¹⁰ holds that the four kinds; i.e. (1) a slave by birth, (2) purchased slave, (3) an inherited slave, (4) and a slave obtained as a gift, cannot be emancipated. Their slavery is hereditary. A provision is, however, made that, should any one of them save his master's life at the risk of his own, he shall not only be emancipated but shall also receive a son's share of his master's wealth. A somewhat similar rule is laid down by Plato about the emancipation of slaves ; “ ¹¹ If a man dare to strike his father or his mother . . . let any one who is at hand come to the rescue . . . And if a slave come to the rescue, let him be made free . . . ”

¹ Mandlik, *Hindu Law*, pp. 79, 127 ; cf. Arth. Śa. III, 13.

² Loc. Cit.

³ Arthā Śāstra III, 13, p. 183 ; Eng. Trans., p. 232.

⁴ Loc. cit., p. 182 ; Eng. Trans. 231.

⁶ Manu VIII, 414.

⁷ Arthā Śāstra III, 13.

⁹ Yājñavalkya Smṛti II, 182.

¹⁰ Nārada Smṛti V, 29-30.

⁵ Loc. cit.

⁸ Nārada Smṛti V, 29-36 ; 42-43.

¹¹ *Laws* IX, 881.

Emancipation of the other kinds of slaves is rather easy. Thus a ¹man enslaved for maintenance during a famine is released by giving a pair of oxen. A ²debtor is released from slavery on paying his debt with interest. ³Kauṭilya would release him by personal service in lieu of payment. ⁴One who comes forward saying, 'I am thine,' one made a prisoner in war, and one won through a wager are released by giving substitutes according to Nārada. Kauṭilya releases an Ārya made captive in war on giving the payment of adequate ransom.

⁵One who has become a slave in order to get maintenance is released at once on giving up the said maintenance; and one enslaved on account of having a connection with a female slave is released on parting with her. Nārada does not confer freedom on a purchased slave, but Kauṭilya goes a step further and ⁶says, "A purchased slave regains his freedom by paying a sum equal to the purchase-money. The same rule applies to the born and to the pledged slave."

Nārada however holds that a master if he so desires can set his slave free and describes the ceremony of emancipation as follows: "He shall take a jar filled with water from the shoulder of his slave and smash it. He shall sprinkle the slave's head with water mixed with grain and flowers and, having declared him a free man three times, he shall dismiss him with his face turned towards the east. ⁷Thenceforward... his food is fit to be eaten, his gifts fit to be accepted and himself worthy of being respected by noble men."

Kauṭilya ⁸imposes a fine of 12 paṇas for failing to set at liberty on the receipt of the required ransom, and also for selling or mortgaging the life of a male or of a female slave once liberated.

ILLEGAL SLAVERY.

⁹Those who are sold after having been captured by robbers, and those who are enslaved by forcible means, must be emancipated by the King. Their slavery is not legal.

¹⁰The selling or mortgaging the life of a śūdra who is not a born slave is illegal and subject to a fine of 18 paṇas if done by kinsmen, and liable to three amercements if done by others. The purchasers and abettors are likewise punished.

¹¹The gift (or acceptance of a child) and the right to sell (or buy) a child are not recognised.

¹²It is no crime for the Mlecechās to sell or to mortgage their children. But an Ārya shall never be subjected to slavery.

¹ Nārada V, 31.

² *Ibid.*, V, 33.

³ Arthaśāstra III, 13, p. 183; Eng. Trans., p. 232.

⁴ Nārada Smṛti V, 34.

⁵ *Ibid.*, V, 36.

⁶ Arthaśāstra III, 13

⁷ Nārada Smṛti V, 42-43.

⁸ Quoted in Vyavahāramyukha; see Mandlik *Hindu Law*, pp. 80, 127.

⁹ Arthaśāstra III, 13, p. 183; Eng. Trans., p. 232-233.

¹⁰ Nārada Smṛti V, 38.

¹¹ Arthaśāstra III, 13, p. 181; Eng. Trans., p. 230.

¹² Āpastamba Dharma sūtras II, 6, 13, 11; S.B.E. II, 131.

¹³ Arthaśāstra, loc. cit.

The Historical Aspect of some Himalayan Customs.

Paper read by H. W. Emerson, Esq., I.C.S., on Saturday, Dec. 4th, 1920.

I have chosen as my subject this evening some features of human sacrifice as it once prevailed in the Western Himalayas. My paper will be mainly descriptive, and I am afraid that I shall tax the patience of the members present before I touch on anything of true historical interest. In the end, I hope to show that the present customs of remote Himalayan villages may perhaps enlarge our knowledge of the past. I am not qualified to do justice to a subject on which much has been written. In dealing with human sacrifice I propose merely to take three different forms of ritual survivals out of many that have come to my notice and to invite attention to certain peculiar features associated with them.

My first example will be the best known of all—the *bihunda* or rope-riding ceremony. The geographical range within which it is found is extensive. Along the Western hills it occurs from Kumaon to Kulu, and further north it is regularly celebrated at the Tibetan capital. Traces of it have been found in Europe, and about the 16th century sliding down a rope appears to have been a feature of English sports. At some places it is performed at regular intervals, and such is the case in Lhasa where it forms part of the New Year festivities. In and around the Sutlej Valley, the celebration should recur after periods of 12 years and ancient custom is still followed at Nirmand in Kulu and at Mamel in the Suket State. Elsewhere, the interval is often lengthened or shortened according to circumstances. If the crops have been good and the countryside fairly immune from sickness, the worshippers of the god, at whose temple the ceremonies are performed, may make no special effort to collect the grain and money required for the due performance of the sacrifice, and the interval will be prolonged. If, on the other hand, harvests have been continuously poor and disease has been widespread either amongst men or cattle, the necessary funds will be obtained somehow or other, and the festival held before the expiry of the full period. In Kumaon, the celebrations appear to have been of this emergent character and Moorcroft, the Himalayan traveller, writing nearly a century ago, definitely says that it was intended as a propitiatory rite to Mahadeva (Shiva) and was performed to avert some impending evil, or to procure the removal of any actual calamity. It was accordingly performed when cholera was raging at Almora and was supposed to have obtained that immunity from disease which this part of the country actually enjoyed. Moorcroft did not see the actual performance of the ceremony, but he obtained a first hand account of the preparations for it from one Banchu, an old man of about sixty years of age, who had already performed the feat sixteen times without mishap. His description is still the best on record.

"*Bārat*" (the local name for the ceremony), he wrote, "is sliding down a rope fastened above to a tree or post on some elevated point and carried obliquely to some fixed object below to which it is attached

Banchu brought me the articles employed on these occasions: a rope made of grass about three inches in diameter, a wooden saddle and two short sticks. The length of the cable used in his last descent was 1200 cubits. The saddle is something like a shallow and short pack-saddle, without pads, and with a very sharp ridge. The ridge was a foot and four inches long, the sides or flaps were eight inches deep, spreading outwards, so that the breadth at the bottom was three inches and a quarter. The saddle was scooped out internally, nearly to the ridge, to let in the rope, which fitted it exactly. The sticks are fastened transversely from flap to flap, so as to give support to the thongs. The performer, bestriding the saddle, throws his body as far back as possible, and descends the rope rapidly by the effect of his own weight, aided by heavy stones fastened to his legs. Persons are stationed underneath with transverse cords to endeavour to catch him should he fall, and others stationed at the foot of the rope seize him and carry him some way forward, so as gradually to diminish the momentum of his descent. The performer is nearly senseless when he reaches the ground, and it is some time before he recovers; a collection is made for his benefit, and he derives no slender credit from his patriotic devotion. There does not seem to be much danger in the operation when there is adequate dexterity in the performer."

¹ The chief risk, in fact, is from the breaking of the rope and this has happened with fatal results on at least two occasions. Otherwise, there is little danger; for before the *Beda*, as he is called, starts on his flight the greatest precautions are taken to tie him securely on the saddle and to ensure his perfect balance. Special men are charged with these duties the performance of which is considered to be a great privilege. Stones are not usually tied to the riders' legs, the more satisfactory device being adopted of encasing them in bags of goat-skin filled with sand. The angle of descent is sometimes very sharp and the velocity great.

² According to one authority, the saddle however well greased, emits a volume of smoke through the greater part of the *Beda's* progress, and the same writer mentions a descent in which the length of rope was 2100 cubits or about 1000 yards; but this is at least twice as long as the ordinary span.

In the Simla hills, the ceremony even in its mitigated form, is forbidden, the Punjab Government some years ago having ordered the substitution of a goat for the human victim—an order which caused me some embarrassment when the rite was performed during my time in the Bushahr State. The chief interest of the ceremony lies in the motives underlying it and the preparations which precede it. There is no doubt that rope-riding as now practised is a mitigation of human sacrifice. This is quite clear from the various rites performed. Before the *Beda* is taken

¹ Moorcroft and Trebeck: *Travels in the Himalayan Provinces of Hindustan and the Punjab* (pp. 17-29).

² J. W. Traill: *Statistical Sketch of Kumaun*, edited by J. H. Batten, page 68 sq.

to the rope, a service of dedication takes place in the temple. Holy water is sprinkled on his head and the "*panch ratan*," or five precious jewels, are placed in his mouth. The latter is one of the customs observed at death, while the sprinkling of water is the universal accompaniment of sacrifice in the hills the device by which the spirit of the god is made to descend on the victim and assume possession. Divine acceptance is intimated by the trembling of the victim which then becomes the property of the deity. The gift is irrecoverable. Though, in this case, the Beda's death does not follow as a natural sequence, he is regarded, as devoted and therefore supernatural. Sometimes he is wrapped in a winding sheet after the service of dedication has been performed. On his journey to the head of the rope, he is accompanied by a band playing funeral music and his family wait below, lamenting and beating their breasts.

The Beda is usually invited to the temple about six months before the date fixed, being entertained at the expense of the community. He is under various taboos during the whole period of his preparation. He weaves the ropes with his own hands out of special grass cut on a propitious day ; whilst he is weaving it he lives in a separate house set apart for his own use and he must remain celibate. He is allowed only certain kinds of grain to eat, and must not weave his rope after he has taken food. For a few days previous to the rope-riding he is given milk only. He must not see any person of low caste while he is engaged on the weaving of the rope and must perform constant ablutions. The rope also is carefully protected from pollution. At night, it is kept for safety in a hut made for the purpose and care is taken that no unclean animal approaches it. If one touches it, a sheep must be offered as a purificatory sacrifice. No one may approach it with shoes on his feet, and if a person steps over it he has to pay a goat as a fine, while a new cable must then be made. It is the object of worship, being venerated both before and after the ceremony ; before as a god and later, as a protection against misfortune. For this reason there is a keen demand for the pieces into which it is cut. A portion is given to each god who attends the ceremonies, and is preserved as a talisman in his temple. Many of the villagers also receive small pieces which they hang in their houses as a protection against misfortunes.

During the days immediately preceding the great sacrifice, various rites of a solemn character are performed. Time will not allow me to give a description of these and it must suffice to say that their object is the provision of a perfect and acceptable sacrifice. They create an environment cleansed of all inauspicious elements. They are complementary to the novitiate undergone by the Beda himself. For months he steadily accumulates merit until his divinity is complete in the final dedication in the temple. With the pouring of water on his head he becomes divine and the Brahmans worship him as a god. For, as they explain, the spirit has entered into him, and as the sacrificial victim he has become part of the god to whom he is devoted. The transformation is remarkable. He begins as a person of low caste and untouchable ; he ends as a god, carried in procession on the shoulders of the temple priests and acclaimed as divine by the throng of worshippers. Primarily, he is a mediator. But

he is also a scape-goat who bears the sins of the people. For, as the Beda completes his descent, the crowds throng round him and throw upon him handfuls of grass, sticks or even dust-offerings which are meant to transfer to the Beda the various ills of the giver.

As the recipient of such evils and as a victim vowed to the gods, the Beda is uncanny or taboo—a man apart from his fellows. Although he is liberally rewarded for his services, no one will in future eat or drink or smoke with him. He has again become untouchable; but the accident of his birth has now little to do with his disability.

The second symbolical survival is supplied by the *kaika* celebrations observed at three places in the Mandi State and at several places in Kulu. The word appears to be derived from a Sanskrit word meaning *expiation*, but this is uncertain. At any rate, the remission of sins is a feature of the ceremonies which include, in their present form, the mimic death of the chief actor and his resurrection. For my purpose, I will take the rites as performed at the temple of a certain Mandi goddess who lives close to the Babu Pass, and I will describe at more length than in the case of the *bihunda* sacrifice, the various devices by which is ensured an atmosphere favourable to the success of the ceremony. The sacrificial victim in this case is known as the *Nar*, the word being an abbreviation of Narain, but now, used almost as a caste name to designate the few families in Mandi and Kulu, who provide officiants at the *Kaika* festivals. The *Nar* comes to the temple a few days before the festival begins, being entertained as the guest of the goddess. He fasts on the day preceding the main rites and after rigorous ablutions is dressed in a new suit of clothes. He is accompanied by his wife or, if he is unmarried, by a woman of the so-called *Nar* caste and she is also given a new dress. On the day of the festival, the first ceremony is the cutting of the sacred poles of the tabernacle. For this duty, the goddess herself has selected four or five of her followers and these come at sunrise to the temple where the diviners of the gods attending the celebrations and the general congregation have already assembled. The diviners are all in a state of possession and, as their frenzy spreads to many of the on-lookers, the village green is soon filled with men and women labouring under the favour of the gods. A procession is formed headed by the trumpeters and drummers followed in succession by the minister of the goddess, the diviners, others under the afflatus and the appointed axe-men. The common people to whom the goddess has not vouchsafed her favour follow at some distance behind. On the way, various devices are practised to dispel malevolent spirits which may have joined the party, and in particular, barley flour and mustard seed are thrown in the air. When a small forest close to the temple is reached, the *pujari* of the goddess selects a sacred deodar and climbing into its branches waves a censer of incense amidst the foliage. The axe-men follow him, carrying with them a sheep which they sacrifice in the tree, dropping the carcase at once to the ground, so that the demons, ghosts and witches which are thronging round shall pounce upon it and leave the deodar itself without infection. Then they quickly cut four branches with their axes, and bringing them carefully to the ground,

place them on their shoulders. The procession reforms and returns to the temple green where a scene of wild excitement takes place. The frenzy of those already possessed grows more violent, while others of the congregation become animated by the goddess. Some wave branches of *bekhal*—a thorny shrub efficacious against evil influences, others brandish axes and swords; while the medium of Devi herself “plays” with two daggers one in each hand. Four archers, under the *afflatus*, are posted at each corner of the green and loosen arrows into the blue thus forming a *barrage* against those agents of evil that are not gorging on the slaughtered sheep. At last, the crowd reaches the shrine of the goddess, where the *Nar* awaits them. Taking the four cedar branches, he places them with his own hands one at each corner of a space already marked out, stretches over them an awning of cloth supplied by the goddess, and so completes a rude tabernacle. A sacred square is made beneath the tent and heaps of various grains, and lamps are placed in the compartments.

When the frenzy of those possessed has abated a little, the *Nar* takes his seat just outside the tabernacle. The *Narain* dances around him and a few paces away the minister of a neighbouring god makes the burnt offering—grain and fruits of various kinds, sacred grass, ghi and honey being thrown on to the fire. Then commences the ceremony of the remission of sins. The *Nar* who absolves the people has by his side a basket containing grains of barley and leaves of the magical *bekhal* shrub. First, the gods are cleansed of their sins or rather of the malign influences infesting them; for sins in the sense in which the hill-men use the word are accidents of environment rather than acts of commission or errors of omission. The gods’ litters are paraded before the *Nar* and their disabilities recited by their mediums. Offerings of a few rupees are made and grain thrown over the *Nar* who assumes the gods’ afflictions as he pronounces his formula of purification. Then the servants of the gods are cleansed, and after them the members of the congregation who press round the *Nar* waiting eagerly for absolution. The people come forward one by one, each with a copper coin and a few grains of barley in his hand, the coins being given as an offering and the grain thrown over him. At the same time, the suppliant describes the sin or illfortune from which he is suffering, casting it on the scape-goat as he throws the barley. The first may be haunted by the ghost of an uneasy ancestor, the second may be suffering from illness, the cattle of a third may have been overshadowed by a witch, a fourth may have omitted some act of worship to his god, a fifth may be under the enmity of an evil spirit, while a sixth may have suffered some bereavement, a sure sign that a malign influence is at work. The variety of ills is almost infinite, and even where the individual may be conscious of no specific peril or affliction, he has still to reckon with the intangible powers of evil that hover unseen round every human being, awaiting the chance to bring misfortune. The remitter of sins sometimes gives a general, and sometimes a particular absolution; but, whichever he gives he throws leaves of *bekhal* and grains of barley in the air as he pronounces the absolution.

The ceremony lasts till about noon when the people take their food and the *Nar*

is given strong liquor to drink. Soon after, he is taken inside the temple, being accompanied by the diviners of the gods, all of whom are again under the afflatus. The medium of the goddess seats him on a wide board placed on the ground and after a minute or two he falls backwards simulating death. The board with the Nar's body thereon is then taken up by four or five attendants and carried round the village, after which it is laid on an open place in front of the shrine. Further "play" ensues, many of the large crowd being seized by divine inspiration; but after a little while the gods' diviners sit down in a circle round the corpse. A goat is passed over the prostrate body of the Nar and is then sacrificed, a little blood rubbed on the latter's mouth. The diviner of the goddess waves a *branch* of *bekhal* round the Nar's head, while he and his colleagues pray to her to raise him from the dead. After some time he shows signs of returning consciousness and the medium of the Devi placing his hand behind the shoulder raises him slowly from the bier.

So ends the festival. The Nar and Narin are presently allowed to depart, taking with them the recognised perquisites of the parts they have played—the suits of clothes, the awning of the tabernacle, the offerings made to the scape-goat and other gifts of ghi and grain from the store-house of the god. Like their counter-types in the *bihunda* sacrifice, those who have played the part of Nar are regarded as uncanny.

It will be noticed that in both the *bihunda* and the *kaika* celebrations the chief actor is not a member of the gods' congregation. The *beda* is a rank outsider who makes a profession of rope-riding; the Nars were once of the Kanet community, but their unsavoury functions have set them apart.

We now come to the third and, to my mind, by far the most interesting survival in which the victim is a selected member of the god's followers, and where elaborate preparations are made to secure as perfect an offering as possible. The institution I am about to describe is found in two adjacent valleys of a remote portion of the Bushahr State. In the first, the ancestral god of the people is one Narain, a serpent god who has his chief temple at Jābal; in the second valley is a confederacy of five gods, all snake deities, who hold their festivals and transact their divine business in common. Both Narain and the five gods have a human deputy known as the *gāna* through whom they act, and who, in each case, is believed to be divine. The *gana* of the five gods must be a male child belonging to one of several families of Pekha village that alone enjoy the privilege of providing candidates. He must be not less than four years of age and not more than ten years, and both his parents must be living. The age of the selected candidate is usually between five and eight years. The appointment is made directly by the council of the five gods, who, on the day fixed for election, are brought in their arks to the temple of Nag of Pekha a member of the *panchayat*. A crowd of worshippers accompanies each god, but no person of low caste is allowed to be present, nor yet a stranger, even though he be a Kuran, who is not subject to the jurisdiction of the gods. At day break, the heads of families possessed of eligible sons come to the temple courtyard where they stand in a row, a few paces apart. The gods are then carried down the line by their appointed

bearers who oscillate the litters as a sign that the divine spirit has animated the images. Jākh of Jānglikh, the chairman of the Council, leads the way followed by the others in order of precedence. The oscillations are at first slight, but suddenly the litter commences to sway violently from side to side, and the shaggy head of the idol makes a series of bows towards one of the family representatives. This is taken as a sign that the spirit has fastened upon the household from which his deputy is to be chosen; and the other four confirm his selection as they pass. The test is then repeated until the choice has fallen three times in succession on the same person. The family is thus definitely selected, but it may so happen that it contains more than one male child eligible for election in which case the boys themselves are produced and the electors proceed as before to choose a representative from amongst them. The boy chosen is at once bathed in the five products of the cow, is dressed in a new suit of clothes, and is seated with honour on a consecrated square. The gods next endow him with a portion of their divine strength. Each of the five diviners—who, during the whole of the proceedings are under the influence of the divine afflatus lays the standard of his deity—usually a sword or dagger—on the head, hands and other parts of the boy's body.

This completes the ceremonies of election and consecration. The rest of the day is spent in feasting at the expense of the child's parents. But the *gana* is removed immediately to his house, and with exceptions to be mentioned presently—is kept there in strict seclusion until the period of his office ends. His parents are the only persons privileged to attend his wants, the chief duty devolving upon his mother. She must bathe him regularly, offer incense before him, and keep lamps burning in his honour. She must keep both herself and her charge scrupulously clean, any neglect in this respect involving the dethronement of the child. The chief food of the latter is rice and sweetened milk. Fish and intoxicating liquor are forbidden. He can eat the flesh of a goat or of a ram, but must not taste that of a ewe. He must not see a Koli, a stranger, or a crow, nor must they see him. When his mother takes him into the verandah of the house, she therefore first makes sure that none of these are abroad. Worshippers of the five gods can look at him, but only from a distance, unless they are persons specially privileged to approach him. They may make offerings in his name and this they often do. Those who enter his presence must join the palms of their hands and put them to their foreheads in token of adoration. Should a woman give birth to a child, or a cow calve inside the house where the *gana* resides, he must be carried to a temple a few miles distant and there remain until the period of impurity has passed. The journey must be performed at night, so that he is safely hidden before a crow caws, or a low caste fellow or a stranger comes along. Should any of these taboos be broken, the consequences are disastrous to the people, for the *gana* is no longer fit for his post and the gods depose him. In any case, he must quit office on the death of either parent. Nor do the gods approve a representative who has reached years of discretion. As soon as the boy begins to reason and to manifest a will of his own, he is dethroned. Now-a-days, this is the ordinary cause of removal, for it rarely happens that any of the other pro-

hibitions are infringed. His parents are interested in seeing that he is not contaminated in any way, since both he and they are fed and clothed at the expense of the community during the full term of office, which under the conditions now obtaining may endure for seven or eight years. Moreover, the post, apart from its perquisites, is regarded as one of great honour.

The ceremony of dethronement, like that of election, is performed by the five gods who meet together for the purpose at the same place of assembly. The diviners, having ascertained the wishes of their deities, in turn sprinkle water on the head of the *gana*. This rite is performed in public and proclaims the fact that the tenure of office has ended. His parents then take the boy away and cut the hair of his head in private. From the day of election this has remained unshorn, but the ordinary ceremony of tonsure-observed for all male children has usually been performed prior to appointment. As soon as the office is declared vacant, the late *gana* returns to his ordinary mode of life, and is no longer under any form of taboo. His former clients cease to contribute towards his maintenance and he does not appear to benefit in any way from his temporary reign as a divinity.

There is no doubt that in former days his tenure of office ended with his death as a sacrificial victim. The occasion of his sacrifice was a festival held at intervals of three or five years and still celebrated, though now, of course, it lacks the fulfilment of its chief purpose. It is observed in the month of Chet at the cave of a god Chāsrālu whose worship is closely associated with that of the five gods, and it is characterised by rites of a mystic and sacramental nature, which unfortunately I have not time to describe. The presence of the *gana* is essential and the festival can not be held if the office is vacant. Now-a-days, he plays a more or less formal part in the ceremonies. He is worshipped and the persons privileged to see him at close quarters pass before him doing homage to him and paying him tribute. The *zaildar*, for instance, gives him a ram and other offerings and as he presents his gifts, bows before him and expresses the pious wish that he (the *gāna*) will be victorious. After homage has been paid to the child, water is sprinkled on his head and he is allowed to go to his home with his parents. But the rest of the assembly spend the day at the cave in feasting and drinking, the feast as already noted, being in the nature of a sacrament. Indeed, there is good reason to believe that the *gana* himself was the sacramental food in former days.

There is also little doubt that the sacrifice of one *gana* was followed quickly by the appointment of a successor, whose first appearance in public was in the role of a mediator foredoomed to death. The festival on which he is revealed to the gods takes place in the month Asauj (September and October), the place of gathering being a lofty plateau overlooked on all sides by snow-capped peaks, from which the goddess *kali* looks down upon her future victim. Rams with long spiral horns are sacrificed in honour of the goddess, oblations of *ghi* are offered and incense burnt in her name. The offerings are provided by the community, but all are given on behalf of the *gana* who is the intermediary between the actual giver and the recipient. *Kali* from her thrones above accepts the sacrifices made in the *gana*'s name, who, in

this aspect, is a mediator, whose presence and office ensure the favour of the goddess of destruction and regeneration.

Similarly, in the case of the second *gana*, the deputy of the god Narain of Jabal, there is no doubt whatever that he was the victim of ritual murder. The incidents of his office differ in some interesting respects from those associated with his counterpart and the great festival at which his reign ends is particularly significant because of its deeply sacramental character. It will suffice to say that this *gana* is also worshipped as a god, that he is kept *taboo* in order to preserve his sanctity, that a special feature of his office is the pronouncement of harvest omens and that the rites celebrated at the culminating festival and the traditions connected with it are of peculiar significance, since they reveal three distinct stages of evolution. They prove conclusively that the *gana* himself was the original victim, that some centuries ago a human substitute was taken from a hostile village, that for many years a captive was sacrificed, but that eventually the enemies of the god were allowed to provide a goat by choice instead of a man by compulsion.

I have now finished my description of the ritual survivals of human sacrifice. It remains for me to justify my presence here by showing that these Himalayan rites are not entirely devoid of interest to the student of primitive institutions. I will confine myself to two points. In the first place, the examples given have been selected in order to emphasise an aspect of sacrifice that, so far as I am aware, has not received the attention it deserves from writers on the subject. I refer to the exaltation or magnification of the sacrificial victim. We have seen that in the *bihunda* and the *kaika* celebrations, the chief actor is exalted to the dignity of a god, and that in the *gana* institution the fiction of divinity is created from the very day of appointment of the child victim, when he is invested with the powers and attributes of the gods he represents. Deification, indeed, is an almost inevitable consequence of the superstitious beliefs of the people. It is, I think, safe to assert that whatever Himalayan religious rites we care to investigate, we shall find that an important part of the ceremonies is the artificial creation of an atmosphere favourable to their success. The devices employed at the *kaika* festival for the dispersal of evil influences differ in form, but not in character, from those found in every sacrifice. The mere offering of a goat or ram is attended with similar, though less elaborate precautions. For a sacrifice to be without blemish it must be insulated from malign forces; and such insulation in the case of a human being tends naturally to convert him into a god.

Again, where the victim is a selected member of the gods own subjects, a natural development is the assumption of temporal powers. This actually occurred in the case of the *gana* of the five gods. Formerly, he was regarded as the ruler of the tract through which he is worshipped. Disputes were referred to him and his subjects accepted his decisions as final. He was consulted as an oracle and his signs and sayings were regarded as divinely inspired. Resort was made to one or other of the many forms of divination still in vogue. Sometimes, the parties in a dispute would each make a ball of earth, one of which contained a blade of grass. The balls

were placed before the infant judge without his knowing which was which and the one on which he first laid his hand, determined the party in the right. Or again, the five gods, coming with their diviners into his presence, would charge and recharge him with divine inspiration, until he made some sign from which an oracle could be deduced. Occasionally, the diviners of the five gods would themselves conduct the rites of divination, but they did so in the name of the *gana* and the decision was his. Resort is still made to the *gana*, though less than formerly. Circumstances have been adverse to the growth of his temporal powers and they are likely soon to disappear. But it requires little ingenuity to imagine conditions under which he might actually have become an executive ruler. The families from which he can be selected are few. If, in the days when the sacrifice was actually performed, they had contained only one eligible candidate, the people would have been on the horns of a dilemma. If they had sacrificed the *gana*, the supply would have been extinguished at its source; if they had not slain him they would have incurred the wrath of the gods. Knowing the hill-men, I can safely assume that they would have compromised. They would have kept the *gana* as the divine representative of the god, while they would have found a scape-goat, probably out of a hostile tribe. This, in fact, is what they did in the case of the *gana* of Narain, though the reason for the substitution is unknown, and was probably other than a lack of candidates. But, once the *gana* escaped the penalty of death, he would be in a very strong position to develop his power over the community.

Indeed, a very plausible case can be made out for believing that the power of the oldest ruling family of the Simla Hills originated in an institution such as I have described. Sacrifice in a symbolical form, with the substitution of a scape-goat, is practised to this day, while other incidents support the theory I have mentioned. I do not propose to pursue this theme for obvious reasons. The point I wish to make is that the *gana* institution contains the germs of kingly sacrifice, and is thus relevant to a subject which has been very fully investigated by the greatest living authority on comparative custom and religion. Readers of the *Golden Bough* will remember that it was the peg on which Sir James Frazer hung his exhaustive enquiry into an immense variety of customs and superstitions, while in a course of lectures, delivered to the history class of one of the Scottish Universities, he laid special emphasis on this aspect of primitive kingship. Sacrifice was not, of course, an obligation usually or even normally attaching to early kingship; but recorded instances from different countries are, by no means rare, and in their number are included several from the Himalayas not mentioned this evening. Sir James Frazer, in seeking for an explanation of this curious institution, dwelt on the magical attributes of kings—the supernatural powers ascribed to them by primitive and superstitious people. There is abundant evidence to show that the welfare of a community has been often regarded in the past, and is still sometimes regarded, as inseparably bound up with the welfare of its ruler. Its strength and prosperity are supposed to vary with the physical health of the king, to flourish when he is strong and to wane when he is sick. Hence, argues Sir James, a people, with the power to control their

destiny, would fashion it to their own ends. They would sacrifice or depose their king when he showed signs of failing powers and would put in his place a man or youth of abounding vitality. That the explanation is appropriate to some of the recorded instances is not open to doubt. But it does not apply to the *ganas*; and it assumes that kingship always preceded sacrifice. It overlooks what must have been a common, if not a universal, incident of regular sacrifice, the exaltation of the victim. I therefore suggest that it is not exhaustive; that in some cases the process of evolution was the reverse of that assumed and that a man was slain, not because he was a king, but he became a king because he was destined to be a sacrificial victim. Where this happened, it would be natural to retain the memory of his original role in the form of a symbolic survival.

The second point I wish to touch on is the divinity of the *ganas*. In this attribute they resemble the Naga rulers of early India, and so furnish an interesting link with the remote past. In ancient literature, the word Naga when applied to persons, has, I believe, two meanings. It denotes the worshippers of serpent gods and also their divine rulers or demi-gods. About the latter, comparatively little is known. For a study of the beliefs, customs and institutions of the former, abundant material is available in a study of the hill-people, for Nāgs or snake-gods are still by far the most common objects of worship in the Western Himalayas, and the main incidents of their worship are almost certainly much as they were at the dawn of Indian history. A study of the Nag cult in its many ramifications cannot fail to throw light on what manner of people the Nāgas were.

The Naga ruler of the hills, as I conceive him, was the human representative of a Nag-god, a mediator between it and the people, regarded as under the special favour of the deity and probably invested in some outward form with divine powers. Sometimes, he would himself act as the mouth-piece of the god, but custom would differ in this respect and the democratic instincts of the hill-people would be in favour of keeping a separate medium or diviner. The bond of union with his people was the worship of a common god, the form of Government being a theocracy in which the male members of the community all identified themselves with the god and, as is still the case with Jamlu of Malana, regarded themselves as sharing his attributes. The Naga would be under various *taboos* and screened as far as possible from evil influences. His tenure of office would at first be insecure, and, in some cases, would involve the obligation of actual or symbolical sacrifice. Various myths would gather round him; for his history would be that of the tribe and the ordinary doings of his people would be exaggerated into the miracles of their ruler. This explains why in many of the written accounts of various Nagas that have come down to us it is impossible to separate the mythical from the historical. The same difficulty occurs in the interpretation of myths still current. A dispute between two villages is a fight between their gods in which thunder-bolts take the place of sticks; the filching of grazing grounds is ascribed to the virtue of a god instead of to the treachery of his followers, the migration of a portion of a tribe is the flight of a god in the form of a *chikor*, and so on for innumerable examples. Even in ordinary conversation, the personification

of the god is at times confusing. It is indeed so general that one suspects that some of the demi-gods of ancient history were not men at all, but gods personified who obtained the credit of their followers exploits. Certainly, the Nagas of the hills were not always powerful kings ruling over large tribes. Many of them were but the representatives of petty gods acknowledged by a group of hamlets, and others who ranked as Nagas had no temporal power at all.

I obtained curious proof of the last assertion a few years ago, and it is perhaps worthy of record since it relates to the only instance known to me in which the word *Naga* is still applied in a divine sense to a human being. In June 1915, I had to mark out a boundary line between Mandi and Suket, and on my return journey I passed through a corner of the latter state within the jurisdiction of Mohana Nag, a deity who cures snake bites. As it happened, the day was the first of the month and the god, as was the custom, had been brought from his temple to hear in public the petitions of his worshippers. The idol was enthroned on an open space overlooking the rice-fields in which the peasants were busy planting out their seedlings. The ark of the god faced south, and a few spaces in front of it sat the chief diviner with his face towards the east. His assistant or disciple sat facing him at a distance of about ten paces. Both were squatting on mats of wool and each had on his right hand two attendants selected from the congregation. Their heads were bare and their hair hung down to their waist in well tended ringlets. The elder was a venerable patriarch, tall, spare and dignified with long grey hair and beard, and generally of the appearance that one associates with the prophets of old. When I arrived, both mediums were in a state of possession though neither was in a state of frenzy, the only signs of the *afflatus* being a slight rolling of the head and the trembling of the right hand, with which, when not otherwise engaged, the medium rubbed his right knee as though to excite inspiration. The congregation sat or stood in a semi-circle facing the god and was composed largely of women and children; but there was a fair sprinkling of men and occasionally a peasant would desert his rice fields to attend the god's court and proffer his request. The first suppliant was an old woman with a measure of rice and an offering of two annas which she placed on a mat spread for the purpose. Addressing the elder diviner, she begged that the god might preserve her husband, herself and family in good health during the year and cure their cattle of the disease from which they were suffering. The diviner, having listened to her prayer commenced to work himself into a state of frenzy, rolling his head from side to side and rubbing his knee vigorously until the *afflatus* had reached a satisfactory height. Then he held out his hand to one of his attendants who placed in it a little rice taken from the heap of offerings. The medium tossed the rice from hand to hand for a few moments and then, with a quick movement, threw both hands up in front of his face and clasped the palms tightly together. Presently, he handed a few grains to his attendant who passed them to his colleague, who in turn gave them to the suppliant thus ratifying the contract between her and the god. At the same time, the diviner seized his scalp-lock with the right hand and shrieked out the answer of the god. This, I gathered, was fairly auspicious. Mohana Nag

hoped that the woman and her family would keep in good health, but for the cattle, he could promise relief only after an interval of four months.

Other suppliants followed—a peasant whose crops had failed; a family of four members who had all been seriously ill; a youth to whom the god had formerly promised relief and had failed to give it; a young girl who had been more fortunate and who, in recognition of the boon, now offered the god the ornaments she had vowed a few months before; and many others afflicted with various ills. The procedure was the same in every case. As each suppliant came up, he ignored the god, addressing himself solely to the diviner—whom to my surprise he invariably hailed with the title of *Nāga*. Now the diviner, as it happened was a low caste Koli; but none-the-less, he was for the time being an incarnation of the god himself. The spirit of Mohan Nag had descended upon him and it was with the god's tongue that he spoke. His divinity differed in degree only from that of the *ganas*. He was a god only while labouring under the afflatus; the *ganas* are divine during the whole term of their office. They are the deified deputies of snake-gods who select them, instal them and endow them with their energy. As such they have clearly a better claim to the title of Naga than the low caste medium of the Suket god. It is, in fact, just possible that they were originally called *nāgas* and that their present name of *gana* is a corruption of their early title due to the transposition of letters so common in the hills. In any case, it is obvious that they are counterparts in *embryo* of the demi-gods of old. This constitutes their chief historical interest, and must be my excuse for their lengthy intrusion on you this evening.

Military Secretariat Records.

Selected File No. 206 of 1857.

The statement below shows the total casualties in the final assault which resulted in the recapture of Delhi. It was compiled from the telegrams received from Brigadier-General Chamberlain.

The total losses of the besieging force are given as follows on page 58, Vol. IV, of Kaye and Malleon's history, from 30th May to 20th Sept. :—

Killed	..	..	992
Wounded	..	..	2,795
Missing	..	..	30
<hr/>			
Total	..	..	3,817
<hr/>			

But I have not been able to find either in this history or in our own publications any information such as that contained in the statement on the following page :—

199

List of Killed and Wounded on the Assault of Delhee on 14th to 17th September, 1857.

	EUROPEANS.		NATIVES.		GRAND TOTAL.		Names of Officers Killed.
	Officers.	Men.	Officers.	Men.	Killed Wounded Missing Europeans	Officers. Men.	
*Lt. Tandy, Engrs.	..	2	..	3	Killed	*8	265
" Fitzgerald, 75th Ft.	..	1	..	2	Wounded	52	820
" Bradshawe, 52nd Ft.	..	1	..	..	Missing	..	10
Capt. McBarnett, 55th N.I.	..	158	..	98	Europeans	..	
Lt. Murray, 42nd N.I.	..	162	..	103	Total	60	1,095
Major Jacob, 1st Fuslrs.	8		265				
Lt. Homfray, 11th N.I.	..		..	..
" Webb } 8th Ft. (Died	..	29	..	9			
" Pogson } since of wounds,	..	3	..	6			
Capt. Rosser, Carbrs. (Since reported not dead.)	..	37	..	8			
	..	441	..	287			
Artillery	2		..	9			
Engineers	9		..	6			
Cavalry	3		..	8			
Infantry	38		..	287			
Total	52	510	..	310			
			820				

This return is tabulated from a Telegraphic Message from Brigr. Chamberlain, Adj't. General

E. C.(?) BURNES,
Commissioner and Sup.

Secretary's Report, 1919 and 1920.

The 9th Annual Meeting of the Society was held in Lahore on Saturday, February 22nd, 1919. The Hon'ble Mr. H. J. Maynard was in the Chair. The Hon. Secretary moved a resolution of congratulation to Sir E. Maclagan, M.A., K.C.I.E., C.S.I., President of the Society on his appointment as Lieut.-Governor of the Panjab and its dependencies. The resolution was seconded by Mr. Ganga Ram Wadhawa, and carried unanimously.

The Hon. Secretary read his Report, and in the absence of the Hon. Treasurer a brief statement showing the financial position of the Society. The office bearers and Council for 1919 were appointed.

Mr. Gulshan Rai read a paper entitled "Taxation and Financial Administration under the Moghals and the East India Company."

A Meeting was held at Simla on Friday, the 1st August, 1919. His Honour Sir E. Maclagan, President of the Society, was in the chair. There was a large audience, including their Excellencies the Viceroy and Lady Chelmsford.

Professor A. Foucher of the University of Paris gave a lecture, illustrated by lantern slides, entitled "The Cradle of Graeco-Buddhist Art,—Gandhara or Bactria." At the conclusion of the lecture the President moved a hearty vote of thanks to the lecturer, which was carried unanimously.

A Meeting was held in Lahore on Wednesday, the 20th November, 1919. His Honour the Lieut.-Governor, President of the Society was in the chair. A paper was read by L. Sita Ram Kohli on "The Organization of Ranjit Singh's Army."

During the Session of the Indian Historical Records Commission in Lahore on the 7th and 8th January, 1920, three papers were read before the Commission by members of the Society. Lala Sita Ram Kohli read of "Sikh Records in the Secretariat." Ch. Abdul Hamid read a paper entitled "Original Sources for the reign of Muhammad Shah."

Maulvi Zafar Hassan of Delhi read "Two Unpublished Letters of Aurungzeb."

The number of meetings held during 1920, was smaller than usual as it was not found possible to hold any meetings in Simla during the summer.

In November L. Parmanand Arora read a paper on "The Hindu Fire Temple at Baku," and in December Mr. Emerson read a paper on the "Historical Aspect of Some Himalayan Customs." Both these papers will subsequently appear in the Journal of the Society. During the year Vol. VIII, Part I, has been published, and Vol. VIII, Part II is in preparation.

Officers and Members of Council, 1920.

PATRON.

H.E. Sir E. D. Maclagan, K.C.S.I., K.C.I.E.

PRESIDENT.

The Hon'ble Mr. J. P. Thompson, C.S.I.

VICE-PRESIDENTS.

The Hon'ble Nawab Sir Zulfiqar Ali Khan, C.S.I.
Rai Bahadur Pandit Sheo Narain.

HONORARY SECRETARY.

H. L. O. Garrett, Esq., M.A., F.R. Hist. S.

HONORARY TREASURER.

Miss Forster.

AUDITORS.

L. Chuni Lal, B.A., LL.B.

E. Tydeman Esq.,

MEMBERS OF COUNCIL.

The Hon'ble Sir John Maynard, K.C.I.E., C.S.I.

R. B. Whitehead, Esq., C.S.

Rai Bahadur Pandit Hari Kishan Kaul, C.I.E.

H. Hargreaves, Esq.

Sh. Abdul Qadir, B.A.

R. L. Wilson, Esq., B.A.

Sh. Ashgar Ali, C.B.E., C.S.

Honorary Treasurer's Report for 1920.

Mr. Langhorne was Hon. Treasurer of the Society until April, when he handed over to me.

During the year four new members have joined the Society, and thirteen have resigned. The total membership is now 153.

We have to record with regret the death of Mr. Vincent Smith, one of our Honorary members, and also of Mr. Gardner Browne.

Ninety-four members were in arrears with their subscriptions to the Society on Dec. 31st, 1920, making a total of Rs. 2,195, due to the Society. Of this sum Rs. 110 have since been received.

Cr.

Dr.

	Rs.	As.	P.		Rs.	As.	P.
Opening Balance with Bank and				Printing and Publishing	..	792	4 0
Treasurer	740	13	11	Postage, etc. ..	..	169	1 11
Subscriptions and sales ..	863	2	0	Balance { with Bank	..	642	6 0
				{ „ Treasurer	..	0	4 0
	<u>1,603</u>	<u>15</u>	<u>11</u>			<u>1,603</u>	<u>15 11</u>

V. B. FORSTER,
Hon. Treasurer.

Panjab Historical Society.

PATRON :

H.E. Sir E. D. MacLagan, K.C.S.I., K.C.I.E., Governor of the Panjab.

HONORARY MEMBERS :

Sir Louis W. Dane, G.C.I.E., C.S.I., Millbrook, Southampton, England.
 Sir John Marshall, C.I.E., Litt.D., F.S.A., Director-General of Archæology in India, Simla.
 Sir M. Aurel Stein, K.C.I.E., Ph.D., D.Litt., D.Sc., Srinagar, Kashmir.
 Dr. J. Ph. Vogel, Ph.D., Professor of Sanskrit, University of Leiden, Leiden, Holland.

MEMBERS :

Khan Abdul Ghafur Khan, K.B. ..	.. District and Sessions Judge, Lyallpur.
Abdul Hamid, Esq., M.A. ..	.. District Inspector of Schools, Jhang.
Sardar Abdul Qadir Khan Effendi ..	.. Golf Road, Lahore.
Shaikh Abdul Qadir, B.A. ..	.. Bar-at-Law, Fane Road, Lahore.
W. O. Alcock, Esq., C.S. ..	.. Kolaba, Bombay Presidency.
G. Anderson, Esq., M.A., C.I.E. ..	.. Director of Public Instruction, Panjab, Lahore.
J. W. Armstrong, Esq., O.B.E. ..	.. Dhariwal.
Shaikh Asghar Ali, C.B.E., I.C.S. ..	.. Home Secretary to Government, Panjab, Lahore.
C. A. Barron, Esq., C.S.I., C.I.E., C.S. ..	.. Commissioner, Delhi.
The Hon'ble Raizada Bhagar Ram ..	.. Barrister-at-Law, Jullundur.
H.H. Sir Bhawani Singh, K.C.S.I. ..	.. Raj Rana of Jhalawar, Jhalrapatan, Rajputana.
Mrs. Browne ..	.. Naini Tal Club, Naini Tal.
The Hon'ble Mr. R. Burn, C.S.I., I.C.S. ..	.. Benares.
Sardar Charanjit Singh Anluwalia ..	.. Jullundur City.
F. M. Cheshire, Esq., I.E.S. ..	.. Morris College, Nagpur.
Lala Chuni Lal, B.A., L.L.B. ..	.. Official Receiver, Amritsar.
The Rev. A. G. G. Cowie ..	.. S.P.G., Rawalpindi.
M. M. L. Currie, Esq., B.A., C.S. ..	..
D. N. P. Datta, Esq., M.D., C.M. ..	.. Church Mission, Amritsar.
S. K. Datta, Esq., B.A., M.B., Ch.B. ..	.. Y.M.C.A., Calcutta.
Pt. Daya Ram Sahni, M.A., R.B. ..	.. Superintendent of Archæology, Northern Circle, Lahore.
G. F. de Montmorency, Esq., C.I.E., C.B.E., C.S. ..	.. Chief Secretary Government of the Panjab.
H. W. Emerson, Esq., C.S. ..	.. D C., Multan.
P. J. Fagan, Esq., C.S.I., C.S. ..	.. Financial Commissioner, Panjab, Lahore.
A. G. C. Fane, Esq., M.C. ..	.. Ex. Engineer, P.W.D., Irrigation Branch, Jhelum.
Raja Fateh Singh of Shaikhupura ..	.. Lahore.
The Rev. Father Felix, O.C. ..	.. Bettiah, District Champaran.
J. R. Firth, Esq., M.A., I.E.S. ..	.. Government College, Lahore.
Chas. W. Foster, Esq., I.P. ..	.. c/o Alliance Bank, Peshawar.
R. S. Lala Ganga Ram Wadhawa, M.A. ..	.. District and Sessions Judge, Gujranwala.
C. C. Garbett, Esq., C.I.E., C.S. ..	.. c/o Grindlay and Co., Bombay.

H. L. O. Garrett, Esq., M.A.	..	..	Government College, Lahore
B. T. Gibson, Esq., C.S.	..	..	Financial Secretary to Government, Panjab, Abbott Road, Lahore.
M. Ghulam Yazdani, M.A.	..	..	Superintendent of Archæology, H.H. the Nizam's Dominions, Hyderabad, Deccan.
Rev. H. D. Griswold, M.A., Ph.D.	..	..	Saharanpur.
Lala Gulshan Rai, B.A., LL.B.	..	..	Professor, Sauatan Dharam College, Lahore.
H. Hargreaves, Esq.	..	..	Archæological Department, Peshawar.
Pt. Hari Kishen Kaul, M.A., R.B., C.I.E.	..	..	Commissioner, Jullundur.
L. Heath, Esq.	..	..	Lahore.
Pandit Hirananda Shastri, M.A.	..	..	Curator, The Museum, Lucknow.
Dr. J. Hutchison	..	..	Chamba (on leave).
Nawab Ibrahim Ali Khan of Kunjpura	..	..	Kunjpura, District Karnal.
Miles Irving, Esq., B.A., C.S.	..	..	D.C., Attock.
Bhagat Ishwar Das, M.A.	..	..	Advocate, Lahore
L. Ishwar Das, M.A.	..	..	Joint Registrar, Panjab University, Lahore.
Mrs. Jenkin	..	..	Wesleyan Manse, Nicholson Road, Lahore.
H. H. Jenkyns, Esq., C.S.	..	..	Sargodha.
Sardar Jogendra Singh	..	..	Taluqdar, Aira Estate, Kheri, Oudh.
E. A. A. Joseph, Esq., B.A., C.S.	..	..	Secretary to Government, Transferred Subjects, Lahore.
Misra, Jwala Sahai, R.B., B.A.	..	..	District and Sessions Judge, Ludhiana.
Thakur Kahn Singh Balaoria	..	..	Sub-Inspector, Police, Ramgarh, District Jammu.
Lala Kanwar Sain Mathur, M.A. Bar-at-Law	..	..	Principal, Law College, Lahore.
Diwan Kishen Kishore	..	..	Honorary Magistrate, Lahore.
Librarian, Lytton Library	..	..	M.A.O. College, Aligarh.
Khwaja Mahmud Husain, B.A.	..	..	Munsif, Bhera, D. Shahpur.
T. L. Manghirmalani, Esq., M.A.	..	..	Professor of History, Prince of Wales' College, Jammu.
E. Marsden, Esq., I.E.S. (Retired)	..	..	"Waltroyd," 12, Ellerdale Road, Hampstead, London, N.W.
The Hon'ble Sir H. J. Maynard, K.C.I.E., C.S.I.	..	..	Finance Member, Panjab Executive Council, Lahore.
J. F. Mitchell, Esq., B.Sc., I.C.S.	..	..	Under Secretary to Government, Panjab, Financial Department, Lahore.
The Hon'ble Mian Muhammad Shafi, K.B., C.I.E.	..	..	Government of India Secretariat, Simla.
Miss E. Must	..	..	Inspectress of Schools, Rawalpindi.
Khan Bahadur Mir Nasir Ali Khan	..	..	Honorary Magistrate, Delhi.
M. Niaz Mohammad, M.A., LL.B.	..	..	Reader, Law College, Lahore
F. Noyce, Esq., I.C.S.	..	..	c/o Government of India Secretariat, Simla.
Maulvi Nur Bakhsh, M.A.	..	..	Central Model High School, Lahore.
L. Parmanand Arora, M.A.	..	..	Assistant, Finance Branch, Civil Secretariat, Lahore.
J. W. Paul, Esq., M.A.	..	..	Professor of History, Robertson College, Jubbulpore.
H. J. Philby, Esq., C.I.E., C.S.	..	..	c/o King, King and Co., Bombay.
The Hon'ble Mr. A. W. Pim, C.S.	..	..	Financial Secretary to Government of United Provinces, Allahabad.
Miss Platt, M.B.	..	..	Principal, Lady Hardinge Medical College, Delhi.
The Hon'ble Mr. F. G. Pratt, C.S.	..	..	Commissioner, Ahmadabad.
Pandit Radha Krishna, R.B.	..	..	Museum, Muttra, United Provinces.

Lala Raghubar Dayal, M.A., M.O.L.	..	Principal, Sanatan Dharam College, Lahore.
Lt.-Col. Raja Jai Chand	..	Lambagraon, Kangra.
The Hon'ble Mr. J. A. Richey, M.A.	..	Education Department, Government of India, Delhi.
Miss A. E. Rooke,	..	S.P.G. Mission, Rawalpindi.
S. K. Rudra, Esq., M.A.	..	Principal, St. Stephen's College, Delhi.
The Hon'ble Mr. Sachidananda Sinha	..	Barrister-at-Law, Patna, Bihar.
C. V. Salusbury, Esq., C.S.	..	Sirsa.
Dr. Lakshman Surup, Professor	..	Oriental College, Lahore.
Lt.-Col. G. B. Sanford, O.B.E., I.A.	..	Montgomery.
Miss Scott-Smith	..	Race Course Road, Lahore.
Secy. to Govt. U.P., Miscellaneous Dept.	..	Allahabad.
Bawa Sewa Ram Singh	..	Pleader, High Court of the Panjab, Lahore.
The Hon'ble Sir Shadi Lal, M.A., R.B., B.C.I.	..	Chief Justice, High Court of the Panjab, Lahore.
Pandit Sheo Narain, R.B.	..	Advocate, Lahore.
Lala Shibbu Mal, M.A., E.A.C.	..	Sub-Judge, Ambala.
Dr. Shuja-ud-Din, M.A., LL.D.	..	Barrister-at-Law, Lahore.
H. L. H. Shuttleworth, Esq., C.S.	..	Delhi.
Lala Sita Ram Kohli, M.A.	..	Lecturer, Government College, Lahore.
F. W. Skemp, Esq., M.A., C.S.	..	Karnal.
H. A. Smith, Esq., M.A., C.S.	..	Deputy Commissioner, Rawalpindi.
Lieut.-Col. MacIver Smith, I.M.S.	..	
S. B. Smith, Esq., M.A.	..	Canning College, Lucknow.
G. D. Sondhi, Esq., M.A.	..	Professor of Economics, Government College, Lahore.
Dr. D. B. Spooner, B.A., Ph.D.	..	Archæological Survey, Simla.
A. M. Stow, Esq., O.B.E., C.S.	..	Settlement Commissioner, Srinagar.
K. B. Chaudhri Sultan Ahmad, B.A., E.A.C.	..	D. C. Montgomery.
Sardar Sundar Singh Ramgarhia	..	Rais, Amritsar.
Princess Bamba Sutherland	..	Lahore.
Pandit Tara Chand Vazir, M.A.	..	Habba Kadal, Srinagar, Kashmir.
Bakhshi Tek Chand, M.A., LL.B.	..	Pleader, 2, Fane Road, Lahore.
Diwan Tek Chand, O.B.E., B.A., C.S.	..	Commissioner, Ambala.
Sir Richard Temple	..	"The Nash," Worcester, England.
Mr. J. P. Thompson, C.S.I., I.C.S.	..	
E. Tydeman, Esq., B.A.	..	Inspector of Schools, Lahore.
The Hon'ble Malik Sir Umar Hayat Khan, Tiwana, K.C.I.E.		5, Beadon Road, Lahore.
L. T. Watkins, Esq., I.E.S.	..	Superintendent of Education, Delhi.
The Rev. E. M. Wherry, D.D.	..	Ludhiana.
R. B. Whitehead, Esq., M.A., C.S.	..	
H. S. Williamson, Esq., B.A., C.S.	..	D.C., Simla.
Ross L. Wilson, Esq., B.A.	..	Forman College, Lahore (on leave).
Miss A. M. Wilson	..	St. Denys School, Murree.
G. C. Wolfe Esq.	..	Grand Hotel, Calcutta.
A. C. Woolner, Esq., M.A.	..	Dean, University of the Panjab, Lahore.
H. G. Wyatt, Esq., I.E.S.	..	Principal, Central Training College, Lahore (on leave).
G. Mackworth Young, Esq., C.S.	..	c/o King, King and Co., Bankers, Bombay.
Maulvi Zafar Hassan, B.A.	..	Assistant Superintendent Archæological Survey, Museum, The Fort, Delhi.
K. S. Malik Zaman Mahdi Khan, B.A., P.C.S.	..	Panjab Civil Secretariat, Lahore.
The Hon'ble Khan Sir Zulfiqar Ali Khan, C.S.I.	..	"Zurafshan," Ferozepore Road, Lahore.

PUNJAB HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

OFFICERS AND MEMBERS OF COUNCIL, 1921.

President.

Mr. J. P. Thompson, C.S., C.S.I.

Vice-Presidents.

The Hon. Sir Zulfiqar Ali Khan, C.S.I.

R. B. Pandit Sheo Narain.

Honorary Secretary.

H. L. O. Garrett, Esq., M.A., I.E.S., F.R. Hist. S.

Honorary Treasurer.

Miss V. M. Forster.

Auditors.

L. Chuni Lal.

Mr. E. Tydeman.

Members of Council.

The Hon. Sir John Maynard.

A. C. Woolner, Esq.

R. B. Pandit Hari Kishan Kaul, C.I.E.

G. Anderson, Esq., I.E.S., C.I.E.

R. B. Whitehead, Esq., C.S.

Dr. H. D. Griswold.

DS
485
P2A3
v.5-8

Punjab Historical Society,
Lahore
Journal

PLEASE DO NOT REMOVE
CARDS OR SLIPS FROM THIS POCKET

UNIVERSITY OF TORONTO LIBRARY
